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EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

Why was Moses told to put off his shoes in front of the Burning Bush? Mr. W. R. Paton, writing in *The Classical Review* for July, seems to say that it was because they were made of the skin of an animal.

Mr. Paton is discussing the inscription upon a stone which has been found at Eresos in Lesbos. The inscription has to do with ceremonial defilement. It distinguishes degrees of such defilement. And Mr. Paton discovers that when a child is still-born, the mother's impurity is understood to last longer than when it is born alive. It is contact with death that causes the uttermost of impurity. And so a person wearing shoes is impure not because he wears shoes, but because he wears shoes made from the skin of a dead animal.

The conclusion is a little precarious. And so Mr. Paton strengthens it by stating the practice among Hindus. He wrote to Mr. Mahajani of the Berar Educational Department, and asked what was the reason for baring the feet on holy ground in India. Mr. Mahajani replied, 'The theory underlying the taking off of shoes is that all parts of dead bodies, whether of men or of cattle or of animals generally, that is, bones, skins, hair, teeth, nails, etc., are considered unclean, and are not to be touched when a person is ceremonially pure. . . . When a person is ceremonially pure, he is allowed to wear wooden shoes, which he may take even within the precincts of an inner temple. So it is not the shoes by themselves that are considered impure, but the fact that they are made of hide.'

The *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology published in July is a double number. It is understood to contain the official report of the Meeting held on the 11th of June. But it contains much more than that. Among the rest it contains an article by the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, B.D., on the Sacrifice of Isaac.

The questions which interest Mr. Oesterley in the Sacrifice of Isaac are really archæological questions, so that the *P.S.B.A.* is a fitting enough place for the article. Why was this story written? When? What has it to do with the practice of human sacrifice in Israel? These are the questions which Mr. Oesterley is interested in and asks.

That human sacrifice was once practised in Israel he has no doubt. It was practised among nearly all primitive races. It was certainly practised among the Semites. In Ball's *Light from the East* (p. 152) will be found an excellent reproduction of a Babylonian seal-engraving, the scene of which

is unmistakably a human sacrifice, whether actual or symbolical. And, what is still more to the point, the Old Testament is sufficient witness to Mr. Oesterley's mind that the practice was well-known in Israel.

The leading place, apart from the Sacrifice of Isaac itself, is the Sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. Mr. Oesterley has no doubt that Jephthah's daughter was offered in sacrifice. He has little doubt that Jephthah deliberately proposed to sacrifice some one, though he hoped that it might not be his only child. For though the translation of Jephthah's vow even in the Revised Version (Jg 11^{31}) is *whatsoever*,—'Then it shall be that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, it shall be the LORD'S, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering,'—yet Mr. Oesterley holds that the natural rendering of the Hebrew (אשר היוצר) is 'whosoever cometh forth,' as the margin of the Revised Version has it.

Another place is the death of Agag. Mr. Oesterley is not so sure that this was a sacrifice. But he looks upon that as at least the most probable explanation of the words, 'Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord' (1 S 15^{33}). The Hebrew word translated 'hewed' is nowhere else employed in the Old Testament, but there is a cognate root used for sacrifice in Lv 1^{17}, and in this very place the LXX renders the Hebrew by the Greek word meaning to sacrifice (ἔσφαξε). Moreover, the scene of the occurrence was Gilgal. Now Gilgal was one of the most notable sanctuaries in the land, 'just the place where sacrifices of especial solemnity would be offered.'

But more than that, there is evidence in the Old Testament of the sacrifice of children. Mr. Oesterley does not use the death of the firstborn in Egypt, because there the children were slain by God, not offered in sacrifice to Him. But he uses the prohibition in Lv 18^{21} 20^{2-4}, 'Thou shalt not give any of thy seed to make them pass through the fire to Moloch'; and the transgression of that prohibition in 2 K 16^{3}, where Ahaz, the king of Judah, is condemned for causing his son to pass through the fire 'according to the abominations of the heathen.' He finds other references to the practice; among them Mic 6^{7}, 'Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?'

He finds also in the remarkable notice of Hiel the Bethelite building Jericho, a case of the sacrifice of children. For Mr. Oesterley does not understand the reference there to be to a judgment of God on Hiel, whereby he lost his children under God's avenging hand. Jericho had been rebuilt by some one else long before the time of Hiel. For in 2 S 10^{5} David bids his messengers stay at Jericho until their beards, cut off by Hanun, were grown again. Mr. Oesterley holds that when Hiel is stated to have laid the foundation of Jericho in his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son, the meaning is that he sacrificed his children to God, according to a widespread custom of offering human sacrifice on the site of a new building.

Mr. Oesterley also mentions the sacrifice of his eldest son by the king of Moab when he was hard pressed in the siege. This was not an Israelite sacrifice, and he does not use it as if it were. But the effect of it shows that though the Israelites had by this time abandoned the practice of human sacrifice, they were still capable of being impressed by its special efficacy. The king of Moab did not slay his son as an act of desperation meant to move the enemy to pity or disgust. He sacrificed him to his god, as the narrative plainly tells us: 'Then he took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall' (2 K 3^{27}). Its purpose, says Mr. Oesterley, was to secure the help of his god at this grave crisis. And the enemy, recognizing that this purpose had been attained, immediately raised the siege.

By a coincidence there is an article in *Church and Synagogue* for the same month which deals with the sacrifice of Isaac. In that article, which is written by the Rev. Edmund Sinker, M.A., the same view is taken of the purpose of the king of Moab. He offered the sacrifice upon the wall. The allied forces saw it, and considered that he took a most unfair advantage of them. For now he had attached his god Chemosh so firmly to his cause that to fight against him was useless. Judah and Edom were indignant with Israel for even bringing them into such an impossible situation. And they departed from him and returned to their own land.

Well, it is settled in Mr. Oesterley's mind that human sacrifice was practised once in Israel, and the sacrifice of the eldest son in particular. Was it practised throughout the whole history of the nation, or when did it cease? Mr. Oesterley believes that it ceased about the time of David. Up to that time there are at least the cases of Agag, of Jephthah's daughter, and of Isaac. After that there are none. Between David and Ahab there is not the slightest reference to anything in the shape of human sacrifice.

This leads Mr. Oesterley to fix the date of this particular narrative in Genesis. When this story was written there was no child sacrifice in Israel. That is evident, he says, in the story itself. Therefore it was written, or at least assumed its present form, after the time of David. On the other hand, there is no protest against human sacrifice in it. Therefore it was written before the time of the prophets, to whom such a thing is utter abomination. Had the writer lived in the time of Micah he would have represented Abraham's temptation to offer his son in sacrifice as a temptation not of Jehovah, but of the Evil One.

Accordingly Mr. Oesterley believes that the narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac arose in this way and for this purpose. There was an ancient tradition that the patriarch Abraham had offered up his son in sacrifice to God. A writer of the time between David and Ahab knew this tradition. But human sacrifice had ceased ere his day. What had brought that about in Israel? It had not ceased in other lands. He conceived that this very incident had brought it about. The Israelites were always inclined towards the customs of their neighbours. To deliver them from the danger of returning to human sacrifice he wrote the story down and made it tell in such a way that God was seen Himself interposing and putting an end to such a method of approaching Him.

Thus far Mr. Oesterley. Before leaving the subject we must add a sentence from Mr. Sinker. Mr. Sinker writes in *Church and Synagogue*, as we have said. Now *Church and Synagogue* is edited by Mr. Oesterley. Yet in *Church and Synagogue* Mr. Sinker expresses just the opposite conclusion from Mr. Oesterley.

Mr. Oesterley says that the sacrifice of Isaac shows human sacrifice to have once been common in Israel, but to have ceased before this narrative was written. Mr. Sinker says, 'We see that the Israelites are becoming more used to human sacrifice, and even have begun to admit the utility of it. From this admission to practising it is a very short step indeed.'

The *Quarterly Statement* for July to September of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains a report by Dr. Schumacher of recent discoveries near Galilee.

In March, Professor Sellin of Vienna commenced to excavate the site of the ancient city of Taanach. Dr. Schumacher was of his party of excavators, which consisted of four or five Europeans, an Imperial commissioner, and from seventy to a hundred and fifty workmen and women. Taanach, which is now *Tell Ta'annek* (not *T'annuk*,

as even the Fund maps give it), was chosen by Sellin's practised eye from the promise of its shape. The tell rises 120 to 140 feet above the surrounding plain. It has distinctly terraced slopes, and on its summit there is a large pear-shaped plateau of 1050 feet by 450, its highest point being nearly 800 feet above the sea.

In this tell, from the plateau on the top, four large trenches were cut. They were carried down till they reached the rock, which in one instance was a distance of 36 feet. As the trenches descended, the débris was examined. It showed the remains of different cities, one above the other, each occupying from 5 to 6 feet of the mound in thickness. One or two of these cities had been burned to the ground, or at least partially destroyed by fire.

Much pottery was discovered. And it was of all ages, except that of Rome. No Roman remains whatever were found. But there were Phœnician remains, Jewish remains, Amorite remains, and even pre-Amorite remains.

Amongst the pottery were found some Jewish jars. They contained the ashes of very young children. The spot must mark an ancient Jewish children's cemetery. No adult remains were found. Near this infant cemetery was laid bare a rock altar, with a rock-cut step, dishes for offerings, and channels for carrying away the blood.

The work was still going on when Dr. Schumacher wrote. He hoped that yet greater results would reward the workers before it came to an end for the season.

The same *Statement* contains an account by Sir Charles Wilson of the excavations that have recently been made by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Macalister on behalf of the Fund itself. Three sites have already been investigated. The first he mentions is *Tell Zakarîya*, above the Vale of Elah, 'whence a striking view may be had of the battlefield upon which David slew Goliath.' Here a town was laid bare of which no name has survived, though the remains showed that it had been founded in the late pre-Israelite period (say, 1500 B.C.); that it had been fortified in Jewish times, possibly, says Sir Charles Wilson, by Rehoboam; that it had been occupied during the Seleucid period; and that it had been deserted after a short Roman and Byzantine occupation. Dr. Bliss thinks it may be Azekah or Socoh.

The next site is *Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi*. It stands at the mouth of the Vale of Elah, and may be the site of Gath. A modern village and cemetery, occupying most of the summit, confined the area of excavation. But enough was done to prove the existence of a city in the early pre-Israelite period, that is, at least seventeen centuries B.C., which continued right down to the days of the Seleucids.

The third site is *Tell ej-Judeideh*. It lies to the south of *Tell Zakarîya*. It disclosed a city which must have been founded in the early pre-Israelite period, abandoned long before the Hebrew conquest, reoccupied during the Jewish monarchy, and apparently fortified in Roman times. In the centre of the mound a Roman villa was found. No clue was obtained to the name of the city.

A mile south of Beit Jibrin is the fourth site. It is *Tell Sandahannah*. The remains are almost all Seleucid, but the Seleucid town was built on the ruins of a Jewish town, 'which is almost certainly the biblical Mareshah.' The name still clings to a small suburb about three-quarters of a mile distant, *Khurbet Mer'ash*. Mareshah was plundered by Judas Maccabæus, it was taken by John Hyrcanus, it was restored to the Idumæans by Pompey, and it was finally destroyed by the Parthians in 40 B.C. Much pottery was found here, and many limestone inscriptions.

One of the inscriptions is on the base of a statue of a queen Arsinoë, whom Clermont-Ganneau identifies with the lady who was sister

and wife of Ptolemy IV., and who played an important part in the battle of Raphia, in which Antiochus the Great was defeated. Another bears the name of Berenike, possibly the mother of Ptolemy IV. But most of the inscriptions were ancient imprecations. In one a man's marriage is cursed, in other two the bridegroom himself, 'possibly by a disappointed lover.' The material is always limestone, which seems to have had in Palestine the significance for cursing that lead had in Greece and the sacred papyrus in Egypt. Is it possible, as Dr. Wünsch, who assisted Dr. Bliss in the decipherments, suggests, that there is a reference to this cursing limestone in the 'white stone' of Rev 2^{17}?

Then Sir Charles Wilson turns to the future work of the Fund and its excavators. The site next to be attacked is Gezer. It is the most promising site of all. For the periods of its history are already known, and it has to be seen whether the excavations will agree with them. In particular, it is known that one of the Pharaohs burned Gezer, and gave the site to his daughter, the wife of Solomon, and that Solomon then rebuilt the city. Will the débris show the ashes of a burned city, and at the very spot where they ought to be shown? If they do, a fixed date will be found, and history and archæology will confirm one another.

But the excavation of the site of Gezer will require some money, and Sir Charles Wilson ends his address by a direct appeal to his hearers' and readers' generosity. He asks, and surely he does not ask too much, that the work so heroically pursued in Palestine by the English excavators may receive a financial support not less than that which is accorded by Austrians and Germans in the case of their excavations at Tannach, Megiddo, and Ba'albek.

'Then said they, It is his angel' (Ac 12^{15}). What did they mean? Did they believe in ghosts, as we do? And did they think that Peter was dead, and here was his ghost at the door to tell them?

They did not believe in ghosts as we do. They believed in spirits certainly. When they saw Jesus walking on the water, they cried out and said, 'It is a spirit.' And no doubt a spirit is a ghost, though a ghost is not always a spirit. But here they did not say that it was Peter's spirit. They said, 'It is his angel.' What did they mean?

They meant his guardian angel, say the commentators, well-nigh unanimously. Olshausen says something different, and is sharply taken to task by Meyer for 'rationalizing in an unbiblical manner.' But Olshausen is as often right as any commentator we know, and we may find that he is not very wrong here. That in a moment.

The commentators say they meant Peter's guardian angel. This is Page's note (and Page is usually an accurate penetrating commentator on the Acts): 'It was a popular belief among the Jews that each man had a guardian angel. Cf. the *genius* of the Romans, and Horace, *Epistles*, II. ii. 188—

> Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
> naturæ deus humanæ, mortalis in unum
> quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater.

And Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 148, δαίμων γενέθλιος. Mt 18^{10} is important as regards the validity of this belief.' It is a simple note, but it seems to contain some assumptions. How does Mr. Page know that the Jews at this time had a popular belief in guardian angels? What makes him think that our Lord refers to guardian angels when He speaks of the angels of the little ones who always behold the face of His Father which is in heaven? Neither assumption can be proved, and both are unlikely. Moreover, what could Peter's guardian angel be doing at the door of Mary's house? If Peter was still alive, he was never more in need of a guardian angel at his

side. If he was dead, the work of the guardian angel was done on earth.

We are in need of another explanation. Olshausen suggested another long ago. And now Dr. J. H. Moulton, quite independently of Olshausen, and differing somewhat from him, gives a full account of another in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July. The title of his article is, 'It is his Angel.'

Dr. Moulton says that in the Bible there are two kinds of angels mentioned. The one we know. He is God's messenger to men—sent forth to minister to them that shall be heirs of salvation. The other we are mostly ignorant of. He appears for the first time clearly in the Book of Daniel. There in the tenth chapter, verses 13, 20, 21, and again in the first verse of the eleventh and twelfth chapters, we read of a 'prince' of Persia, a 'prince' of Greece, and of Michael the 'prince' of the house of Israel. Clearly these 'princes' are angels. Yet they are not the messengers of God to men; they are too closely identified with these nations for that. Rather are they the counterparts or impersonations of these nations, and represent them in heavenly places.

We at once think of the 'angels' of the Churches in the Apocalypse. And we could not do better. That these are not angels in the ordinary sense of messengers from God to these Churches every one has to admit. Nor are they what is called guardian angels, as if sent by God to watch over the interests of the particular Church. They are not sent by God at all. They come rather from the Church to God. They stand before Him, representing the Church, and in some strange close way identified in responsibility with it. If the Church does well, the angel is praised; if ill, the angel suffers.

Yet the angels of the Churches are not so absolutely identified with the Churches as to be no more than a figurative name for them. The angel of the Church in Ephesus is warned to repent and do the first works, almost as if he were the Church; but the warning is, 'or else I come to thee, and will move thy candlestick out of its place.' The warning is that the Church may be destroyed. Clearly the angel of the Church is one, and the Church or candlestick is another. Notice, says Dr. Moulton wisely, that 'I come to thee' is not coming to a place (πρός σε), but ethical coming to one's disadvantage (ἔρχομαί σοι).

Is there reference to this 'double,' if it may be so called, elsewhere in the Bible? Dr. Moulton believes there is. And not only to the double or supersensual counterpart of nations and Churches, but of individuals also. Those who assign a very late date to Ps 82 find a reference in it to the representative angel. Others see him in Ps 58^{1} by following the reading 'O ye gods,' noticed in the margin of the Revised Version. More explicit, however, than these passages is Is 24^{21} 'And it shall come to pass in that day that the LORD shall punish the host of the high ones on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth.' Expositors cannot agree as to whether the reference is to stars or to angels. It makes no matter. Clearly supernatural beings are intended, and clearly they are closely identified with, if not the very counterpart of, certain transgressing persons upon earth.

In Sir 17^{17} we read, 'For every nation he appointed a ruler,' where the ruler is no doubt the 'prince' of the Book of Daniel. And then in the New Testament we have the passages already referred to, before we pass to the Rabbinical writings, where the idea is frequently and unmistakably set forth.

Now this representative 'angel' is not properly a guardian angel. He is not sent forth to minister, he stands in God's presence. When our Lord spoke of the angels of the little ones, He did not say that they were always encamped round the

little ones to guard them from 'offence,' as we should have expected Him to say if they had been their guardian angels. He said that their place was in heaven: 'In heaven they always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven.' And so, when those who were gathered for prayer in the house of Mary said, 'It is his angel,' Dr. Moulton believes that they must have meant his spiritual counterpart.

Olshausen, as we have said, is somewhat different. He held that the angel was the archetype or ideal of every man's life laid up with God in heaven. To that ideal he had to correspond, and it kept him in constant touch with the world of spirits. This is also Maurice's idea, quoted by Dr. Moulton from the *Unity of the New Testament* on the passage about the angels of the little ones: 'The little child, the humblest human creature, was dear to His Father in heaven. He did not look upon it merely as a fallen corrupted thing. Its Angel, its pure original type, that which it was created to be, was ever present with Him, was ever looking up into His face.' And who forgets Browning's

> My times are in thy hand,
> Perfect the cup as planned?

But Dr. Moulton shows that this is not altogether his thought. This is Platonic rather than scriptural. In the references to the 'angels' as he understands them there is nothing 'ideal,' there is simply identification.

Now this conception is wholly foreign to the religion of Israel in its purity. The religion of Israel knows only one kind of angel, the messenger of God to men. Where did this idea come from? Dr. A. B. Davidson dealt with it in his article Angels in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. He thought that it might have arisen on Israelite soil by the tendency which appeared in later times to personify abstract conceptions, such as the spirit or 'genius' of a nation, and to locate such personified forces in the supersensible world, whence they ruled the destinies of men. But Dr. Moulton believes that it came to the Israelites from the Persians.

He believes that the Zoroastrian *fravashis* 'answer exactly to what we desiderate as the original hint for these representative angels.' For in later Parsism, man is divided into body, life, soul, form, and *fravashi*. The soul at death unites with the *fravashi* and becomes immortal. The *fravashi* is that part of a man which is always in the presence of Ahura. It is not the man's guardian spirit; it is an inseparable part of him, the part that is hidden with God. So this belief, 'which actually has the seal of the Lord Christ's approval, had not been a special revelation to Israel, but was derived originally from the Magi, the very people whose representatives, generations later, were destined to offer the first tribute of the Gentile world before the infant Son of Man.'

'Who then is this?' (Mk 4^{41} R.V.). The question was natural after what they had seen. They had seen that even the wind and the sea obey Him. Their idea of the wind and the sea was not ours. It was neither our popular nor our scientific idea. It was religious. The stormy wind fulfilled the pleasure of God; the sea was His, He made it. They feared exceedingly when they saw that the wind and the sea obeyed Jesus. They thought that they obeyed God directly, and God alone. So the question was natural after what they had seen: 'Who then is this?'

The question is asked still. There are four answers to it worth considering.

The first answer is found in Mt 13^{55}, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' It is the answer of the people among whom He dwelt. Ordinary people themselves, He must be ordinary too, for He was one of them. The obedience of the wind and the sea is puzzling, but no wonder can alter the fact that He is the son of the carpenter. First impressions remain with people. Others

who did not see Him grow up among them may give Him honour, but in His own country and among His own kindred and in His own family He will always be just the carpenter's son. Do we wonder at them?

The great gods pass through the great Time Hall
Stately and high;
The little men climb the little clay wall
To watch them by.
'We wait for the gods,' the little men cry,
'But these are our brothers passing by.'

The great gods pass through the great Time Hall
With veilèd grace;
The little men climb the little clay wall
To bow the face.
'Lo! these are our brothers passing by,
Why tarry the gods?' the little men cry.

The great gods pass through the great Time Hall,
But none can see;
The little men nod by the dull clay wall,
So tired they be.
''Tis a weary waiting for gods,' they yawn,
'There's a world of men, but the gods are gone.'

And yet there was a way in which they were right. He *was* one of themselves. He was a man with a man's responsibilities, a man's work to do, a man's burden to carry. Somewhere He must do His work and carry His burden. Why not in this village and in this rank of life? He must belong to some family, why not the family of the village carpenter?

Jesus was one of a family. The family had its own customs and traditions. It had its own place in the village. It had more concern for its own members than for others. The people knew His brothers and could name them—James and Joseph and Simon and Judas; and His sisters were all with them. He was one of a family. His sisters might marry and bear children, and their children could call Him uncle. One of His brothers might go wrong, and yet come to Him with his damaged reputation and say to Him, 'I'm your brother.'

And He took His place in the family. He was the eldest, we suppose. The burden of the eldest daughter when the mother dies is a sore one, so is the burden of the eldest son if the father dies early, as it seems quite likely Joseph did. He accepted the burden. He worked at the bench. He made and mended for the women of Nazareth. And He remained at this work till the brothers and sisters were up and doing for themselves. Was this why He did not begin His public ministry till He was about thirty? Why was it if it was not this?

So they were right enough when they said, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' if only they had said it at the right time. When they said it they were wrong. He was not the carpenter's son then.

No one has done more for the family than Jesus. And He did it just in the way it is open to us all. He took His place in it, did His work, and loved its members. If He had done less, He might have been more thought of by His family. When He ceased to belong to the family and appealed to them to recognize that, they refused. His brethren did not believe in Him. Yet afterwards James and Judas believed in Him. And so probably did all the rest who were alive. For He was able to reveal Himself to them. It is St. Paul who happens to tell us. 'Then He appeared to James,' says St. Paul. And James was satisfied. He was not satisfied earlier, because Jesus was too much one of the family. He had taken His place so naturally in the family and did so much for it, that James could not get over the feeling that He belonged to the family still.

Yet Jesus did actually cease to belong to the family. And He who has done so much for family life came to burst the family bonds and make the members of the family free.

For there is nothing upon earth that can set itself more thoroughly in opposition to Christ

than the family. We see it all through the life of some men, though they never see it themselves. Has not George Eliot taken us aside in the *Mill on the Floss* and shown us what family pride can be, and the mischief it can work? And is not every family a family of Dodsons in its little way until Christ has made the members free? But we see it best at death. The newspaper makes the simple announcement that the estate was left to the members of the family, and we neither wonder nor lament.

Christ came to proclaim the opening of the prison to them that are bound. And they are as often bound within the family prison-house as anywhere. 'Who is My mother,' He said, 'and who are My brethren?' And He looked round upon the disciples. 'Behold, My mother and My brethren! For whosoever doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven, the same is My brother and sister and mother.' It was not simply the formation of a new spiritual family. It was the stripping off from every earthly family all that made its members selfish and narrow. It was saying to James, wherever he is found in the family, that henceforth he is not to regard Judas or Simon with more affection than he gives to the members of the family on the other side of the street. And when the time came for Him to be taken up, He committed His mother Mary not to the keeping of James her own son according to the flesh, but into the keeping of John, her son and His according to the Spirit.

That is one of the answers to the question, 'Who then is this?'

Jeremy Taylor and Richard Baxter: A Comparison and a Contrast.

By the Rev. Martin Lewis, B.A., Fellow of University College, London.

I.

There is a singular parallelism between the careers of these two great contemporaries. Born almost at the same time—the one at Cambridge in 1613, the other in Shropshire in 1615—their lives ran side by side like sister streams, divided indeed by the great political frontier of that era of contention, but both making steadily for the same great and wide sea in which all the rivers of God meet. The good Bishop's earthly course was the shorter of the two. He was carried off by fever in 1667 in his Irish diocese. The good Presbyter lingered on until 1691, though harassed by incessant persecutions, privations, and infirmities. In social rank Baxter had the advantage, for he belonged to an old county family. His father squandered his property at the gaming table until a profound conversion turned him into a serious Puritan Christian a few years before Richard was born; but the boy was brought up under the roof of his maternal grandfather, Richard Adeney of Rowton, a small landed proprietor. Jeremy Taylor's father was a barber at Cambridge, and the son entered the university with the free commons of a sizarship. In scholarship, however, the balance inclined in favour of the lad who had the good fortune to be born in a university city. He was sent to school at the early age of three, and entered Caius College at thirteen. A distinguished university course laid up the ample stores of classical learning which in after years enriched his writings with their marvellous opulence. Baxter received little help from any of his teachers. His education was utterly mismanaged. He was intrusted as a private pupil to ignorant and sottish curates, and through bad advice his parents refrained from sending him to Oxford. Sir James Stephen says he quitted school at nineteen 'destitute of all mathematical and physical science, ignorant of Hebrew, a mere smatterer in Greek, and possessed

of as much Latin as enabled him in after life to use it with reckless facility.' Yet, for all that, Baxter was not without a real and broad culture. He was an omnivorous reader. It has been remarked that he probably read more books than any other human being. He possessed the invaluable power of tearing out swiftly the very heart of a book, and drawing off its life-blood. His boyish imagination feasted on romances; his intellect, almost preternaturally alert and acute, found food for itself in many quarters; and he was equally at home among the early Fathers, the schoolmen, and the Protestant theologians of all nations.

Jeremy Taylor's mind was an estate cultivated by many skilful husbandmen, and enriched by an elaborate educational machinery. Baxter tilled his own land with his own sturdy arm. Deficiencies in accurate scholarship only served to bring out into bolder relief the virile force of his own originative personality.

The two young men first appeared in public in London about the same time, though in very different scenes. Young Taylor was appointed a lecturer in St. Paul's Cathedral, where Dean Rust says 'he preached to the admiration and astonishment of his auditors, and by his florid and youthful beauty, and sweet and pleasant airs, and sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel newly descended from visions of glory.' Archbishop Laud was so struck with his rare pulpit gifts that, with unusual wisdom, he obtained a fellowship for him at All Souls, Oxford, advising him to read much and preach seldom, lest his tree should be spoiled by premature superabundance of fruitbearing. Thus Oxford joined with Cambridge in fostering the fine growth of the English Chrysostom within their 'enclosed gardens,' while bleak winds blew on Baxter all his days, at once shrivelling and strengthening his nature.

For while the young Anglican was captivating all hearers in the city of London, across the fields at Whitehall the young Puritan was making his first appearance on the scene in a strangely incongruous character. Influential friends obtained for him the post of a royal page under the Master of the Revels! This was supposed to be the highway to fortune, but Baxter's grave and stiff temperament was utterly alien to the gaieties of court life. Already his soul had been pierced and searched by Bunney's *Resolutions*, and somewhat comforted by Sibbes' *Bruised Reed*. One can picture the delicate melancholy youth lounging about corridors and waiting-rooms, oppressed with self-consciousness and misery, and looking with the horror of a tortured conscience on a stage play instead of a sermon on the Lord's Day afternoon. When his mother's serious illness summoned him suddenly hence, and he left London in a snowstorm, the escape was the providential snatching of a pilgrim soul from Vanity Fair. Baxter's piety was deepened by witnessing his mother's faith in the midst of terrible sufferings, and beside her deathbed her son solemnly resolved to be a minister of Christ, and, in his own famous phrase, to preach 'as a dying man to dying men.'

He was ordained in 1638 by the Bishop of Worcester as headmaster of a school at Dudley, in the 'black country,' and he preached his first sermon in the upper church there. The rough nailers and miners hung upon his burning words, as the Kinsgwood colliers hung on Whitefield's; but pastoral work was more to his taste than teaching, and in 1640 he acceped a call as lecturer, or preaching curate, in the fine parish church of Kidderminster. Kidderminster was ever after the home of Baxter's heart. Here the grave preacher with the 'strangely-moving voice' addressed his tremendous appeals to the unconverted, 'to turn and live, and accept of mercy while mercy may be had, as ever they would find mercy in their extremity from the living God.' Here the Reformed pastor discharged those faithful ministrations which he has himself described. His spiritual influence was enormous. The power of his passionate pleadings and incessant labours changed the whole aspect of a godless town. Dr. Benjamin Jowett says: 'As the people of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah; so did the people of Kidderminster repent at the preaching of Baxter.'

But in 1642 the Civil War began to divide the nation into hostile camps, and the 'lecturer' of Kidderminster soon found himself on the opposite side from Jeremy Taylor, now rector of Uppingham. To us the Puritan Revolution seems mainly a struggle between civil liberty and arbitrary tyranny, or between republicanism and monarchy. But these were not the issues that presented themselves to many minds of that day

—certainly not to Baxter. He told Cromwell to his face that he held the ancient throne a blessing to the kingdom; and as for liberty, Baxter cared little or nothing for it in any shape. 'Liberty of conscience' he opposed almost as resolutely as Laud himself. He embraced the cause of the Parliament, because to him it represented seriousness, discipline, temperance, sobriety, as against licence, ungodliness, the revellings of the gay cavaliers, and noisy sports on the Lord's Day. Baxter was a Presbyterian Churchman, hating utterly the confusion of jarring sects and ignorant sectarians, and never entirely in his element among the Parliamentarians.

Jeremy Taylor was soon to plead for freedom in his *Liberty of Prophesying* (1647), but he became a King's man at the parting of the ways, because loyalty to Charles meant to him loyalty to Monarchy and Episcopacy, to the Lord's Anointed and Apostolical Succession, to Church Authority and Unity, to the seemly order and reverence of liturgical worship 'in appointed places,' as opposed to disorderly services with long and rambling prayers. The wall of partition between the two men was religious rather than political, and it was lower than it looked.

The two young ministers both became army chaplains. When the Parliament gained the upper hand Taylor fled to Wales and turned schoolmaster, like Baxter at Dudley. He acted also as private chaplain to Lord and Lady Carberry of Golden Grove in Caermarthenshire, whence the title of his famous 'Golden Grove' sermons. And although Baxter's party was victorious, he, too, was driven from public life by violent illness, induced by the hardships of the campaign, and he was obliged to retire to the country house of Sir Thomas Rouse in Worcestershire.

Here is the next point of comparison between the two men, and it is surely a striking one. Each of them prepared a devotional work, which will last while the English tongue lasts, at the same time, under the same conditions, while living in retirement under the care of friends,—for both men had a genius for friendship,—and beneath that stress of severe affliction which has often crushed out of great souls their greatest utterances. In the very same year (1650) were published Baxter's *Saints' Rest* and Taylor's *Holy Living*, while *Holy Dying* followed the year after.

Setting side by side these two immortal 'companions of the devout life,' which saw the light in the same year, one observes that *the themes are at bottom the same.* The brevity of life; the vanity of earthly things; the value of the soul; the necessity of prayer; the joy of communion with the Highest; the duty of observing the ordinances of religion; the utter worthlessness of all observances and all creeds without faithful practice; the searching of conscience and the weighing of conduct by strict rules of devotion and duty,—these are the themes of both books. And *both books* are *saturated with the same heavenly temper.* Of Taylor it was said that 'he spent the greater part of his time in heaven, and the frequent aspiration and emigration of his soul to God made up the best part of his devotions.' And Baxter, too, was encompassed by the lambent glow of the spiritual mind, which is the true halo of sainthood. Even as a boy he began to think of heaven, dreaming holy dreams in the gloaming, and turning 'blind man's holiday' to the best account; while Part IV. of his great devotional manual is entitled 'A Directory for getting and keeping the Heart in Heaven by the excellent unknown Duty of heavenly Meditation'—a duty which, if unknown in Baxter's days, is still less known in ours.

Holy Living and Dying is admirably arranged, proportioned, and finished like one of those beautiful English churches which the author loved, with the font beside the west door, and the finely wrought woodwork in the chancel, and the altar beneath the glowing east window.

The threefold arrangement of the material is lucidity itself. It is suggested by the familiar verse, 'living soberly, righteously, and godly.'

(1) *Sobriety* includes personal qualities such as temperance, chastity, humility, modesty, and contentedness.

(2) *Righteousness* covers all duties—civil, social, and domestic—which arise out of our relation to other men.

(3) *Godliness* embraces the peculiarly Christian graces of faith and love.

The spiritual life is set before us as a continual conflict. Face to face with each grace stand the antagonists which resist it and the difficulties which obstruct its progress, while beside it are ranged like faithful allies all the considerations which will aid the soul in earnestly seeking it.

The book displays the author's extraordinary powers of illustration. He was never at a loss for an apt quotation, anecdote, or illustration, drawn almost wholly from classical writers or the Christian Fathers. There are fine illustrations also from nature, as when he compares the passions which petulantly solicit a man in health to the sportive atoms in the sunshine, always dancing and always busy until night draws the veil.

How lofty and wise is his counsel, that at the first presence of serious sickness a man should gather up his inward forces and set the heart firmly on this resolution, 'I must bear it inevitably, and by God's grace I will bear it nobly'! The pages are bright with memorable sayings, pointed and pithy as proverbs, nails fastened in a sure place by a master hand, *e.g.*, on the Care of our Time:—'Idleness is the burial of a living man;' 'Idleness is the rust of time;' 'There are some people who are busy; but it is as Domitian was, in catching flies;' 'He that spends his time in sports and calls it recreation, is like him whose garment is all made of fringes; his meat is nothing but sauces.'

Or, again, on 'Purity of Intention':—'The praise is not in the deed done, but in the manner of of its doing;' 'If a man visits a sick friend and watches at his pillow for charity's sake, and because of old affection, we approve it; but if he does it in hope of a legacy, he is a vulture, and watches only for the carcase.'

The *Saints' Rest* cannot claim these merits. Baxter lacked Taylor's wealth of imagery, and his style cannot compete with that of the great prose poet. His prolixity is wearisome; his divisions and subdivisions and digressions are endless. His book glows through and through with the red heat of sacred flame at which the soul catches fire, but it is ill-arranged, diffuse, and spoiled by the excessive length in which Puritanism indulged. Baxter took no pains with the shape or rhythm of his sentences, and one cannot but regret that he neglected to follow the excellent advice of his wife, who told him it would be much better if he would write less and take more pains with the form and quality of his writing. Had he acted on her most wise suggestion, vast tomes on which he bestowed the strength of a giant would not now be left unread on dusty shelves. For though Dr. Johnson cheerfully ordered Boswell to read 'all' Baxter's books, because they were 'all good,' we may be quite sure that the great Doctor had never himself swallowed his own huge prescription!

Yet, in spite of Baxter's negligence, Archbishop Trench—no mean judge—claims for his writings 'a robust and masculine eloquence.' 'Nor do these want from time to time rare and unsought felicities of language, which, once heard, can scarcely be forgotten.'

Here are a few fine specimens which we meet unexpectedly in the *Saints' Rest*:—

'As the lark sings sweetly when she soars on high, but is suddenly silenced when she falls to the earth, so is the frame of the soul most delightful when it keepeth God in view by contemplation. But, alas! we make there too short a stay, and lay by our music.'

'As the fire doth mount upward, and the needle that is touched with the loadstone still turneth to the north, so the converted soul is inclined to God. Nothing else can satisfy him, nor can he find any content or rest but in His love.'

'After the rough and tempestuous day we shall at last have the quiet, silent night, the quietness of the night without its darkness.'

These sentences, dropped in passing from Baxter's hurrying pen, might have been fashioned by Taylor at his best. If there is less gilt on the Puritan scabbard, there is more steel in the blade, and the metal is of finer temper, because it has been plunged in fiercer fires. If the capital of the pillar is less ornate, the shaft is far more massive.

The contrast is a typical one. As a modern parallel, one thinks of Tennyson and Browning; of Tennyson, with his Anglican upbringing, his entirely English sympathies and ethics, his gift of expression, rich and soft and musical; and of Browning, with his Nonconformist ancestry, his piercing analysis, his sinewy virility of thinking, clothed in a rugged style, like a strong man in armour.

One fancies it is more than a mere accident that in the Anglican directory the only virtues that receive mere passing recognition are truthfulness and courage, with their opposites, falsehood and cowardice.

Veracity and courage were, at least, the cardinal virtues of Puritanism, and both Frederick Robertson and Charles Kingsley have boldly affirmed that their absence is a fatal defect in the so-called 'Catholic' devoutness. They were certainly never wanting in anything Baxter did or

said. 'As soon doubt the verity of the gospel as the veracity of Richard Baxter.' That was Southey's splendid eulogy, and it was well deserved. Baxter's absolute sincerity and unflinching courage were beyond all doubt and above all praise. Strength and beauty are both befitting in God's sanctuary. If the poet-preacher had more of the winsome beauty of holiness, the faithful confessor excelled in the naked strength of truth and soberness, when unadorned adorned the most. In his treatise on Conversion, Baxter defends his great plainness of speech: 'Compliments are not needed when we run to quench a common fire.'

Both our divines were alike in their love for the fine analyses of *Casuistry*.

Principal Tulloch says it is not quite fair to say that the mechanical and unreal treatment of the Christian life as an uneasy routine of vices to be avoided and virtues to be learnt is characteristically Puritan. The Roman casuists carried the same mode of treatment to an even more unhappy excess. We must not forget that Jeremy Taylor wrote the *Ductor Dubitantium*, which Hallam praised as the greatest manual of casuistry in the English language; and Baxter's first impulse in that direction was derived from Bunney's *Resolutions*, a Puritan recasting of a Jesuit manual. Yet it must be owned that his subtle intellect revelled in fine analyses and thin distinctions with a zeal worthy of a mediæval schoolman. In his *Christian Directory, or Sum of Practical Theology and Cases of Conscience*, the questions and cases are simply interminable.

After discussing 30 tongue sins and 20 questions for the conviction of drunkards; 18 necessary qualifications of lawful recreations, 18 sorts that are sinful; 12 convincing questions for those who plead for such pastimes; 36 questions about contracts; 174 about matters ecclesiastical, and so forth, he apologizes for the incompleteness of his list, regretting that the want of his library prevented him from enlarging the enumeration of cases!

It is scrupulosity gone mad! It is Rabbinical legalism *redivivus*, laying again an intolerable yoke of bondage on men's shoulders. Happily, we have learned to see that these crowds of casuistical rules are clean contrary to the principles of Christ. His principles were few and simple and broad and illuminating. And experience proves that casuistry is much more likely to suggest sophistical excuses for what is wrong than to give clear guidance to what is right. Duty is best discovered, not by the anxious weighing of pharisaic scruples, but by following those living instincts of right in the Christian soul which seize on the resources and opportunities of good which the moment offers, and use them to the utmost. The Christian is set 'free from the law,' that he may become 'a law unto himself,' because he is 'enlawed to Christ.'

'The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles.'[1]

By the Rev. Edward R. Bernard, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral.

This is an apologetic work, but not in the ordinary sense of the term. The writer does not set himself the task of defence, but the task of investigation, the result of which proves to be the establishment of his thesis. He speaks in his preface of the narrow limit which he has marked out for himself, and it must be acknowledged that the treatment of the purely narrative portion of the book is slight in comparison with the full examination of the reports of the speeches and addresses of St. Peter and St. Paul. It is this latter feature which gives the work its main value, and will ensure it the attention of all students of apostolic history. The first two lectures, however, contain much that is valuable. The first lecture touches briefly most of the important points relating to the text, authorship, and sources of the work. Dr. Chase, here and elsewhere in his earlier chapters, is largely indebted to Th. Zahn's *Einleitung in das N.T.*, an indebtedness which he would be the first to

[1] *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles*, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900–1901. By F. H. Chase, D.D., President of Queens' College, and Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Macmillan, 1902.

acknowledge. He has in particular made excellent use of Zahn's[1] demonstration that the prologue to St. Luke's Gospel should be regarded as the prologue to both the Gospel and the Acts. It is indeed unfortunate, though perhaps unavoidable, that St. Luke's great historical work should have been dislocated for us by the insertion of St. John's Gospel between its two constituent parts. The prologue, thus understood, suggests the inquiry, Who were the eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from whom St. Luke received the accounts of the events in Acts of which he was not himself a witness? and this question is satisfactorily answered by our author. The latter portion of the first lecture is concerned with the events of Pentecost.

The suggestion that 'the Temple was the scene of the Pentecostal gift' (p. 31) is extremely interesting, and has everything to recommend it. The word 'house,' which seems to make against it, is shown to be evidence in its favour. But the suggestions which are made to enable acceptance of the miraculous element in the narrative do not commend themselves to our judgment. That the rays of the rising sun on the foreheads of the apostles should be what is meant by 'tongues as of fire,' and that reminiscences of liturgical expressions of praise in other languages, formerly heard by the apostles from foreign Jews, should have been recalled and repeated by them in a moment of spiritual exultation—both these explanations will seem to some at least harder to believe than the miraculous view of the same occurrences, that is, if miracles are admitted at all as occurring in this period. But the author desires to keep this crucial question in suspense (p. 301), and to investigate the credibility of St. Luke as a historian, with the question of the miracles recorded by him eliminated from the inquiry. Of course St. Luke must have believed in miracles being wrought in the apostolic Church if he was indeed the companion and disciple of St. Paul, whose Epistles leave no possibility of doubt as to *his* conviction. Can we inquire as to the credibility of St. Luke, making this reserve as to his disposition to ascribe to supernatural intervention what were really occurrences in the ordinary course of nature? Such a course is undoubtedly possible, and has in the work before us produced valuable results; but it would have been better and more logical to have left the miraculous events alone, instead of attempting to deal with one or two of them, while the whole mass of the rest which occur throughout the narrative are entirely untouched. In short, the credibility of St. Luke,[2] and the credibility of the Book of the Acts, with all its contents, are two different matters, though we must confess that the course of the narrative appears to us so closely to depend upon, and grow out of, the various miraculous events, that the acceptance of the former involves the acceptance of the latter; in fact the consistency of the story goes far to prove the miracles, to a mind which is not already closed to evidence in that direction.

Before leaving the subject of the 'tongues' we must acknowledge the soundness of the view which Dr. Chase takes of the character of the gift. The utterances were utterances of praise. We may go on to say that there is no hint of their having, except incidentally, any evangelistic character, and thus their unity with the same gift as described elsewhere in Acts, and in 1 Co is not really open to question. It was a symbolic gift, not a utilitarian one. It signified the unity of all peoples and languages in the Christian Church, and the insufficiency of any one human tongue to express the praises of God.

In the second lecture the real theme of Acts, namely, the expansion of the Church, is admirably dealt with, and the reticence in the earlier chapters as to its mission to the Gentiles is brought into service as a proof of the genuineness of the narrative. In Dr. Chase's own words, 'the apparent casualness of the history, its fragmentariness, its retrogressions, are a strong guarantee of the substantial truth of the record.' These characteristics are not due to any want of historical lucidity and arrangement on the part of St. Luke, as may be seen in Blass's admirable analysis (*Acta*, *Prolegg.* § 6), but to the actual sequence of the events. Something more might have been said by our author as to the threefold repetition of the narrative of St. Paul's conversion. Why does St. Luke relate it again in the apologies to the Jews and before Festus? Because both these apologies were in the highest degree important and valuable

[1] Zahn himself does not claim this view as original, but in an interesting note shows it is as old as St. Augustine (*Einleitung*, ii. p. 386).

[2] Ipse has res ad theologos relego . . . sedeant pro tribunali, vetent angelos esse: quod decretum quam coercendi vim 'habere possit, ipsi viderint. Sed quid id ad Lucam'? (Blass, *Acta*, *Prolegg.* § 4).

for practical purposes. Both of them from the circumstances must necessarily turn upon the events of St. Paul's own life. St. Luke could not omit either of them, and he would have reduced them to shreds if he had torn out the personal narrative. We cannot think that there is any occasion to suggest that the sail (ὀθόνη) in which St. Peter, in his trance, saw the living creatures brought before him, was suggested by the sight of a sail approaching from seaward. This is to mix up waking experience with the experience of a trance. It would have been enough to point out the inaccuracy of the A.V. and R.V. rendering 'sheet.' The conjecture to account for καί in Acts 11^{20} is interesting and ably argued for (p. 82 ff.). The very slight treatment of the apparent inconsistencies between Acts and Galatians (p. 91 ff.) is rather disappointing, as here is a matter in which the credibility of the narrative in Acts is at stake.

We now come to the main portion of the work, in which the author has allowed himself to deal fully with his subject, namely, the recorded speeches and addresses of St. Peter and St. Paul. Nothing can be better than the way in which *primâ facie* difficulties as to the preservation of the speeches and as to their historical character are dealt with in pp. 106–122. A point in the second address of St. Peter (Acts 3^{19-26}), which is an evidence for its genuineness, might well be added to those enumerated by the author, namely, its intense hopefulness, a feature very unlikely to appear in a composition of a later date, when Judaism had proved irreconcilable. The tone leads us to suppose that the apostles were at this moment expecting nothing less than the winning over of the whole Jewish nation to faith in Jesus, and then the Lord's return, and the restoration of the kingdom to Israel. The absence of the higher Christology, which is so marked a feature in the two addresses, is implicitly dealt with in pp. 144–159.

The fourth and by far the longest lecture deals with 'the witness of St. Paul.' This is investigated in three relations (1)—What is the relation of the Pauline to the Petrine speeches in the Acts? (2) What is the relation of the Pauline speeches to the Pauline Epistles? (3) What is the mutual relation between the Pauline speeches? With these questions in view the author examines successively the apostle's witness to Israel at Pisidian Antioch, to the heathen world at Lystra and Athens, and to believers at Miletus. The address at Antioch receives the fullest investigation, and especially in its relation to the O.T. One excellent point should be noticed, namely, the reason which suggested to St. Paul the choice of Hab 1^{5} as his concluding quotation (p. 195). It might be added that Ps 89 seems to have been in St. Paul's mind. His 'song is of the loving-kindness of the Lord.' The purpose of his historical review is to put into close connexion the former mercies to Israel, and the newest, greatest mercy of salvation through Jesus. There is the same prominence in psalm and speech of the mercies in David, and one clause (v.^{22}) is virtually quoted from Ps 89^{20}. In the closing portion of the psalm the perplexity was that God appeared to have rejected Israel. Now the perplexity is inverted, how is it that Israel has rejected God?

The examination of the speech at Athens is full of interest. Perhaps hardly enough recognition is given to the evident intention of St. Paul to word his address so as to conciliate all his hearers with the exception of the Epicureans. Though the Stoics would not acknowledge human responsibility and a Divine tribunal, such expectations were familiar to the school of Plato from whom the Stoics derived. The reminiscence of Ecclus. 28^{7} (not noticed in R.V. reff.) is perhaps worth mentioning here. The author's suggestion that the depression of St. Paul at Corinth, and the nature of his preaching there as described in the earlier chapters of 1 Co, were due to a sense of having 'gone too far in the way of meeting philosophy with philosophy' (p. 234), is a reasonable one.

Next, we have the pastoral address at Miletus. While acknowledging the value of the parallels drawn between this address and the apologetic portions of the Epistles, as contributory to the author's purpose, we are disposed to think that he exaggerates the apologetic character of the address, or rather dwells on it too exclusively. We take it that here, as also in his Epistles, the really prominent thought in St. Paul's mind is to set forward the character of his own ministry as an example (τύπος) to those who also have a ministry to fulfil (cp. 2 Ti 3^{10}). The parallel with 2 Co is well drawn out on p. 253; but the emphasis on the apostle's determination not to keep back anything, seems to imply that there had been some definite elements in his teaching which had given offence.

'Bound in the Spirit' might perhaps have been compared with a probable interpretation of 2 Co 2^{14}. Dr. Chase's rendering of τὴν ἄφιξίν μου is striking and well supported by his note (p. 263), 'after my arrival, after my long journey is over, and I have reached my true home.'

The summary of results (p. 288 ff.) deserves to be quoted in full; and it certainly claims nothing more than the careful reader will be ready to allow as actually achieved. 'The foregoing investigation of these speeches has, I trust, been thorough; I have not consciously avoided any topic which might seem to draw doubt on the position that they are ultimately the product of St. Paul's mind. But in the course of the discussion nothing has been discovered in regard either to language or thought which under the supposed circumstances would have been unnatural in St. Paul as we know him in his letters. On the positive side, while these speeches are as far as possible removed from being mere centoes of Pauline expressions, their phraseology and their ideas present frequent and delicate points of contact with the phraseology and ideas of St. Paul's Epistles. We here handle threads which we trace woven into the doctrinal and devotional fabric of the apostle's writings. We discover in these speeches conceptions in a general and elementary form to which in the Epistles a matured expression is given, and which are there found in their theological context.'

A little later, in reference to the speech at Miletus, he adds: 'In this speech and in the Epistles we discern the same religious temper and the same combination of human qualities—eagerness and tenderness, humility and self-assertion, steadfastness and awe in the face of danger' (p. 288 ff.).

We hope that enough has been said to show what an important contribution to the defence of the credibility of the book has been made, at least in respect of what has been hitherto freely assailed, namely, the speeches which it contains. The work has been done in the spirit and style of Lechler's *Apostolic and Post Apostolic-Age*, and that is to give it very high praise. We shall look forward with renewed expectation to the appearance of Dr. Chase's complete commentary on the book, in which he will no longer be limited, as in the present case, by the narrow bounds of four lectures, and the necessary confinement to a single aim in his investigations, which has here been entailed by his subject.

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

ACTS IV. 2.

'And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

THIS passage is not a mere repetition of $2^{44, 45}$: there the author described the enthusiastic liberality which prevailed amongst the primitive Christians in general; here he exhibits the same spirit at work in an organized community at Jerusalem under apostolic direction some years later. The generous enthusiasm of Barnabas, the selfish hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira, the appointment of the Seven, are presented in succession, and illustrate the working of the system.—RENDALL.

'The multitude of them that believed.'—Rather the 'community,' according to a use of the word (πλῆθος) in ancient religious associations, seen in the early inscriptions (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 232 f.).—BARTLET.

BELIEF as the act of embracing the faith is expressed here by the aorist participle; a present state of mind would be expressed by a present participle.—RENDALL.

'Were of one heart and soul.'—'In credendis et agendis: egregius character' (Bengel). So too others distinguish between the heart (καρδία), the seat of thought and intelligence, and the soul (ψυχή), the seat of the active affections and impulses. Such distinctions are, however, hard to maintain. The expression, with emphatic fulness, describes complete unanimity of thought and feeling, resulting naturally, and not as a matter of enforced rule, in their considering all believers as brothers, who could have no separate interests in heaven or on earth.—PAGE.

'Not one of them.'—Much stronger than *no one* (οὐδείς).—PAGE.

'But they had all things common.'—The text clearly describes the early believers as treating individual property as subject to the claims of all members of the community;

cf. 2^{44}. It may be remarked, however, that (1) the rule was not absolute even at first (cf. 5^{4}, and the special mention of the alms of Dorcas in 9^{36}); (2) it is nowhere mentioned except in the Church at Jerusalem.—PAGE.

THERE was no 'communistic system' in the community, but a higher thing, the reign in the individual of practical Christianity, which is the treating of all spiritual brothers as if brothers in blood as well as in spirit. Plato's dream of the perfect State in which the citizens put 'mine' and 'thine' on the same level was realized, for a season, by adequate spiritual motives.—BARTLET.

THE SERMON.

The Social Instinct.

By the Right Rev. F. Paget, D.D.

The steady discernment of our own personal existence and responsibility is required for the due unfolding of the life and powers that make us men. But it is also true that in isolation those powers and that life can never approach towards the fulfilment of their spiritual calling and destiny. Conscience, justice, sympathy, honour, pity, love—these are but a few of the words whose meaning lies in our dealings with our fellow-men. The social instinct is astir in the very act of self-consciousness. What satisfaction is offered to it in the Church of Christ? There are three spheres for the exercise of sympathy.

1. The political or national sphere. Probably no age ever offered wider range for the exercise of the social instinct in national life than ours. Every day assails us with new and wider interests, relating to the life of unnumbered thousands whom we shall never see. But as our interests thus gain in width they lose in intensity, we pass from love to friendship, from friendship to acquaintance, from acquaintance to association. And all the while our hearts are crying out for the exchange of that full and blessed sympathy 'where hearts are of each other sure.'

2. The sphere of home and friendship. We all know the relief of passing from the jar and compromise of society at large into the sphere of love, where 'what we mean we say, and what we would we know.' Most men live a double life, passing across day by day from the diffuse and shallow friendship of the world to the quiet trust of the chosen few, trying to supplement the extent of one communion by the depth of the other, and gratifying the social instinct with the combined enjoyment of public life and private love. So Browning (v. 320)—

> God be thanked, the meanest of His creatures
> Boasts two soul-sides, one to face the world with,
> One to show a woman when he loves her.

3. But is this all? Is this the ideal of human brotherhood? We know its dangers — mutual admiration, scorn for the uninitiated, friendship a slightly expanded egotism. Is there any way of uniting the breadth of the human sympathy with the depth of family love? The Church answers: *I believe in the Communion of Saints.* 'The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul.' To enter into that enjoyment we are filled with the life of Him who died for all.

Individualism and Socialism.

By the Rev. J. H. Acheson, M.A.

In Christ there is revealed true individualism and true socialism side by side. 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own life?'—that is the true principle of individualism. 'Whosoever would save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for My sake shall save it,'—that is the true principle of socialism.

In our text there is no abolition of the rights of property, but by the spontaneous action of its owners the property is made subservient to the law of love. The goods belonged to them, but they did not speak of them or deal with them as their own.

In the Church of Christ the solemn responsibility and the joyous freedom of each separate life has been recognized more and more. Slavery has been abolished in Christendom. But side by side with this has been growing also a tender consideration for the welfare of the whole community. It is seen in the activities of Christian philanthropy, the creation of public opinion, and a moral atmosphere which secures wholesome legislation.

Let these two principles be kept together in a healthy action and reaction one upon another.

The Duty of Self-Communication.

By the late Right Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.C.L.

Is the selfish accumulation of knowledge one whit more honourable than the selfish accumula-

tion of money? Self-accumulation is an act of self-preservation. 'No man liveth to himself' is both a statement of fact and a precept of obligation.

1. A statement of Fact. Each of us is an appreciable factor in the history of humanity. A reckless word, a careless gesture, sets in motion pulsations which vibrate to the boundary of the universe. Sin may be repented of, forgiven, even forgotten, but not undone. We carry about with us a certain moral atmosphere which is made up of frequent unobtrusive thoughts, successive trivial acts.

2. A precept of Obligation. If you have wronged, will you not make amends? Not to God—there no amend is possible. But to man. Open the floodgates of your sympathy; give freely as you have freely received; pour out the treasures of your intellect and of your heart. This giving is twice blessed.

Illustrations.

There are great attractive forces in creation—the attraction of gravitation, of cohesion, of chemical affinity, of electricity, and capillary attractions; but the mightiest attractive force and centre is 'the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,' and the superlative uniting power is vital Christianity. —J. O. Keen.

The beauty of early Christian life has never, perhaps, been more touchingly brought home to the modern mind than in Count Tolstoi's powerful story, *Work while it is called To-day*. But in one respect that great artist has done scant justice to the lesson which the life of the primitive Church has still to teach us. It was not merely (as he appears to suggest) by the wide diffusion of an enthusiastic spirit of brotherhood, not merely by a sort of extension to a wider society of the instructive communism of the home, that the Christian Church did so much to expel from its midst alike the material and moral evils of extreme inequalities of wealth. Without this enthusiasm of self-sacrifice, mere machinery would, of course, have availed nought: but still we must not forget that it was by deliberate organization, and vigorous discipline, and statesmanlike administration, that the Christian Church succeeded to so large an extent in exorcising the twin demons of squalid poverty and selfish luxury.—Hastings Rashdall.

To love one's neighbour in the Christian sense is to love what is best and highest in him, to promote the best and noblest life for him, so far as it is consistent with the equal claims of every other neighbour, to a share in the best and noblest that life affords.—Hastings Rashdall.

The great work which lies before the Church of our day is to revive among Christians, not what I believe to be the completely imaginary and unhistorical communism sometimes attributed to the infant Church of Jerusalem, but some approach to that relative community of goods which enabled the early apologists, all through the first age of the Church, to boast that Christians still, in a real sense, had all things common.—Hastings Rashdall.

Those who have learnt to realize the spirit of the early followers of Francis of Assisi, both such as remained at their early avocations but lived 'in great charity,' and such as sold all and became regular 'Brothers Minor,' will have but little difficulty in conceiving the situation.—J. Vernon Bartlet.

The heinousness of Dives' sin in the parable consisted in this, that Lazarus lay at his very gates; that as he went in and out he could not choose but see him; and that thus the want, and the duty of relieving the want, were pressed upon his notice. Is it not so with you? The neediest are the nearest. You go in and out among them.—J. B. Lightfoot.

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The Disuse of the Marcan Source in St. Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14.

By the Rev. Canon Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., M.A., Oxford.

Rather more than three-fourths of St. Matthew's Gospel, viz. 816 verses out of 1068, and rather more than two-thirds of St. Luke's Gospel, viz. 798 verses out of 1149, may be taken as generally supporting the now prevailing opinion that the compilers of those two Gospels used the Gospel of St. Mark—pretty nearly, if not quite, as we have it—not only as one of their most important sources, but as a framework. It is true that even in these major portions of their works they make many

additions to the Marcan narrative in the way of introductions, conclusions, and both long and short insertions. They also make a few omissions from it, and St. Luke makes an occasional substitution of more or less parallel matter. But they do not desert its arrangement and order, with the exception of some brief transpositions which occur chiefly in Luke 22–23, and which I hope to collect and notice on another occasion.

That general statement, however, does not apply to what forms nearly a quarter of the First Gospel, viz. Mt 8–13, containing 252 verses, nor to what forms nearly one-third of the Third Gospel, viz. Lk 9^{51}–18^{14}, containing 351 verses. Of neither of those two large departments of the Gospels bearing the names of Matthew and Luke can it be said that much account is there taken of the Marcan arrangement and order.

But though in that respect those two lengthy sections may be classed together, there is also an essential difference between them. On the one hand, it can hardly be doubted that in Mt 8–13 the compiler had our Mark, or its general equivalent, before him, for there at least 108 verses, being more than two-fifths of the 252, are substantially parallel to Mark, and as a rule it is the latter which exhibits the chief signs of originality. In those chapters of Matthew, therefore, as the pages of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES have lately shown (see Rev. W. C. Allen in vol. xi. p. 279 ff.; and as to chaps. 8–9, the present writer in vols. xii. p. 471 ff., and xiii. p. 20 ff.), the chief aim of students of the Synoptic Problem is to discover the reasons which induced Matthew (meaning the compiler of the First Gospel) here, and here only, to break up his Marcan source, and to rearrange it among other materials, instead of merely inserting those materials into it as it stood. On the other hand, when we begin to examine Lk 9^{51}–18^{14} in connexion with its parallels, the question soon arises whether the Marcan source is used there at all; and it is the chief object of this article to show that the answer to that question must almost certainly be in the negative. For out of the 351 verses there are but 35—or about one-tenth—which contain any parallels to Mark either in substance or in phraseology. And it will also be found that, with the exceptions of a few brief phrases, which shall be carefully noticed and scrupulously weighed as we proceed, the whole of the Lucan matter in these 35 verses, or parts of verses, which is parallel to Mark is also parallel to the First Gospel, between which and the Third Gospel there was undoubtedly some communion of sources. Is it not, then, very unlikely that Luke made such very slight use here of the Marcan source which he elsewhere uses so abundantly? Is it not more reasonable to suppose that, for whatever reason, he made no use of it at all, so that these 351 verses—including even the 35—were drawn up in complete independence of it, except, of course, so far as echoes of its doubtless familiar phraseology may have lingered in the memory?

Before entering upon the arguments for this view which this 'great interpolation' of Luke's—as it has well been termed from its relation to the Marcan order—itself supplies, it will be worth while to observe the analogy of that one of the insertions in the previous part of the Gospel which is so much longer and so much more varied in its contents than the others, that it has sometimes been distinguished from them by being called Luke's 'lesser interpolation.' Certainly that analogy, so far as it goes, gives support to the hypothesis that Luke in his great interpolation wrote quite independently of Mark. For there is very strong evidence that he did so in his lesser interpolation. That section of the Gospel extends from chap. 6^{20} to 8^{3} (it seems to be sometimes taken as commencing at 6^{12}, but surely vv.$^{12\text{-}19}$ are to be taken as parallel to Mk $3^{7\text{-}19}$, although there is an inversion of order for the purpose of providing an introduction to Luke's Sermon on the Plain), and thus contains 83 verses. Now in the whole of it there is nothing at all, either in words or substance, which is also found in Mark without Matthew, and only three short passages in which there is anything parallel to both Mark and Matthew. And as to two of these passages, we find that the 'setting' is completely different in Luke and Matthew from what it is in Mark. (1) The first of them is a very interesting and instructive case. We find that the five words, ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν, are identical in Mk 4^{24}, Mt 7^{2}, Lk 6^{38}, except that Luke, with his customary preference for verbs compounded with prepositions, has ἀντιμετρηθήσεται. But then we further find as to the contexts of those words and the purposes for which they are introduced, that while, like the words themselves, these are identical in Matthew and Luke, they are com-

pletely different in Mark. It seems then that, either in one of those two connexions or the other, the words can only be what I have above called an echo of familiar phraseology lingering in the memory, and applied to a matter to which it did not originally belong. And here, as sometimes elsewhere in reports of *discourse*, it is the Marcan connexion that gives the impression of being the less original; which happens to be the case also with the three other words, καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν, which Mark subjoins to the five words just quoted, but which have a more suitable environment and a clearer meaning in Mt 6^{33} and Lk 12^{31}. (2) The second passage is the quotation from Mal 3^{1} ἰδοὺ (Mt and Mk ἐγὼ) ἀποστέλλω, κ.τ.λ., which is recorded in Mt 11^{10}, Lk 7^{27} as spoken by Jesus after the message from John in prison, but which Mark (1^{2}) uses as an introduction to his account of the Baptist's preaching in the wilderness. And it is remarkable that the verb κατασκευάσει is used by all three writers, instead of the ἐπιβλέψεται of the LXX. (3) The third case of parallelism between all three Synoptists is of a different kind, for here Matthew and Mark agree generally against Luke. It consists in the use of a few words, of which ἀλάβαστρον μύρου and the name Σίμων are the only distinctive and important ones, both in Luke's account of the anointing by the sinful woman in the house of the Pharisee ($7^{36ff.}$), and in Matthew's and Mark's accounts of the anointing by Mary at Bethany (Mt $26^{6ff.}$, Mk $14^{3ff.}$). But these resemblances between the two narratives are so very largely outweighed by the differences between them as to the time and place of the action and the teaching founded upon it, as to make it clear that any influence of the one upon the other can only have been very indirect. It may safely be concluded then, from an examination of these three passages, that though the first and second of them may prove, and apparently do prove, some real community of sources between Luke and Matthew, there are no signs of any such community between Luke and Mark in the 83 verses extending from Lk 6^{20} to 8^{3}.

It may be taken then as morally certain that in Luke's previous and shorter interpolation into the Marcan order he laid aside entirely his usual Marcan source. And if so, we shall be to some extent predisposed to find the same independence of Mark in the later and much longer interpolation made by the same evangelist. But here the circumstances of the case are considerably more complicated. For in Lk 9^{51}–18^{14} there are, as has been said, no less than 35 verses or parts of verses which show more or less likeness to our Second Gospel, and which therefore might conceivably be derived from it; and it has been admitted that these verses contain a few words and short phrases found in Mark and Luke exclusively, which was not once the case in the lesser interpolation. But, nevertheless, I think it can be shown, by a close and careful examination of these verses, that the evidence which they supply is very decidedly against any derivation from Mark. Since making such an examination for myself, I have noticed that the Rev. F. H. Woods, in *Studia Biblica*, ii. pp. 75–78, has made some similar observations in support of the same conclusion; but as my investigation of the passages has been more minute and detailed than his could be in his general and comprehensive essay, I think it may be of some use even to students of the subject who are well acquainted with that extremely valuable contribution to the literature of the Synoptic Problem.

The 35 verses or parts of verses in question may be most conveniently considered in three classes:—I. Doublets (occupying 13 verses or parts of verses). II. Brief sayings of a similar kind to those found as doublets (9 verses). III. Three important passages of other kinds (13 verses).

I.

Doublets are almost always of primary importance in the investigation of sources. And the fact that nine of Luke's ten or eleven doublets[1] have one of their members in this division of his Gospel, though it is less than one-third of the length of the whole Gospel, is perhaps in itself somewhat significant: it seems to suggest that Luke was here for some reason adopting a different procedure as to the use of sources from that which he adopted elsewhere. One of these nine, indeed, has both its members (Lk 14^{11} 18^{14}) in this same division, so it has no bearing upon our present inquiry.

[1] I have displayed and discussed the ten in *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 81 ff.; and perhaps Lk 9^{46} with 22^{24}—though not, like the rest, a saying—may be added as an eleventh. But, like one of the ten, viz. Lk 8^{18} with 19^{26}, it has neither of its members in the great interpolation.

The remaining *eight Lucan doublets* are as follows:—

No. 1	Lk $10^{4.5.7.10.11}$	form doublets with the following passages respectively,	Lk $9^{3.4.5}$	which passages are respectively parallel in position to	Mk 6^{6-11}
No. 2	,, 11^{33}		,, 8^{16}		,, 4^{21}
No. 3	,, 11^{43}		,, 20^{46}		,, $12^{38.39}$
No. 4	,, 12^{2}		,, 8^{17}		,, 4^{22}
No. 5	,, 12^{9}		,, 9^{26}		,, 8^{38}
No. 6	,, $12^{11.12}$		,, $21^{14.15}$		,, 13^{11}
No. 7	,, 14^{27}		,, 9^{23}		,, 8^{34}
No. 8	,, 17^{33}		,, 9^{24}		,, 8^{35}

No. 1 has been entered because it is technically a doublet, but I should not attach very much weight to it as evidence for a plurality of sources. For the two occasions referred to are so similar in nature, and the earlier of them had been put into writing so shortly before the latter (if the parts of the Gospel which include chaps. 9^{1-5} and 10^{1-11} were composed at the same time, which we shall afterwards see to be by no means certain), that Luke might easily reproduce in chap. 10 forms of expression which he remembered from having transcribed them in chap. 9. How closely connected these two discourses were in his mind seems to come out in chap. 22^{35}, where the words *βαλλάντιον* and *ὑποδήματα* are referred to as belonging to the charge to the Twelve, whereas he had only recorded them as addressed to the Seventy.

Bearing in mind this qualification as to one of the eight doublets, let us try to estimate their evidence, and the amount of weight that should be attached to it. Now doublets *prima facie* suggest the use of two sources, and they do so with a force which increases largely with their frequency; for it is very unlikely that a compiler—especially one who laid claim to accuracy and orderliness (*ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς γράψαι*, Lk 1^{3})—would repeatedly let himself use twice over materials derived from a single source, though he might inadvertently do so once in a way. He would be much more likely to draw similar materials, or in the case of short sayings admitting of different applications it might even be identical materials, from two distinct authorities. So the obvious inference from the occurrence of so many doublets in this department of Luke's Gospel is that he was using at least two sources. And from the uniformity with which that member of the doublets which does not occur in the great interpolation agrees in position with a similar passage in Mark there result the two further probabilities as to one of these sources—(*a*) that it corresponded closely with our Second Gospel, and (*b*) that it was not made use of by Luke in this division of his Gospel. And these probabilities are confirmed and strengthened by the two following observations upon the doublets:—

(i.) In five out of the eight cases, viz. in Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, the member of the Lucan doublet which corresponds to Mark in position is also considerably more similar to Mark in wording than is the member of it which occurs in the interpolation. The same is the case in the more complicated but (as has been pointed out) less certainly significant No. 1. In No. 2 the Marcan passage has about an equal resemblance to the two Lucan passages, the agreement as to *κλίνη* in one case being balanced by that as to *μόδιος* in the other. As to No. 6—which next to No. 1 has the weakest claim to rank as a doublet—the preponderance of agreement is undoubtedly on the other side; but, after making full allowance for that one case, there is on the whole a very large balance of evidence in favour of connecting with Mark, on the ground of language as well as on the ground of order and position, that half of the eight Lucan doublets which occurs elsewhere than in Lk 9^{51}–18^{14}.

(ii.) It is further to be observed that in the 13 verses or parts of verses which have come under our consideration as forming these members of doublets, there is hardly anything which belongs to Mark and Luke without having a parallel in Matthew, and which therefore suggests a Marcan source. I can find only two items of this kind. (*a*) There is a slight difference which nearly all MSS keep up in No. 1, where Luke in 10^{7} (and so in 9^{4} except in ℵ) has *μένετε* as in Mk 6^{10}, whereas in Mt 10^{11} we find *μείνατε*. (*b*) And in No. 6 the *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* of Mark 13^{11} and the *το ἅγιον πνεῦμα* of Luke 12^{12} agree against the *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν* of Mt 10^{20}. But such a reference to God as the 'Father of' men is a predominantly and almost exclusively Matthæan habitude (Matthew 20 times, Mark 1, Luke 3). And the coincidence of Mark and Luke in the employment of the usual epithet of the Divine Spirit (it occurs 3 times elsewhere in Mark and 12 times elsewhere in Luke, besides 41 times in Acts, and it had doubtless grown to be a familiar religious expression since its use in Ps 50 (51)[13] and Is $63^{10.11}$ LXX as the adjectival rendering of the Hebrew genitives קָדְשְׁךָ and קָדְשׁוֹ) cannot count for much as an indication of a direct Marcan origin of Lk $12^{11.12}$. Those verses may be ascribed with far greater confidence to the collection of

discourses which Matthew and Luke so often use in common.

II.

Our examination of these doublets, all of which have occurred in sayings of Jesus, seems to show that the members of each of them which are found in Lk 9^{51}–18^{14} came to Luke quite independently of the Marcan source. In whatever degree that view is accepted as probable, it will lend probability to the further supposition that the same account is to be given of *certain other sayings of a like brief kind*, which also are found in this division of Luke, and which also are there placed in a totally different position from that which is assigned to them in Mark, but which do not happen to have such parallels in other parts of Luke as would qualify them to be classed as doublets.

There are nine such sayings, each of them occupying a single verse—

No. 1	Lk 12^{1}	are re-	Mk 8^{15}	which	Mt 16^{6}
No. 2	,, 12^{10}	spectively	,, $3^{28.\ 29}$	respect-	,, $12^{31.\ 32}$
No. 3	,, 13^{30}	placed	,, 10^{31}	ively are	,, 19^{30}
No. 4	,, 14^{34}	quite	,, 9^{50}	exactly	,,
No. 5	,, 16^{18}	differently	,, 10^{11}	parallel	,, 19^{9}
No. 6	,, 17^{2}	from the	,, 9^{42}	in position	,, 18^{6}
No. 7	,, 17^{6}	similar	,, 11^{23}	to the very	,, 21^{21}
No. 8	,, 17^{23}	sayings	,, 13^{21}	similar	,, 24^{23}
No. 9	,, 17^{31}	in	,, $13^{15.\ 16}$	sayings in	,, $24^{17.\ 18}$

In No. 4 the last column had to be left empty; for, although this saying is also given by Matthew (v.^{13}), he places it in a third—and seemingly the best—connexion. Between that connexion and Luke's it may be possible to trace some amount of parallelism, since the duties entailed by Christian discipleship were the general subject on both occasions; but Mark's setting is totally different, the saying being attached by him to the mysterious πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται in a discourse which had taken an eschatological turn.

The above list of passages, like the previous list of doublets, gives a *prima facie* impression of Luke's independence of Mark, which an examination of the verses in detail confirms and strengthens in two respects—

(i.) We find here, again, that the verbal similarities are in a large majority of cases greater between the Marcan and Matthæan than between the Marcan and Lucan versions of the sayings. This preponderance is very decided in Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7; it also exists, though to a smaller extent, in Nos. 2, 8, 9. In the remaining two cases, Nos. 4 and 6, something considerable will have to be said on the other side; but in No. 6 the exclusively Marco-Lucan correspondences which will presently be noticed are balanced, if they are not outbalanced, by the exclusively Marco-Matthæan correspondences τῶν πιστευόντων and ὀνικός (a word found nowhere else); so that No. 4, the only entry which does not show the sayings in Mark and Matthew as parallel to one another in position, is the only one which shows them as less like to one another in phraseology than the sayings in Mark and Luke.

(ii.) It happens that the two verses of Matthew referred to as parallels in Nos. 5 and 7 are members of doublets in Matthew. And an examination of these Matthæan doublets lends support—in the first case very strong support—to the view that there had been some community of sources between Luke and Matthew, but none between Luke and Mark. (*a*) In No 5 the passage named as both parallel and very similar to Mk 10^{11} is Mt 19^{9}, which forms a doublet with Mt 5^{32}. Now the verse which immediately precedes Lk 16^{18} enforces the permanence of the law in words closely corresponding (note especially κερέα) with the like enforcement near the commencement (Mt 5^{18}) of the section of the Sermon on the Mount which contains Mt 5^{32}. This fact very strongly suggests that Mt 5^{32} and Lk 16^{18} have the same (presumably Logian) origin, while Mt 19^{9} came separately from the other (presumably Petrine) source which lies before in Mark. And this is only one of several Matthæan doublets as to which the same two distinct lines of descent can be traced with very considerable probability. (*b*) The case connected with our No. 7 is not one of the strongest of these, but it deserves mention. The words of Matthew (21^{21}) there entered as parallel with Mk 11^{23} form a doublet with Mt 17^{20}; and the occurrence of ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως in Mt 17^{20} and Lk 17^{6} exclusively cannot but suggest here again a common origin for these two passages, while Mt 21^{21} and Mk 11^{33} seem to be accounted for by the Marcan source. But Luke's substitution of the 'sycamine tree' (cf. οὐ μόνον τὸ τῆς συκῆς, Mt 21^{21}) for the 'mountain' which forms the illustration in the other three passages, makes the inference less clear and certain than in the case of No. 5.

We have now to notice in these nine verses the verbal coincidences between Mark and Luke only which can be quoted against the latter's complete

disuse of the former as a source. Three of them are of real importance. In No. 4 it may be called practically impossible that Mark (9^{50}) and Luke (14^{34}) can accidentally and independently both (*a*) have prefaced the saying with καλὸν (Luke καλὸν οὖν) τὸ ἅλας, and also (*β*) have introduced into it the verb ἀρτύειν, which only occurs once besides in the New Testament (Col 4^{6} ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος). And (*γ*) though it is not so near to being impossible, it is very highly improbable, that in No. 6 the use of περικεῖται in Mk 9^{42}, Lk 17^{2} against κρεμασθῇ in Mt 18^{6} was a mere accidental coincidence.

The four other verbal coincidences which follow seem to me to be 'negligible quantities,' as being such expressions as writers, using the freedom which generally characterizes the Synoptists, might be expected to introduce anywhere. But it may be well to add them, if only to show that they have not been forgotten. (*δ*) It is true that in No. 2 Mark and Luke have εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα as against Matthew's κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος (Mk 3^{29}, Lk 12^{10}, Mt 12^{32}); but the significance of that coincidence almost or quite disappears when we remember (*a*) that κατά in the sense of against is a favourite usage with Matthew, being employed by him 14 times against 6 times in Mark and 3 times in Luke; and (*b*) that Matthew alone of the three had not been using the verb βλασφημεῖν, which carries after it the preposition εἰς in Dan 3^{26} (^{29}) LXX, and in Bel ^{9} Theod., as well as in Mark and Luke here, but which is never followed by κατά either in the Greek O.T. or N.T. (*ε*) In No. 6, again, we have (besides the really important περικεῖται already noted) the change of preposition from Mark's and Luke's εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν to Matthew's ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης; but that is merely the result of the requirements of the three different verbs that had been used (Mk βέβληται, Lk ἔῤῥιπται, Mt καταποντισθῇ). And similarly πελάγει is a rhetorical amplification suitable to the forcible καταποντισθῇ. (*ζ*) In No. 8, again, there is a trifling, and doubtless a fortuitous, agreement between Mark and Luke only, in that Mark has ὧδε followed by ἐκεῖ (13^{21}) and Luke has ἐκεῖ followed by ὧδε (17^{23}), whereas Matthew has ὧδε both times (24^{23}; cf. Ex. 2^{12} LXX). (*η*) Once more, in No. 9 Mark and Luke, unlike Matthew, insert εἰς τά before ὀπίσω. But in doing so they were only adopting a fairly common usage which is employed again by Luke himself in 9^{62}, and which is found also in Jn 6^{66} 18^{6} 20^{14}, and at least 15 times in LXX, exclusive of 5 places in which the reading is doubtful.

In examining then (13+9=) 22 of the 35 verses in which the three evangelists have any common subject-matter (there being none in which Mark and Luke stand alone), we have found only three really uncommon and outstanding expressions in which Mark and Luke agree against Matthew; and two more will have to be added to them from the remaining 13 verses.

(*To be continued.*)

Recent Foreign Theology.

A Nestorian Commentary on the Old Testament.[1]

Dr. Diettrich has struck a good vein and is working it well. It was a pleasure to notice his former contribution to the Beihefte of the *Z.A.T.W.*,[2] and the monograph which he now adds to the same series is equally worthy of welcome.

Isho'dadh of Merv was the most learned Nestorian bishop of his day. He occupied the see of Ḥĕdathâ on the Tigris. Scarcely anything is known about his life beyond the fact that in the year 852 he missed the great post of Catholicus for which he had been recommended to the Caliph, as a greater scholar, Jerome, failed to obtain the greater post of bishop of Rome. In a famous catalogue of Syrian writers it is stated that he wrote an exposition of the New Testament and of the Bêth Mauthbê, the latter being that division of the Old Testament which includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, Sirach, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ruth, and Job. But the writer of the catalogue did not know everything. Diettrich has here

[1] *Iśō'dâdh's Stellung in der Auslegungsgeschichte des Alten Testamentes an seinen Commentaren zu Hosea, Joel, Jona, Sacharja 9–14 u. einigen angehängten Psalmen.* Veranschaulicht von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

[2] The Expository Times, vol. xii. p. 544.

shown that the bishop commented on the entire Old Testament with the exception of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.

In studying the recently acquired British Museum MS., Or. 4524, and comparing it with the Jerusalem MS., Κοικυλιδης, No. 10,[1] the German scholar noticed that Theodore of Mopsuestia was frequently quoted. This led to the further discovery that much lost material belonging to Theodore, the exegete *par excellence*, 'the blessed exegete,' of the Nestorians, could be recovered from these commentaries. Nor is this all. A list is given of twelve authors quoted by the bishop about whom nothing had been known previously except that their names appear in ʿAbd-isho's catalogue.

Diettrich summarizes the results of his study under four heads. He has proved—(1) that the hitherto accepted idea of the Peshiṭta being the only version used by the Nestorians is erroneous; (2) that when 'the Greek' is cited that term covers the Syro-Lucian of an unknown translator as well as the Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tellâ; (3) that our bishop took up the attempt at a reformed exegesis which had been begun by Ḥanânâ of Ḥĕdhayâbh; (4) that, at anyrate in the Book of the Twelve Prophets, Ishoʿdadh served as the model for the greatest Monophysite expositors of the Middle Ages.

He was especially qualified to be the bridge connecting the Nestorians and the Monophysites, because he refused to be bound down by the rigid rules of exegesis under which his own Church was enslaved. A synod of the year 596 anathematized all who depart from the expositions, traditions, and teachings of the blessed Theodore in favour of new and strange traditions. Hence we must not ascribe it to timidity, but must account it to him for righteousness, that he places the views of others side by side with those of the Master who was thus being made into a tyrant. When he enumerates three leading opinions as to the interpretation of Solomon's Song, those of Theodore, Chrysostom, and the Jews, we could have wished to hear his verdict on them, but, under the circumstances, must be quite content that he fairly set them forth. In some places he definitely abandons the grammatico-historical method of the Antiochene school in favour of the historical. On Hosea 3^2 he mentions the fact that some explained the 15 denarii by the 15th Nisan, when Israel came out of Egypt. On Zec 11^7 he writes: 'The two staves are those which Christ took, and with which He shepherded the people, the preaching of the Gospel, and that of the Law.' He explains the fountain of Joel 3^{18} of the priestly atonement and instruction. It would not be at all surprising if Diettrich turns out to be correct in his conjecture that a suspicion of orthodoxy attached to the scholar-bishop and led to the attempt to delete his name from our British Museum MS. and to the tearing out from it of two leaves containing what might be thought heterodox statements.

There is a certain amount of inconvenience attached to the method of large quotation. An appearance of inconsistency may easily arise. On p. 56 Ishoʿdadh asserts that the Ninevites repented at the mere preaching of Jonah, unsupported by any miraculous sign; on p. 66 he avers that they did not accept this stranger's mere word; signs appeared to confirm it, whirlwind, earthquake, thunder and lightning. The habit of quotation is not favourable to the critical faculty. Ishoʿdadh mentions, without a word of objection, the notions of those who held that many books of the Hebrew Bible were turned into Syriac during Solomon's reign at the request of Hiram of Tyre! He accepts Chysostom's belief that the Book of Job was written by Moses in the forty years' wilderness life. Why had he not the wit to adhere on this point to 'the blessed exegete,' who thought that the fame and story of Job were universally known, and that an unknown Hebrew put it into poetical form after the return from the Exile? Of course we are not surprised to find the bishop amongst the party who bitterly hated the memory of Origen. But it is as painful to find that splendid scholar and thinker stigmatized as 'the ungodly man' (ܓܒܪܐ ܚܝܒܐ), as it is amusing to see him pilloried in the midst of 'the poets and mathematicians.'

This is not the place to characterize or illustrate that great school of interpretation whose writings were the quarry from which the Nestorian bishop got most of his material. Yet it is necessary to say that an excellent idea of the qualities and the defects of that school may be obtained from the work before us. Its common-sense way of looking at all subjects, its constant invocation of grammar and history, its aptness to dwell too much on the

[1] Koikulides dated this as belonging to the thirteenth century. Or. 4524 comes from the seventeenth or eighteenth. The text is in a fairly good state, better in the older than in the younger MS.

mere letter of the record, are admirably illustrated in these pages. There is not much poetic feeling in the comments on Joel 3^{18}, 'For when there is much rain the mountains sprout forth and there is much honey.' But there is genuine insight in the frequently repeated assertion that such and such Old Testament passages are used by the apostles, 'not that they were spoken concerning our Lord, but because of the similarity of the circumstances.'

Two or three matters of detail merit attention. Comparing Isho'dadh's quotations from the Pesh. with Lee's text, Diettrich notes eight substantial variations. Might not the number be reduced to seven, 'good gold' meaning the same thing as 'gold of Ophir'? The bishop concludes his exposition of Jonah with the declaration that 'Jonah amongst the Ninevites merely (ܒܡܬܠ) sets forth an allegory of what should afterwards come to pass.' The editor inquires in a footnote whether this 'merely' is to be taken in its strict sense, as excluding the historicity of the story. One is inclined to reply in the negative: the reason given for the assertion itself seems to imply that the book contains both history and allegory. On p. 52 'Pearsons' (twice) is a misprint for 'Parsons.' It remains only to add that the arrangement of this Beihefte is the same as in the one previously reviewed, an ample introduction, followed by the Syriac text and the German translation on opposite pages.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

The Ethics of Melanchthon and his School.[1]

DR. HOENNICKE has no difficulty in proving that comparatively little attention has been given to the ethical teaching of the Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In histories of Christian ethics the subject is treated briefly, and in handbooks of theology it has necessarily a subordinate position. But theologians in their discussions of such themes as *pœnitentia* and *sanctificatio* often cross the boundary-line which separates dogmatics from ethics; therefore the first part of this work is devoted to a careful inquiry into the teaching of Melanchthon, Johann Gerhard, and Quenstedt on the two great doctrines which lie at the foundation of morality, repentance, and holiness. The inquiry is limited to the writings of these three, because they are the foremost theologians of their time. Melanchthon gave philosophic expression to the new conceptions of Luther; Johann Gerhard, in his comprehensive work, *Loci Theologici* (1610), ably defends evangelical doctrine against Roman Catholicism and Socinianism; in Quenstedt's writings, dogmatic theology reaches the high-water mark.

Much instruction may be gained from Dr. Hoennicke's researches by all who desire to understand the nature and the extent of the modifications of Luther's teaching, which were introduced by these great theologians. Of especial interest are the comparisons of their statements on such subjects as the relation of the *lex naturæ* to the *lex Mosis* and to the *lex Christi*, the difference between justification and sanctification, the restoration of the Divine image in man, the ethical motive. Throughout, the author's aim is to show the moral value of each exposition of Christian doctrine. He has furnished an admirable illustration of Melanchthon's words, which are his chosen motto: 'Ego mihi conscius sum, me non aliam ob causam unquam τεθεολογηκέναι nisi ut vitam emendarem.'

The effects of Lutheran orthodoxy upon religious sentiment in the seventeenth century are exemplified in an Appendix, which consists of quotations from a book published by Pfarrer Guenther in 1687. Two specimens may be given:—

Fidem comitantur bona opera:
Sancta fidem virtus comitatur corpus ut umbra,
Nam si vera fides sit, bona multa facit.

Vive Deo tum vive bonis patriæque tuisque
Hoc si vis recte vivere, vive modo.

J. G. TASKER.

Handsworth College.

Problems in the Life of Jesus.[2]

AN expansion of a lecture by a brother of Professor Schmiedel of Zürich addressed to an audience consisting of 'doctors, lawyers, shopkeepers, artists, scientists, officers, schoolmasters,

[1] *Studien zur altprotestantischen Ethik.* Von Gustav Hoennicke, Dr. Phil. Pp. viii, 152. M.3.60. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn.

[2] *Die Hauptprobleme der Leben Jesu Forschung.* Von Otto Schmiedel, Professor am Gymnasium zu Eisenach. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. Price 1s. 3d. net.

theologians, and servants of the Government.' It is not intended for theological scholars, but for learners, and especially for non-theological circles. The purpose is to sketch and examine the present state of the question, and sum up briefly the results at which the writer has himself arrived. He claims to be a builder rather than a destroyer. After a short survey of the history of the subject, from Reimarus to Keim, and a paragraph on the complicated nature of the present situation, the denial by a few scholars of the existence of Jesus, and the genuineness of the principal Pauline Epistles, are considered and rejected. Herr Schmiedel accepts both without reserve. He then deals with the sources, the four Gospels. The Fourth Gospel is considered first in a way which cannot be pronounced satisfactory. The figure of Christ which it presents is strangely said 'to lack every human feature.' Its narratives are treated allegorically in a manner worthy of Philo or Origen. The story of the first miracle, for example, is said to show how the old watery teaching of Judaism is to be replaced by the fiery wine of the gospel. The Samaritan woman represents Samaria, her five husbands are five idols which the Samaritans had worshipped in previous ages, her present husband, who is not her husband, stands for Jehovah, to whom she was often unfaithful. Nathanael, who at first speaks contemptuously of Jesus and then becomes His most zealous adherent, is 'distinctly' Paul. The Gospel was written perhaps between 130 and 140. 'This (the chronology and perhaps the rest of the section also) is said to be the unanimous view of all inquirers into the life of Jesus of the present day.' Surely the writer is aware that the foremost scholars put the Gospel considerably earlier. Jülicher suggests soon after 100; and Harnack fixes the *terminus ad quem* at 110 and the *terminus a quo* at 80. The statement as it stands is misleading. The discussion of the synoptic problem which follows is clear and instructive. The writer's own views are as follows:—

> Logia and Urmarkus before 70.
> Ebionitic source about or after 70.
> Mark, as we have it, 80.
> Matthew 90, with later additions down to 120.
> Luke 100.

The next chapter inquires into the historical value of the oldest sources, the Urmarkus and the Logia. It is decided that they are in the main reliable, but that many details—notes of time and place, exact form, and sometimes connexion—are uncertain. And then there is the question of miracles. The miracles of healing are considered possible. Hypnotic suggestion is referred to by way of illustration. 'I have seen with my own eyes how Professor Bälz healed in the university hospital of Tokio a Japanese woman who had been blind and lame for five years, by simply speaking to her.' This, however, was a case of hysteria, not of organic lameness and blindness. The nature-miracles are pronounced inconceivable. The narratives about them can only be regarded as metamorphosed parables, symbols, allegories. On the treatment of miracles in the pulpit some curious remarks are made. 'They must neither be presumed on nor denied. I myself, for instance, have preached in Japan with especial predilection on the accounts of miracles in the Gospel of John on account of their extraordinary delicacy and suggestiveness.' And yet we read in the very next sentence that 'the student of history is acquainted with no miracle, but only with the natural connexion of things.'

The remaining chapters deal with the way in which a solid basis can be obtained for the life of Jesus, a summary of the most recent literature on the subject, and the writer's own idea, which he claims to be most nearly related to the views of Keim, H. J. Holtzmann, Brandt, Wellhausen, and Harnack. The chapter opens with the assumption that Jesus was literally the son of Joseph. As to the resurrection, the writer declines to commit himself, although his opinion may be inferred. 'However it was (whether the phænomena reported were visions or objective realities), it is certain that the disciples were sure of this: "The Lord lives, He is risen." This was the starting-point of the original Christian movement and the centre of Pauline teaching.'

There is much in the pamphlet which provokes dissent, and it can hardly be recommended as giving an impartial résumé of the subject suitable for those previously unacquainted with it, but students may find it helpful, and its closing words are striking and noble. 'The person of Jesus is so great and towers so high above the ordinary human measure, that no age and no conception is comprehensive enough to exhaust its whole significance for the history of the world.'

Sevenoaks. W. Taylor Smith.

Loofs' 'Symbolik.'[1]

Much has been done in the department of Symbolics since the publication of our old favourite, the *Symbolik* of Oehler, and Schaff's magnificent work on *The Creeds of Christendom*. The work before us forms one of the admirable series now being issued in Germany under the title of 'Grundriss der theol. Wissenschaften.' The high standard aimed at and reached by the series may be estimated when we mention that it includes such works as Benzinger's *Heb. Archäologie*, Buhl's *Geog. des alten Palästina*, Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, Cornill's *Alttest. Einleitung*, etc. etc. The editors, it will be universally agreed, have done well to intrust the subject of Symbolics to Professor Loofs, whose name is as well known and as highly honoured outside Germany as in his fatherland.

As the Preface indicates, it has been no easy task that has been assigned to our author, and again and again he has delayed the issue of his work on account of the need of subjecting his conclusions to fresh examination in the light of the constantly increasing literature on the subjects handled. Those who have even the smallest acquaintance with the labours of Kattenbusch and Harnack on the so-called Apostles' Creed, not to speak of a variety of other investigations bearing on that and other symbols, will readily pardon the delay in publication, and will be grateful for having all these questions brought up to date and discussed by one who is so thoroughly acquainted with his subject and so independent in his judgment.

We have at the outset a very careful examination of the original signification of the ancient ecclesiastical term σύμβολον, and an account of the varying senses that have been attached to it in the course of Church History. The Baptismal Symbol, and the three great Symbols (Apostles', Nicæno-Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian) are first dealt with, and then the author proceeds to handle his matter under the four heads of (i.) the Eastern Churches, including (*a*) the remnants of the ancient National Churches; (*b*) the Orthodox (Greek-Catholic) Church; (*c*) the sects of the Russian Church: (ii.) Western Catholicism; (*a*) the Roman Catholic Church, whose confessional development is very carefully traced; (*b*) the various Catholic groups (such as the Old Catholics) that have separated from the modern Roman Church. Here the first volume ends. The second, which may be expected within a year, will treat of (iii.) the Churches of the Reformation period; (iv.) the Churches of modern times, from the English Reformation downwards.

Chronological order and relations of dependence are the guiding principles which dictate our author's method of arranging his materials. We may add that the references to relevant Literature are at once copious and well selected. The work of Professor Loofs will, it may be safely predicted, take its place at once as one of the principal authorities for the study of Comparative Christian Theology.

[1] *Symbolik, oder christliche Konfessionskunde*; von F. Loofs, Prof. der Theol. in Halle. Erster Band. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. Price 6s. 9d. net; bound, 7s. 9d. net.

Miscellaneous.

The Index to Schürer's great work, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (3rd ed., 3 vols.; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs), has now reached us. The work itself has already been fully noticed, and its position is too well assured to require any further commendation. It only needed this Index volume (which, by the way, is supplied gratis to purchasers of the *Geschichte*) to complete our satisfaction in having such a reliable authority always by our side. We have no hesitation in saying that in many ways this is one of the best, if not the best Index in existence, both its arrangement and its completeness leaving nothing to be desired.

No. vi. of the 'Beihefte' to the *Z.A.T.W.* is devoted to a full discussion of the position of Išô'-dâdh as an O.T. commentator. The writer, Dr. G. Diettrich, formerly of London, now of Berlin, was led to the execution of his task by the conviction that Išô-dâdh (a Nestorian commentator of the 9th cent.) made large use of the exegetical work of Theodore of Mopsuestia. That this was the case he proves conclusively in this 'Beiheft' by a comparison between Theodore and Išô'-dâdh in their treatment of passages of Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Zec 9–14, and some of the Psalms. The importance of Išô'-dâdh's work thus consists

principally in the fact that we have reason to believe that in many other instances as well he has preserved for us the views of the great commentator of Mopsuestia. Dr. Diettrich has examined at the same time Išô'-dâdh's relation to Paul of Tellâ, Hanânâ of Hedhayâb, and Gregorius Barhebræus, with important results, of which we may mention this one, namely, that the sole and unlimited sway of the Peshiṭta in the Nestorian Church, which used to be presupposed, can no longer be maintained. (The full title of the work is *Išô'-dâdh's Stellung in der Auslegungsgeschichte des Alten Testaments an seinen Commentaren zu Hosea, Joel, Jona, Sacharja* 9–14, *und einigen angehängten Psalmen.* Veranschaulich t von Lic. Dr. G. Diettrich, Pfarrer an der Heilandskirche zu Berlin, Früher in London. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1902. Price M.7.50).

Professor Rothstein of Halle has published a work of 162 pages entitled *Die Genealogie des Königs Jojachin und seiner Nachkommen* (1 Ch 3^{17-24}) *in geschichtlicher Beleuchtung . . . nebst einem Anhange: Ein ubersehenes Zeugnis für die messianische Auffassung des 'Knechtes Jahwes'* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1902; price M.5). The author admits, in fact emphasizes the fact, that a large part of his book consists of hypotheses, but he claims that these are in every instance plausible, and that in any case his discussion of the genealogical lists in question cannot fail to contribute in some measure to the solution of the problems that beset an important but somewhat obscure period of Jewish history. Having studied his arguments with some care and with a great deal of interest, we very cheerfully acknowledge the justice of this last claim, and we have a strong conviction that he has hit the mark in not a few of his combinations which, at the first glance, appear somewhat bold.

The vicissitudes of Jeconiah's life are traced most graphically, and one cannot help hoping that Dr. Rothstein is correct in holding Shealtiel, the oldest of his sons, to have been born shortly after the king reached Babylon a captive, Malchiram, the second son, a little thereafter, while Pedaiah ('Jahweh has redeemed') commemorates by his name his father's deliverance by Evil-merodach from the rigorous condition to which he had been subjected by Nebuchadrezzar shortly after the birth of Malchiram. A very important contention—in a sense the most important in the first part of the book—is that Zerubbabel was the son not of Shealtiel, but of Pedaiah. Both Shealtiel and Malchiram are not unlikely, thinks Dr. Rothstein, to have been put to death by Nebuchadrezzar, in order to impress upon their father the groundlessness of the hopes he may have cherished of a restoration to his ancestral throne (cf. 2 K 25^{7}, the slaughter of Zedekiah's sons, while the father himself is simply blinded and carried captive). Another hypothesis which is a little startling at first, but for which our author adduces strong arguments, is that *Shenazzar*, the name that follows Pedaiah, is not the name of a fourth son of Jeconiah, but a Babylonian name by which Pedaiah was known in addition to the Hebrew name he bore amongst his own countrymen. This explanation does away with the difficulty occasioned by the presence of a son with a Babylonian name immediately after one with so expressive a Hebrew name as Pedaiah, and before other three equally pure Hebrew names, compounded with יְהֹ. But this Shenazzar (or whatever may be the correct form of the name) is identified by Dr. Rothstein, in agreement with Kosters, Meyer, Sellin, etc., with the Sheshbazzar of Ezr 1^{8} etc. We are glad to find Dr. Rothstein confirming the view we have contended for elsewhere, and which is always gaining more support, that Sheshbazzar cannot be identified with Zerubbabel, although it is a new idea to us that he was the father instead of the uncle of the latter. Here again we should be glad if our author's hypothesis should be finally accepted. We have not space to pursue further Dr. Rothstein's treatment of the descendants of Zerubbabel, and his discussion of the important questions connected with the date of the founding of the temple, etc. etc., but we strongly recommend those of our readers who are acquainted with German to procure the work and study the arguments for themselves.

In the Appendix to his book, Dr. Rothstein treats of a testimony he believes to have been hitherto overlooked, in favour of the Messianic interpretation of the 'Servant of Jahweh.' His argument, which is extremely able and, might we venture to hint, almost too ingenious, is based upon the present form and character of the Book of Isaiah as such and taken as a whole. Here again we must refer our readers to the work

itself, which well deserves a welcome from all students of the Old Testament.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Among the Periodicals.

The Number of the Beast.

Exactly a year ago (The Expository Times, October 1901, p. 30 f.) we gave an account of Dr. Carl Clemen's proposed solution of the above problem, as put forward by him in an article in the *Z.N.T.W.* (1901, Heft 2). The two main features of his article were his adopting of a *Greek* instead of a *Hebrew* basis for the numerical value of the word or expression to be discovered, and his contention that the Beast is the Roman *empire*, and not any individual *emperor*. The conditions in question he believed to be satisfied either by ἡ Ἰταλὴ βασιλεία (yielding the value 666) or ἡ Λατίνη βασιλεία (yielding 616, the variant in some texts).

A detailed criticism of Dr. Clemen's article has been supplied by Dr. P. Corssen to the current number (1902, Heft 3) of the *Z.N.T.W.* In the first place he rejects absolutely the interpretation put by Clemen on the words of Rev 13^{18} 'He that hath understanding, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the *number of a man*,' holding that the words we have italicised demand an individual name and not that of a collective object like the Roman empire. But 'the number of the beast' must mean 'the number *of the name* of the beast,' just as 'the number of a man' = 'the number of the name of a man.' In other words, the meaning of the writer of the Apocalypse is that the Beast as such has a name = 666, and the problem he sets before his readers is to discover the name of a man that shall yield this same numerical value. There are, in short, two names in view, of the class called by the Greeks ἰσόψηφα. The ingenuity displayed by ancient writers in discovering instances of ἰσοψηφία is well illustrated in the citations given by Corssen, who finds this device employed even by Berosus.

As to Clemen's resort to a *Greek* basis, this might appear, says Corssen, to be favoured by certain wall inscriptions at Pompeii, which show that *Gematric* devices, far from being peculiar to the Jews, were quite common among the Greeks. But, on the other hand, a Greek name will hardly suit the fact that the Apocalypse presupposes a *traditional* name of the Beast. Gunkel appears to Corssen to be on the right track here with his תְּהוֹם קַדְמוֹנִיָּה (*tĕhōm ḳadmōnîyah*), the primeval chaos or dragon of the deep. But Gunkel is wrong, he considers, in stopping short with that. The Beast as such has undoubtedly a reality for the author of the Apocalypse, but the name of the Beast is also 'the name of a man,' and it is this which gives it its main interest. The Apocalypse uses ancient mythological lore for present needs. If, then, Gunkel is right in considering the original of the Beast to be the Babylonian *Tiamat*, the fact that נרון קסר (Neron Cæsar) has the same numerical value (666) as תְּהוֹם קַדְמוֹנִיָּה, only serves to confirm the opinion of those who hold that it was Nero to whom the writer desired to point the attention of his readers. Moreover, if the author of the Apocalypse started from a Babylonian name, written in Hebrew letters, namely, תְּהוֹם קַדְמוֹנִיָּה, this readily explains why he translated the Latin name of the Roman emperor into Hebrew (נרון קסר) and not into Greek, the language in which he was writing.

Dr. Corssen does not, indeed, commit himself to the correctness either of Gunkel's *tĕhōm ḳadmōnîyah* as the name of the Beast, or of *Neron Cæsar* as the name of the man whom the Beast symbolizes; but both these interpretations are at least right, he holds, in so far as they imply, on the one hand, that the Beast is no arbitrarily devised allegory, but a figure derived from tradition; and, on the other hand, that some monster of the present is before the mind of the author of the Apocalypse.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Perfection through Fellowship.

By the late Rev. W. A. Gray, Elgin.

'That they without us should not be made perfect.'—Heb. xi. 40.

Perfection through fellowship,—that is what the text brings before us. It is the principle of interdependence that obtains among the saints, by which no class and no individual is perfected apart from other classes and other individuals—to the unifying of religious society and the filling up of the body of Christ. Did you ever notice how often the writer to the Hebrews refers to perfection? The thought is constantly in his heart. The word is constantly on his lips. What faith is to Paul, what works are to James, what hope is to Peter, what love is to John, perfection is to the author of the book before us. It is the grace he has ever in his mind. It is the vision he has ever in his eye. Thus of the law he says, 'It made nothing perfect.' Of the Saviour he says that, 'being made perfect, He became the author of eternal salvation to as many as believe.' Of the Church he says that 'it is a better and more perfect tabernacle.' Of the redeemed gone home he says that they are 'the spirits of just men made perfect.' And so, through the whole list of instances, in which the thought of perfection comes constantly before us—man being at one time represented as made perfect by Christ, and, what is stranger still, if we had time to dwell on it, Christ being at another time represented as made perfect by man.

Here, however, it is neither man as perfected by Christ, nor is it Christ as perfected by man, but man as perfected through man, the sympathy which man bestows, the knowledge which man conveys, the experience which man supplies, the example which man exhibits, the joy which man occasions. Blessed are they that receive, in this perfecting of man through man, but more blessed are they that give. Blessed are they that can say, 'I am perfected through others'; more blessed are they that can say, 'Others are perfected through me.' And the latter is the standpoint of the text. Taking that standpoint as our own, then, let us seek some illustrations of the principle, and notice how the Church of the law is perfected in the Church of the gospel, how the Church in heaven is perfected in the Church of earth, how the Church of the past is perfected in the Church of the present, and how the Church of the body in general is perfected in the Church of the members in particular.

I.

We begin, then, by noting how the Church of the law is perfected by the Church of the gospel. That is the case the apostle is dealing with. He has just been describing the Church of the law. A glorious bead-roll he unfolds, too. Hero after hero is named, witness after witness is specified. And together with these heroes and witnesses is the record of the great things they had done. No one can possibly say, with chapter 11 of Hebrews before him, that the author in any way disparages the saints and the sainthood of the Church of the law. He praises them, he exalts them, he glorifies them, and that, too, with a fervour and a glow which thrill and inspire us while we read. How will he end? How will he sum up? What is the application he will make? What is the inference he will draw? The sequel will surely be this, 'We are made perfect in them.' So rich is the character they exhibit! So rare is the pattern they hold up! So high and so holy are the impulses they yield! I say, the sequel will surely be this, 'We are made perfect in them.' But that is not what the writer says. He gives the thought another and quite unexpected turn. And he says, 'They are made perfect in us.' Very strange! They, the prophets and wise men of one dispensation dependent upon *us*, the babes and the sucklings of another! They, the flower and the chivalry of the old order, dependent upon *us*, the tyros and beginners of the new!

Yes; but with us is the advantage notwithstanding. Ours is the higher standpoint. Ours is the loftier level. There is one thing that makes all the difference, and that is the relationship to redemption. To them redemption was a hope—a sure hope it is true, a saving hope it is true, but still no more than a hope: to us redemption is a

fact. To them redemption was a prospect, to us redemption is a reality. Long had the fathers awaited that fact. Long had the fathers desired that reality. They had awaited and desired it in the land of the living. And when life passed by and it came not, they awaited and desired it in the realms of the dead. And while they waited and desired, they were not, and could not, be perfected. They could not be perfect in satisfaction. They could not be perfect in privilege. They could not be perfect in joy. What brought them that perfecting? What introduced them into fuller light? What introduced them into fuller liberty? What but the coming of the fact they had waited and desired? What but the advent of the day which Abraham in the intermediate state saw afar? I mean the arrival of Christ. I mean the appearance of Him who was 'manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory,' a Christ incarnate, crucified, risen, the establisher of a new economy, the author of a new peace.

What rapture the tidings awoke, what praises the tidings occasioned, we know not. But rapture and praises there were, as the prophets and patriarchs in paradise swelled the songs of a finished salvation, saying, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, and hath redeemed us to God by His blood!' Yet, blessed as the patriarchs and prophets were, with fresh accessions of happiness, fresh inflowings of peace, when they learned in their holy retreats that a Saviour had fought and conquered, and now reigned for ever supreme—blessed as the patriarchs and prophets were in the knowledge of events such as these, were they perfected alone? No; there was another class to be reckoned. There was another company to be gathered in. There was the class, the company, whom the apostle refers to when he says 'us.' Who are these? Who are these for whose benefit the Church of the law had to tarry, for whose coming the Church of the law had to wait? Who but the Church of the gospel—the Church of the evangelists and apostles. They were a small band then. They were a scattered band. They were persecuted, afflicted, forsaken. And, in the consciousness of these facts, they were sometimes apt to weary, sometimes apt to faint. It is different now; but think what things were then. And think how Paul's argument must have cheered them. 'You may think yourselves little,' he says, 'you may think yourselves worthless. You may think yourselves little and worthless as compared with that great cloud of witnesses whose names I have mentioned, whose deeds I have told, and who now are resting from their labours while their works do follow them. But you are really great. You are really worthy. And that, too, to such a degree that you are necessary to those whom you envy, necessary to their testimony, necessary to their happiness, necessary to their fulness of life. *They, without you, cannot be made perfect.*'

So the Church of the law is perfected in the Church of the gospel, and cannot be perfected apart from it. And is not that the lesson of the Transfiguration? Two companies were represented then. There was the company symbolized by Moses and Elias, the company of the Jewish saints gone home. These were glorified by Christ, as they talked together of His decease. But there was another company than the company symbolized by Moses and Elias,—there was the company symbolized by Peter and John, the company of the Christian believers gathered in. And these, too, were brought up to the holy mount. These, too, were baptized in the shining cloud. These, too, were the spectators of the heavenly vision. And what was the meaning? What was the reason? What but the principle of the text? *That the one family, apart from the other, should not be made perfect.*

II.

But this is only an illustration of a greater truth, to which we accordingly proceed. Not only is the Church of the law made perfect in the Church of the gospel, we may widen the circle still further, and say the Church in heaven is perfected through the Church on earth. How? In two ways. The Church on earth is the present means of its training. And the Church on earth is the future sharer of its joy.

1. The Church on earth *is the present means of its training.* 'What,' perhaps some one says, 'can you speak of training in connexion with the Church in heaven? We thought it was beyond need of training. What need of training when the lesson is learnt? What need of training when the character is formed?' My brethren, I believe that neither is the lesson so fully learnt, nor is the

character so fully formed, as to dispense with training. Sin may have gone, but not ignorance, and not weakness. Believers grow in heaven. They make progress. They are ever discovering in heaven—discovering new depths of doctrine to sound, new heights of duty to climb. And therefore they are ever being trained. And one means of training is—what? The history of the struggles and the victories, the history of the toils and successes, of the Church that is here upon earth. How vision is widened, how knowledge is increased, how faith is confirmed, as that history constantly unfolds itself, with its proofs of a sovereign wisdom, with its testimony to a sovereign power. Of course that means that the Church in heaven is a spectator of the Church on earth—a fact which few are adequately impressed with, which few have so much as taken in. But why should we doubt that it *is* so? Scripture is on our side. Not to speak of the Book of Revelation, and the sanction it gives to the thought, by once and again implying that heaven looks down upon earth, take the words of our Lord Himself: 'There is joy in the presence of the angels in heaven over one sinner that repenteth!' Grant that, and you grant the whole contention! For if the repenting sinner be observed, then why not the growing believer? And if the growing believer be seen, then why not the body of which he forms a part—the whole Church of Christ, with its ever-unfolding drama of sin and pardon, of peril and deliverance, of failure and success, through all the ages and on to the end of time? No; they are not so unknowing and uninterested as we think them—the spirits that are now in glory. They watch their brethren below. They learn from their brethren below. And if this be the case, may we not say that the Church in heaven is perfected in the Church on earth, inasmuch as the Church on earth is the present means of its training?

2. And the Church in heaven is perfected in the Church on earth, inasmuch as the Church on earth *is the future sharer of its joy*. Of the loved and lost who have left us and are now made most glad for ever, yea exceeding glad in the light of God's countenance, it is natural, it is intelligible, to say, 'We without them are not perfect.' I say it is natural and intelligible to say *that*. So near did they come to us, so constantly were they with us, that they came to be part of ourselves. We leant on them for help. We repaired to them for sympathy. Their existence so blent with us, their qualities so fitted into us, that what we lacked they made up, what we failed in they supplied. And when death removed them, it was as the wrenching off of half of our being, the plucking away of half of our life. We are impoverished. We are dismembered. We pine and we halt. Of the loved and the lost, then, it is natural, it is intelligible, to say, 'We without them are not perfect.' But the text gives another thought. If *we without them are not perfect, neither are they without us perfect.* They miss us. They wait us. Yes, amidst all that surrounds them, of new experience, of new fellowship, of new occupation, of new thought, there is a longing to be satisfied, there is a gap to be filled. And a gap to be filled—by whom? A gap to be filled by us—the friends and associates they have left behind. They are interested in their brethren's pilgrimage. They yearn for their brethren's home-coming. Our absence is the lessening of their nature. Our detention is the postponing of their joy. I think we may safely take the comfort of this thought, if so be our standpoint be a Christian one—the standpoint of Christian mourners in relation to their Christian dead. Forget us—how can they? Be indifferent—how can they? We are necessary to their well-being. We are conditions of their bliss. It is an arrangement that God approves of, because it is an arrangement which God has appointed, that '*they without us should not be made perfect.*'

III.

We have noted how the Church of the law is perfected in and through the Church of the gospel. We have noted, too, how the Church in heaven is perfected in and through the Church on earth, as the present means of its training, as the future and final sharer of its joy. Let us now take the principle in another aspect, and note *how the Church of the past is perfected in the Church of the present.* Here, again, the saying may seem strange. We would have expected it to run differently. We would have expected it to be phrased: *We, apart from the past, are imperfect.* For the past has made us what we are. From countless sources, along countless channels, the tide of advantage comes down, bearing blessings to one and to all of us—blessings mental, moral, and

spiritual, blessings of knowledge, blessings of peace, blessings of liberty. From the past we receive our privileges. To the past we owe our inspiration. Just think what we would all be this day if the past were cut off from us—its riches withdrawn, its influence stopped. Very far from well furnished! Very far from complete! Apart from the past, the present cannot be perfected.

But it is equally true to say that, apart from the present, the past cannot be perfected. It cannot be perfected, any more than the flower can be perfected apart from the fruit, or the dawn can be perfected without the day. Through the long, long ages there has been a steady process of perfecting, and the torch of truth passed onward from hand to hand, becoming brighter and yet brighter, with every succeeding stage. So, in the realm of science, what the fathers originate the sons develop. What one generation discovers another generation applies. So that the earlier is being completed by the later, and ancestry crowned by posterity. And what holds true in the realm of science holds true in the realm of religion. Every one falleth in his own order. First comes Christ, the principle and the spring of the whole. But the teaching of Christ is carried out and expanded by the teaching of Paul, and the teaching of Paul is carried out and expanded by the teaching of Luther. And the teaching of Luther is carried out and expanded by the teaching of the Church of to-day. Yes, it is God's way this, that the ages may feel they are linked. It is God's way this, that the ages may feel they depend on each other. Yesterday waits on to-day, as for that matter to-day must wait on to-morrow, for the ampler explanation of its meaning, for the wider discovery of its truth. If it has light, then, let the Church of to-day bring it. If it has truth, let the Church of to-day speak it. If it has testimony, let the Church of to-day render it. The Church of the past requires it. It requires it to supply what is lacking; requires it to expand what is elementary; requires it to illumine what is dim. It is ours to contribute what it asks. For apart from us, that is, the Church of the present, they, that is, the Church of the past, cannot be fully perfected.

IV.

We have noted how the Church of the law is perfected through the Church of the gospel, the Church in heaven through the Church on earth, and the Church of the past through the Church of the present—note *how the Church of the body as a whole is perfected by the Church of the individual members.* We believe, do we not, that there is such a body? There is a system, partly visible and partly invisible, oftener perhaps invisible, which is ever working for happiness, ever working for healthfulness, ever working for holiness, ever working for good. There is a society that intertwines itself with all earthly societies, a kingdom that intertwines itself with all worldly kingdoms, but is higher at the same time than them all, working ever for the glory of God, and the welfare and prosperity of redeemed mankind. And this system, this society, this kingdom, by what is it furthered, by what is it made effectual? By the lives of individual men. By the lives of you and of me. *Apart from us it cannot be made perfect.* But *with* us and *through* us its perfection is sure. No man liveth to himself, no man dieth unto himself; he lives and dies to the body, he lives and dies to the whole.

And what a meaning and a glory are shed upon two things—human labour and human sorrow! Take human labour. It seems often very irksome, often very menial, often very profitless. It works no apparent deliverance. It bears no apparent fruit. What do you know about that? Unawares to yourself, these labours contribute to the general religious scheme, further the general religious good. There are cords you see not, that bind you to a mighty fellowship; and, travelling upon these, the acts that seem useless, the toils that seem vain, pass up and away into regions unguessed, to enrich, to strengthen, to inspire. They are not lost; they are saved and used, as powers in God's great system, as factors in God's great plan.

What holds good with human labour holds good with human sorrow. Human sorrow, too, looks sometimes very meaningless. It seems so capricious in its visitations—sparing the evil, lying hard on the good and the saintly. It seems so useless in its effects. But, again, what do you know of *that*? It may be you are suffering for the body's sake—the sake of a higher end and a wider constituency than you know. And the body may get the blessing of your sufferings. They may get it in the example which your sufferings afford, in the prayers which your sufferings draw forth. Oh, let us live as in the sight of the larger company the witnesses below, as well as the witnesses above,

whom, all unknown to ourselves, we may be inspiring by our constancy and uplifting by our faith! More may be hanging on our conduct than we know, even the safety of our brethren's footsteps, the clearness of our brethren's hope. God has ordained it that without *us*, without our labour, without our suffering, they should not be made perfect.

Such are some feeble attempts to illustrate a great and a deep subject—perfection through fellowship. There is no time left to apply it. But the applications are clear and seasonable.

There is the application to Church life, the drawing of individuals into companies, the drawing, too, of different companies into one, for the furtherance of mutual communion, and the visible exhibition to a hostile world of the unity that is in Christ. The feeling is growing against needless divisions. And men in this place and in that are being increasingly impressed with the principle: *We without them, they without us, are not perfect.*

There is the application, too, to missionary endeavour. Has not heathendom a voice? Has not heathendom a message? And if it uttered that voice, if it published that message, would not the voice and the message be this: 'Come over and help us; we without you, you without us, are not perfect!' Ah, brethren, have we ever realized the fact that, apart from the welfare of the heathen, our own welfare is not full? May not much of the scepticism and discussion at home be owing to the fact that we have not as yet realized it? And till we do realize it, till the churches awake to the consciousness, till the churches address themselves to the work, the scepticism and dissension will continue. The heathen are knocking at our doors. They say, 'Teach us, train us, save us. Do so for our sakes. Do so, for your own sakes. *Apart from us ye cannot be made perfect.*'

And once more there is the application, not only to church life and missionary endeavour, but to the character and the greatness of Christ. God wants that character completely mirrored. He wants that greatness to be completely displayed. Where? Where but in the Church, which is the reflexion of His glory—the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. It is by the Church, and by nothing but the Church, that He seeks to make known to the principalities and powers of heavenly places the manifold wisdom of God. The fact that He does so is a proof and a pledge that not one member of the Church shall be forgotten and not one member of the Church shall be left out. Each in his own fashion, each to his own degree, reflects some aspect of Christ, and is therefore necessary to the glory of the Christ he reflects. And without the weakest and the most obscure the general revelation is partial, the general roll incomplete. You are necessary to the fulfilment of God's plan, and shall never fail of God's care. Though thou wert the last lingering saint in a world from which the other saints are all taken home, Christ will wait for thee, the redeemed will wait for thee, heaven will wait for thee, for without thee they cannot be perfected.

Little Contributions to the Greek Testament.

By Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D., Maulbronn.

1. John xiv. 9.

How are we to punctuate?—

οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε; ὁ ἑωρακὼς, or οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με; Φίλιππε, ὁ ἑωρακὼς.

The modern editors connect the name with the first sentence, the older ones with the second.

Wordsworth-White in their *Latin* N.T. say that the latter way—'*me*? *Philippe, qui*'—is found in the official Vulgate, '*et. gr. Steph. 1550.*' The latter part of this statement is wrong. I verified the passage in the oldest editions of the Greek Testament and found—

με, Φίλιππε; ὁ in Stephen 1546. 49. 50. 51; Beza 1604;

the older punctuation—

με; Φίλιππε, ο in Compl. Erasm.,[1] Ald., Beza 1565. 82. 88. 98; Elzevir. 1624. 41.[1]

Scrivener in his useful edition 'according to the

[1] The Bible Society's reprints of the T.R. departed in this instance, and in many others, from the original.

text followed in the A.V., together with the variations adopted in the R.V.' (new edition, 1894[1]), gives in the Appendix 'a list of passages in the Greek text of this volume, wherein the readings of Beza's N.T. 1598 are departed from, to agree with those adopted by the A.V.' The passage in question is not to be found there; it must be supplied. I believe that the modern editors are right; but it is curious that the older ones are so greatly in favour of the other connexion.

2. Matt. xx. 15.

Herman C. Hoskier published (1890) a collation of Stephen 1550 with Elzevir. 1624, giving the additional attestation of twenty other editions. It is strange that this list was not adhibited to control Scrivener's Appendix just mentioned. The very first passage occurring in both lists is Mt 20^{15}. Here Scrivener gives—

εἰ] Compl. Er., Col., Steph., etc. ἢ Ald., Bez.$^{2\text{-}5}$.
Hoskier: εἰ C., Er., Ald., Col., etc. ἢ Bez.

I verified the passage; as was to be suspected, Hoskier is right.

3. Mark ix. 38.

In the same list Scrivener gives—

ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι] Er., Ald., etc. *Om.* ἐν Compl., Steph., Bez. (*per nomen tuum* Bez.).

Hoskier states that ἐν stands in Steph. 1546. 49, Beza 1598, and in four of the five minor octavo editions of Beza. Again Scrivener is to be corrected.

4. Mark xvi. 20.

Scrivener states that Ἀμήν is found in Compl., *Col.*, Steph.$^{1\text{-}3}$, and omitted by Er., St.^{4}, etc.

According to Hoskier, Ἀμήν is omitted by Colinæus (1534). I could not verify it, this being one of the few editions not at my disposal at Stuttgart; but no doubt Hoskier will be correct.

5. Luke vii. 12.

Scrivener quotes for αὕτη ἦν χήρα 'St.'; for αὐτῇ χήρᾳ Beza$^{2\text{-}5}$; Hoskier showed that Steph. is divided; αὐτῇ χήρᾳ stood in St.$^{1.\,2}$; αὕτη ἦν χήρα makes its appearance in $^{3.\,4}$.

[1] A curious misstatement about this edition is The Expository Times, v. 347, that it has xii, 670 pages; in fact it has only 658.

6. John ix. 10.

Add in Scrivener's list (with Hoskier) 'Ald.' as witness for σου.

7. 1 Cor. vii. 29.

Here is the only passage where I found a mistake in Hoskier. He gives f. 1580 for the double interpunction '. τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν, ἵνα.' I did not notice a trace of the full stop.

8. Matt. xxvi. 41.

Scrivener's edition is a delightful specimen of careful work on the part of the editor *and* the printers. In the passage quoted he calls attention to the fact that the marginal reading of the R.V. wishes to insert a comma after γρηγορεῖτε and to omit it after προσεύχεσθε. Likewise in Mk 14^{38}. That is a splendid suggestion of the R.V. From the homiletical use of the passage we are accustomed to take γρηγορεῖτε in the *metaphorical* sense, which the verb has (Mk 13^{37}); but by a comparison with Lk 22^{40} προσεύχεσθε μὴ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν, and v.^{46} ἀναστάντες προσεύχεσθε, etc., it becomes clear that Jesus bids the disciples do only one thing, pray for delivery from temptation; in order to do that, they must not sleep. In v.^{44} and v.^{45} Jesus, seeing them so sleepy, lets them sleep. I know of no editor, before the R.V., who inserted that comma[2]; and after it I have found it only in Swete's edition of the Gospel of St. Mark (1898).

9. Ephes. i. 19.

Another passage which gets quite a different sense by the position or omission of a comma is Eph 1^{19} in the English text. Here the R.V. retained the comma after 'believe,' and did not notice in the margin that it may be omitted. In the Greek text most editions read without any comma—

καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ.

Most commentators are agreed, as far as I am

[2] But why has this variant in Scrivener's edition—it is the only one in the whole book—no figure as mark of reference, but the letter *a*? Is it a later insertion? then we must be especially thankful for it.—Another minutia is that, p. 135, Mk 15^{3}, a star (*) is allowed to remain in the text which ought to be removed.

aware, with the A.V. and R.V., that κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν is *not* to be joined with ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας; for in this case no comma would have place after 'believe'; κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν is commonly construed with μέγεθος; yet Scrivener places a comma even in the Greek text after πιστεύοντας, and seems to indicate by it that κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν is to be connected with εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς. But now refer to the parallel passage, Col 2^{12}, where we read διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος, and from this it seems impossible to doubt that Eph 1^{19} κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν is also to be constructed with ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας, and a marginal note at least ought to be added in our Testaments: 'or: believe according (without comma).' That he came to believe, was for the apostle a wonder of the same divine power which had raised Christ.

10. John xviii. 16.

Westcott-Hort, Weymouth, and others place no comma after θυρωρῷ; Tischendorf, Weiss, Scrivener have it. In the former case we must translate 'and he (the disciple) brought in Peter'; in the latter it may be 'and she, the maid at the door, let him in.'

At the Literary Table.

Tamate Vaine.

The directors of the London Missionary Society have clear notions of what a missionary's wife should be. When they licensed James Chalmers and sent him out to Rarotonga, they allowed him to take a wife with him. They had their fears. For 'the woman who goes to the mission field with a man, and is yet not in fullest accord with him as to the great work and purposes of his life, inflicts a grave injury upon both him and the cause dear to his heart. Every mission can show such cases.' But James Chalmers' wife was 'a true missionary.'

Chalmers and his wife left Rarotonga after a time, and went to dwell among the cannibals of New Guinea. On January 24, 1878, Chalmers wrote: 'We are tolerably well. I have got much lighter during the last few weeks, but am so much better that I shall soon pick up again. We have begun speaking of God's love to the people in very broken language, yet I hope sufficiently well to make them think a little. The people here are dreadful cannibals. Their finest decorations are human jawbones and other bones, and sometimes the wretches appear with pieces of human flesh dangling from their arms. There is no doubt that many of them had hoped to secure our bodies for a feast. We are warned even now not to wander too far away from the house.'

Within three months Chalmers was away on a voyage, having left his wife alone among them. The day after he left, the natives said among themselves: 'They trust us; we must treat them kindly; they cannot mean us harm, or Tamate would not have left his wife behind.' And they were as good as they said. 'They are not at all troublesome,' she enters in her journal. They brought her food, and told her to eat plenty, so that when Tamate returned she might be looking well and strong. The experiment was successful, and was worth making. Yet 'it would be difficult,' says Mr. Lovett (we are quoting from his *Autobiography and Letters of Chalmers*[1]), 'in the splendid record of nineteenth-century missions to find a more courageous and self-denying action than this consent of Mrs. Chalmers to remain alone amid a horde of cannibals for the sake of Christ's work among them, and for the benefit of her Rarotongan fellow-workers. When her husband left her there was no possibility of receiving any tidings of him until he himself brought back the tale of his wanderings. She knew him well enough to realize that places of danger rather attracted him than repelled him, and that the worse the reputation possessed by any tribe or place the more likely he was to visit it. They had only a few weeks before passed through experiences which might well have unnerved the strongest. Chalmers came to know afterwards, from one of the chiefs, that again and again the murder of the whole missionary party had been determined, and that those appointed to

[1] *James Chalmers: His Autobiography and Letters.* By Richard Lovett, M.A. Religious Tract Society, 1902.

do the deed had come once and again to the low fence which surrounded the rough mission house. They had only to step over it and rush in upon and murder the unarmed man and his wife. . . . When we recall that Mrs. Chalmers allowed her husband at the call of duty to go from her, leaving her at the mercy of savages who were only just beginning to know them and their ways; when we remember that her only helpers were two or three Rarotongan teachers and their wives; that all her possessions were eagerly coveted by her savage neighbours, and that the bodies of herself and the Rarotongan teachers would have been considered choice dainties for a great cannibal feast, we marvel at her courage, at her faith, at the quiet heroism which led her to endure the almost unendurable, because she did not think it right to leave the weaker teachers to bear the strain alone, and because she thought that if she accompanied her husband the absence of both would injure the work so hopefully begun.'

Her health did not bear the strain very long. She had to go to Sydney, and died there on February 20, 1879. The first word Chalmers got of her death was an accidental paragraph in a newspaper.

Then nine years of loneliness. Pass them by. It is Tamate Vaine, not Tamate himself we are speaking of. After nine years, a visit to England, an affection returned, and in 1888 Mrs. Harrison came out and was married to James Chalmers in Cooktown.

'Mrs. Chalmers threw herself with great spirit and courage into the new work, and it was upon her that the brunt fell most heavily. Chalmers had for long years been roughing it among savages, and was inured to any possible experience that could befall him. But Mrs. Chalmers went to Motumotu with but a very inadequate notion of what life there would mean. What contrast could be greater than for an English lady to come from all the comforts and customs of our civilization, and suddenly find herself planted in the midst of a tribe of fierce savages, of whose language she was ignorant, and whose customs outraged every sense of fitness? Her husband was the only other European nearer than Port Moresby, 170 miles away, and he was often absent for weeks at a time.' But Tamate Vaine the second could endure. This is her own account of the home-coming after marriage—

'A week ago we got here after a long tedious voyage in the boat; we landed at 3 a.m., and I was too ill to walk to the house, so Tamate sent for something to carry me on. The scene was fine. Two boatloads of us landed, pitch-dark. We could not land on the beach owing to heavy seas and surf; so we entered the river some miles farther on. We knew there were alligators in plenty. I declare I hardly dared get out on the banks. At last, in answer to our shouts, came answers from the natives and the teacher, and on came a lot of wild fellows with blazing torches. They crowded round me and gave me an excited welcome.

'The natives are a very wild-looking lot indeed, and very powerful. The men fine-looking and independent; they are very fond of dress, and ornament themselves in all sorts of ways. Their heads are beautifully decorated with leaves, feathers, and shells. One man I admired very much, I thought he had a gaily coloured net over his face, the pattern was quite artistic. I was surprised when Tamate said it was stained on the skin. There are always a lot of these men about. They come to see me and shake hands. One chief wanted to kiss me at first, but I objected, and now they are all satisfied to shake hands. At Lese, where we called on our way here, I was introduced to a great cannibal chief and his followers, also two of his wives. None of them wore any clothing at all, and they had just come in their canoes from a great cannibal feast.'

Mrs. Chalmers can describe better than her husband. She gives us, apparently with ease, a perfectly clear picture of her surroundings, and a deeply moving conception of her experiences. This is the house she dwells in—

'I am just beginning to feel alive after my last bad dose of fever. I do wish you could see this house. Tamate thinks it is a delightful place. I am not quite so much in love with it. The walls are of very roughly sawn planks, which overlap each other; so inside there are ledges innumerable from floor to thatch—every ledge a nice accommodation for all kinds of insect life. I should think the house is fifty feet long, and divided into three rooms; the partitions are the height of the outer walls only, and leave the very high pointed thatched roof open from end to end. At night it is *too* lively,—rats, mice, and, on the

roof, lizards all over in armies. I do not object to the latter; they are very tame, and make a cheery chirp, and best of all they hunt the spiders, tarantulas, and others, big and little, cockroaches and crickets, and beetles of all kinds. Ants and mosquitoes abound, and they like me very much. I am bitten all over, and my only place of peace is under the mosquito netting. If you look down on the mats and floors, you perceive they are covered with life, and even this paper is continually covered with tiny moving things which I blow off.'

Chalmers still goes away and leaves his wife alone. 'I got back last week,' he says, 'from my nine weeks' western trip with the governor. Tamate Vaine was left alone. The first few weeks Mr. Savage was here, but he had to leave, and then she had all the work on her shoulders, and right well did she bear it. You know she is yet what is called a "new chum," but she carried on every branch of the work quite in "old chum" style. She has been very ill with fever, but on my arrival was better. If we could agree to part, I suggest she takes up a central station and out-stations for herself; but I fancy we can get on better together.'

When she does go with him she fares little better. But we are glad she went once, for that journey has given us this description of the way to get through the surf and reach a boat at Oiabu—

'At 2 p.m. we thought it might be possible to reach the boat, so the large canoe was again launched. It was very hot indeed, and I dreaded the sun. However, start we must, and now came a new experience for me, and anything but a pleasant one. Tamate and I got into the middle of the canoe; natives pushed us out and swam on each side, raising the bow to meet the rollers. So we got over two lines; then the men paddled their hardest, but could not ride the great waves which broke in turns over, under, and all around us. Every time the waves broke over us the men sprang into the sea, holding up the canoe and then swinging it high on the advancing wave and letting it be washed back on it: this was to empty the canoe of water. We two, seated on the connecting plank with nothing to hold on to, were anything but comfortable. I held on to a stalwart native who was in the water on my side, and with the other hand clung to Tamate. I never had such a time, swinging backwards and forwards, every other moment just enveloped in white surf. We were, of course, drenched at the very first start, and we were out in the midst of that surf for nearly an hour. No one can imagine the more than strange sensation of seeing an immense wave all white with surf, which one feels must come over you, and then suddenly the bow is raised, the men give one swing in unison, and you are on the crest and washing back before you have time to feel nervous. I got quite accustomed to it, and quite as excited as the men; I believe I shouted as they did as the rollers came thick and fast. The natives on shore were in a great state of excitement. Tamate thought we should have to try and get back, which would have been almost as bad as getting forward. There was a very heavy swell beyond the breakers; the boat had come in as near to them as she could with any safety, and was pitching and tossing in a frantic manner. Even if we got through, I thought it would be almost impossible for us to get into the boat. Our Toaripians are good surf swimmers, and four of them had reached the boat. All at once there was extra shouting and commotion on shore, responded to by the men with us. We saw a man swim out with two others. The leader was a grand swimmer. Tamate said, "I believe that's the great sorcerer; they've fetched him to subdue the waves." He came on right across our bows, and we saw he had a half cocoa-nut shell in each hand. The men made a desperate effort to follow him and paddled for dear life. We should have been washed off but for the men on each side, and for a moment or two could see nothing—we were in the midst of it. Then the surf settled, and Tamate said, "Look! the fellow's got oil in the shells; fancy their knowing that trick." We did get through eventually by the aid of the sorcerer or the oil. The natives were triumphant, of course, their sorcerer had more power over the waves than Tamate.'

In July 1900 Mrs. Chalmers became seriously ill, and on October 25 she fell asleep in Jesus. 'A few days before her death I said to her, "We shall all soon meet over yonder." Then unhesitatingly she replied, "Yes, but I am so tired. I want a long rest first with Jesus, and then I shall be waiting for you all." Another day she said to me, "You know, Tamate dear, you are always in such a hurry, you make people feel very uncom-

fortable. Now, at your time of life, try and take things a little easier, and all your friends will feel more comfortable."'

She got her rest with Jesus, but she had not to wait very long. It was the 8th of April 1901 when Chalmers and his young fellow-worker Tomkins lost their lives to cannibals at Dopima in the island of Goaribari.

The book has to do with Tamate, not Tamate Vaine. You may judge the greater by the less, the essential by the incidental. When have we had a biography like this?

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE EMPHASIZED BIBLE.

The last volume of this difficult work has now been published, and we should like to say more emphatically than before that we look upon it as one of the most original and successful works on the Bible that have been produced in our time. The best description of it is its own title-page, which we hereupon transcribe: The Emphasized Bible; a new Translation designed to set forth the exact meaning, the proper terminology, and the graphic style of the Sacred Originals; arranged to show at a glance narrative, speech, parallelism, analogical analysis, also to enable the student readily to distinguish the several Divine Names; and emphasized throughout after the idioms of the Hebrew and Greek tongues; with expository introduction, select references and appendices of notes. By Joseph Bryant Rotherham. London: H. R. Allenson. 1902.

In the Old Testament Mr. Rotherham has adopted Ginsburg's text, and in the New Testament the text of Westcott and Hort.

When a page of this Bible is looked at, the first thing that strikes the eye is a series of unfamiliar signs. These signs must first be explained. Four are for emphasis: (′) and (| |) call for slight stress; (|| ||) and (< >) call for more decided stress. One is for punctuation; the comma having usually too much to do, a half comma (،) is used to set the comma free for clause division.

Now take a fair example. Let it be Is 40^{12}—

Who′ hath measured، | with the hollow of his hand | || the waters ||،
Or < the heavens with a span > hath meted out,
Or hath comprehended، | in a measure | || the dust of the earth ||,
Or weighed | in scales | || the mountains ||,
Or || the hills || in a balance?

Let that example speak for the book. There is no craving for novelty. The work is competent and thorough. The printing is beyond all praise.

THE TEMPLE BIBLE.

All through the holiday weeks *The Temple Bible* came. Let other publishers play, Messrs. Dent have kept at work. There are six volumes awaiting recognition. This is their order, and these are their editors: KINGS, by Principal Robertson of King's College, London, with reproduction of Lord Leighton's picture, 'Elisha and the Shunammite's Son,' for frontispiece; CHRONICLES, by Archdeacon Hughes-James, with reproduction of Burne-Jones' 'The Building of the Temple,' off a photograph by Mr. Hollyer; PSALMS, by Dr. A. W. Streane, with frontispiece off Hollyer's photograph of Rossetti's 'David the Psalmist'; JEREMIAH and LAMENTATIONS, by Mr. E. Tyrell Green, with a reproduction for frontispiece of Michelangelo's 'Jeremiah' in the Sistine Chapel; EZEKIEL, by Principal Owen C. Whitehouse of Cheshunt College, with Messrs. Alinari's photograph of Raphael's 'The Vision of Ezekiel'; and the ACTS, with the Pastoral Epistles, by Professor B. B. Warfield of Princeton, with a reproduction of Millais' 'The Stoning of Stephen.'

Besides the Notes, which are always as brief as ever notes can be, each volume contains an Introduction which is sometimes just sufficient and masterly, and a list of English works which contain illustrations of scenes or persons in the book. This feature is always well done. We understand it is the general editor's own work.

Take an example of it. *Stings of Conscience* is the title, the passage is Ezk $44^{1\text{-}31}$. The places are: Langland's 'Vision of Piers Plowman,' pt. iii. 350–370; Chaucer's 'Parson's Tale,' 141; Shakespeare's 'Tempest,' iii. 3. 104; Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' iii. 194; Herrick's 'Noble Numbers' (To his

Conscience); Dryden's 'Hind and Panther,' iii. 809–825; Herbert's 'Temple' (Conscience); George Eliot's 'Self-Life'; Tennyson's 'Vision of Sin,' pt. v.; Lewis Morris' 'Ode of Change.'

THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls have issued the second volume of the gigantic undertaking known as *The Jewish Encyclopædia*. Its first word is APOCRYPHA, its last BENASH.

Without recalling or repeating what we said of the first volume, let us note the most striking characteristics of the second.

First, its thoroughness. Everything touching Judaism is here, and here in fullest measure. There is an article on ARCHIMEDES. Why? Because two of his works 'have come down to us' in a Hebrew translation, and two Jewish writers 'show a perfect knowledge of his theories.' After that we are less surprised to find ATHANASIUS and the ARTHUR LEGEND. But however we may wonder at the presence of such articles, we are always ready to admire the knowledge of their writers and the skill with which the subject is handled.

The fulness of the book is seen in another way. The article on BATHSHEBA is written by four different authors, and supervised by three different editors, all of whom give their initials below. First we have the Biblical data by one author and one editor; next the Rabbinic amplifications by another author and another editor; then the Mohammedan legend by a third author and a third editor; and, lastly, 'the critical view,' by a fourth author and the first editor. Yet the whole article occupies less than three columns.

Though the editors are numerous, the departments of study are not all equally well attended to. The Natural History is poor, the Antiquities rich. Again, the literature appended to the various articles is now full and well chosen, as in the case of ASS-WORSHIP; now disappointingly meagre, as with ATONEMENT. Let us add that meagre as its bibliography is, the article on ATONEMENT is worth the Christian theologian's attention.

Notice one other matter. The references to Christianity are in perfect temper. A test case is BARABBAS. (This article contains the only misprint we have yet come across, J. G. Frazer's name being pardonably spelt with an *s*.)

The book grows on one's judgment. Even its Biblical value is to be greater than the first volume gave promise of.

THE MAKERS OF BRITISH ART.

Under this title the Walter Scott Publishing Company of Paternoster Square have undertaken to issue a series of monographs on 'the most typical painters of the British School.' Their general editor is Mr. James A. Manson. Constable, Millais, Romney, Turner, and Wilkie are all arranged for and on the way; Landseer and Reynolds are already published and in our hands.

They are short square volumes, bound in blue and gold, with gilt top. Each contains from 200 to 250 pages; and each has about twenty half-tone and line reproductions of the painter's best pictures, together with a photogravure portrait of the painter himself. These illustrations are very well done. The writing is easy and unconstrained; it drops occasionally into chat. This is so with both volumes, though one is by the general editor and the other (Reynolds) by Elsa D'Esterre-Keeling. This unconcernedness sometimes produces an effect that may not be intended All that is said of Reynolds' degree from Oxford is: 'In July of this year Reynolds visited Oxford, where he received from the University the honorary degree of D.C.L. This visit had caused a break in his work upon the picture of the Misses Montgomery.'

They are students' books. Hence we find useful appendixes, as Chronology of Reynolds' Life: Reynolds' Pictures in Public Galleries in London; Engravings of Reynolds' Paintings; Bibliography. But there is no thought of making the study too severe. The reader of these volumes will enjoy the reading, and will find himself able to say something about paintings.

READINGS ON THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGION. By Mrs. F. Hay-Newton (*Blackwood*).—There was a series of meetings for women started in Algiers by Canon Curran. The women who attended the meetings were to enjoy conversation on the evidences of Christianity. But the women of Algiers would not or could not talk on the evidences. Then a book was read. But they did not understand the book. Let us not condemn the women of Algiers unheard. No doubt

they could talk as well as other women on the proper subjects, no doubt they could understand an ordinary book. But the book chosen for reading was Professor Edward Caird's Gifford Lectures.

What is to be done now? Mrs. F. Hay-Newton came to the rescue and simplified the Gifford Lectures for them. She actually went through the book, rewriting it so that the women of Algiers should understand it. And now she has published her simplification. It is the volume before us.

It was clever as well as brave of Mrs. Hay-Newton. You too may wish to read Caird's Gifford Lectures and cannot. But you can read this. And after this you will be able to read Caird.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF RIGHT AND WRONG. By Franz Brentano (*Constable*).—What is it that makes right right and wrong wrong? Professor Brentano believes in innate moral principles as little as Locke did. He pins his allegiance to no person external, who always may say to him—This is right and that is wrong. How does he know wrong from right then? By finding that the rules of ethics are like the laws of logic, reasonable. Follow the laws of logic and you form correct judgments in thought, follow the rules of morality and you form right judgments in life. That which is moral is more reasonable than that which is immoral, it is recognized by my reason to be more reasonable, therefore I do it, or know that it will be the worse for me if I do it not.

The volume contains a lecture which Professor Brentano delivered before the Vienna Law Society in 1889. It is enriched with notes. And the whole has been admirably translated by Mr. Cecil Hague.

SOCIAL SALVATION. By Washington Gladden (*Clarke*).—It is a sign of the times that the Yale Lectures on Preaching for the current year should go by the title of *Social Salvation*. Yet the revolution has come so slowly that it is only the title that startles us, the things the book contains are almost commonplace. Is it the fact that our fathers were concerned with the salvation of single souls only? Did they see no place in their theology for the question, Who is my neighbour? Did they never preach from the text, 'Am I my brother's keeper'?

Dr. Washington Gladden does not startle us now with novelty, but he gathers and focusses much straggling thought. He makes us face some questions for ourselves. He compels us to say whether we are to be content to preach about social salvation and will not now at last go forth and save. The worst enemies of the gospel are those who preach and do not. And it is easier to save from going down to the pit, which is social salvation, than to save after the pit of dirt and disgust have been reached. Let us watch over 'first offenders' more earnestly than second, but let us be most earnest over those who have not yet offended at all. Dr. Washington Gladden's best chapter is on 'Public Education.'

OLD PICTURES IN MODERN FRAMES. By J. G. Greenhough, M.A. (*Clarke*). — This is one of Messrs. James Clarke's 'Small Books on Great Subjects.' The book contains eight sermons, and the great subject which each sermon handles is handled with power. The fourth is entitled 'Light without Love.' The texts are Nu $24^{15.16}$ and 2 P 2^{15} — both about Balaam. The lessons discovered in Balaam's career are these: first, 'the shaping power of life is in one's affections, and not in one's knowledge'; second, 'knowledge gets hoodwinked and blinded when the affections are set on lower things'; last, 'a religion without love is a religion without power.'

NINETEENTH CENTURY PREACHERS. By the Rev. John Edwards (*Kelly*).—This is more than a series of biographical sketches. There *are* biographical sketches — sketches mostly of the men's way of preparing their sermons, rather than of the men themselves. But the chief part and purpose of the book is to present hungry preachers with skeleton sermons ready for the using. They are splendid skeletons, wrought off the greatest sermons of our time by a master workman. And they come in so naturally into the narrative of the man's life and work, that we can appropriate them without the discomfort of deliberately going to find them. Here is one of them.

2 Co 11^{14} 'The transformation of evil.'

1. The transfiguration of evil by (*a*) imagination, (*b*) philosophy, (*c*) society.

2. We indicate the path of safety amid these dangerous illusions.

a. The chief danger of life lies in its moral illusion.
b. Let us be sincere in soul.
c. Let us respect the written Law.
d. Let us constantly behold the vision of God.

THE BANE AND THE ANTIDOTE.—By the Rev. W. L. Watkinson (*Kelly*).—Mr. Watkinson never preaches until he cannot help it. He has not merely something to say in every sermon, he has something which must be said. Yet that which he has to say costs him pains to get it and to say it. He thinks his sermons out in the study.

In this volume we find a sermon on 'The Imagination in Sin.' The text is 2 K 23^{11}, 'And Josiah took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun . . . and burned the chariots of the sun with fire.' His first head is 'the Pretentiousness of Sin'—the horses given to the sun! the chariots of the sun! Great words,—the exaggeration which there is about all idolatry. Then he remarks (*a*) that the world of diseased imagination is brilliant compared with the world of sober reality; that so (*b*) the victories of war seem glorious compared with the victories of peace; (*c*) the career of unlawful speculation compared with the life of honest gain; (*d*) the course of sensual pleasure compared with the simple pleasantness of a sober life. The second head is 'the Preposterousness of Sin.' Josiah burned the chariots of the sun with fire.

GOD'S TO-MORROW. By J. Gregory Mantle (*Marshall Brothers*).—The seventeen sermons which Mr. Gregory Mantle's new volume contains are as evangelical and insistent as the old sermons were, and as well lightened with personal anecdote. Insistent as the doctrine is, it is not narrow. Several of the sermons deal deliberately with God's providence, and there is warmth and refreshing—the sun and the rain which God sends on the just and the unjust—in all the book. A note of peculiar interest is the frequent recurrence of 'Waiting.' It is not mere patience, and it is not the Biblical waiting on the LORD. It lies between them. It is God waiting more than we. It is enough to identify Mr. Mantle's sermons.

VILLAGE WORK IN INDIA. By Norman Russell (*Oliphant*).—Most earnest has Mr. Russell been in his work as a preacher of the gospel to the Hindus, and most earnest is he in describing his experiences. He holds the one task as seriously as the other, and does both well. This book is literature. There is a noble work to describe, and it is described nobly.

'Behind all these difficulties'—take these sentences at random—'is the ever-present foe of indifference. Non-Christians are far from the eager, truth-devouring beings of childhood's memories; most of them are perfectly indifferent to the Word of Life we bring them, or interested only in so far as it satisfies their curiosity or affords them entertainment for an idle hour. There is a saying among the villagers—

> He tramps the streets who milk supplies,
> While liquor-men sit still.

Some spicy or questionable tale, some piece of idle gossip or lewd song, is more to their taste.'

The illustrations are all from the life and out of the author's actual experience.

A MIGHTY MEANS OF USEFULNESS. By the Rev. J. G. K. M'Clure (*Oliphant*).—The title is vague. The sub-title should have taken its place: 'A Plea for Intercessory Prayer.' It is a great subject, and what a shame that it should have to come to us as a suppliant. 'A mighty means of usefulness' surely, for Pasteur was right when he said that no sincere prayer ever remained unanswered. And like mercy it is twice blessed. He that prays is blessed with him for whom he prays.

EXTEMPORE PRAYER. By the Rev. M. P. Talling, Ph.D. (Manchester: *Robinson*).—There is no book of the month that has seemed more timely or that has given us more to think about than Dr. Talling's *Extempore Prayer*. 'Is it not true,' he asks, 'that you have heard from the same lips a sermon orderly, clear, virile, and a prayer rambling, indefinite, and vapid; the former being a presentation of well-considered, well-arranged and important truth; the latter ill-considered, poorly-arranged thought, born of struggle so apparent, or following a rut so wearily worn as to destroy all sense of spirituality?'

Dr. Talling would remedy that. His book is not itself perfectly arranged, but it is practical,

and by many a well-directed sentence the blush of shame is sent to cover one's face. We feel that these things ought not so to be.

EVOLUTION AND MAN. By J. W. Conley, D.D. (Manchester: *Robinson*).—The purpose of this little American book is to describe evolution in such a way that the plain man may understand it, and in such a way also that being a Christian he may no longer be afraid of it. There is no true antagonism, says Dr. Conley, between religion and evolution, the only antagonism is between traditional religion and materialistic evolution, and these he thinks have now both passed away. It is a right reasonable book. Those whom it appeals to should certainly seek it out and read it carefully. It will save them from making fools of themselves some day.

UGWALO LU KA BUNYANE (*London Miss. Soc.*).—The language of the tribe *we* call the Matabele, of whom we knew something to our cost when that truculent heathen Cetywayo was their king, is called Sentebele. In Sentebele Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* may now be read by the 200,000 persons who speak that tongue. It is a tongue closely allied to Zulu, so that it has been possible for the Rev. David Carnegie and his accomplished wife to adapt Dr. Colenso's Zulu version of the *Pilgrim* without the necessity of translating direct from the English. The feature of the book which impresses a mere English reader is its illustrations. They are highly original and effective. Christian is, of course, a Matabele, and all the scenery and circumstances are Matabele. Apollyon is a wonderful creation—head of wolf, eyes of owl, wings of bat, crocodile's body—he is more terrible to behold than the English, or even the Scotch, imagination has been able to conceive him. In giving the ideas for these illustrations Mr. Carnegie has been true to native notions. The artist is Mr. Montague.

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Contributions and Comments.

Some Notes on Ben-Sira.

1. IT is not easy to find mistakes in Kohut's *Aruch*, but the following is a clear case of one, and may have been corrected by others. The author of this dictionary, who died in 1105 A.D., mentions Ben-Sira only once, *s.v. pārīsh*, where he tells us Ben-Sira called the quince by its Arabic name, *safargal*. Kohut supposes this to be a reference to the Syriac version of Ecclus.; but it is really a reference to the Alphabet of Ben-Sira, where the word occurs in the list of fruits to be found in Nebuchadnezzar's garden.

With the aid of this quotation we can fix the date of the Alphabet of Ben-Sira fairly closely. For it makes Ben-Sira learn, among other things, the *Tanna de Bē Eliahu*, a work which contains the date 974 A.D. If we suppose that it takes a generation for a spurious work to acquire authority, the Alphabet cannot be earlier than 1004, nor later than 1075. Probably about 1025 is the true date. This Alphabet of Ben-Sira takes materials from the Talmud, but also from either the Greek or the Syriac Ecclus.

In a Persian translation of this work (of which two copies have been put into my hands by Mr. Khodadad of Liverpool) it is asserted that Ben-Sira was named before his birth, like his father Jeremiah, and was called פרח. What this name means or how it was inferred I cannot guess; but it is clear that the author of the Alphabet either did not know Ben-Sira's name or determined to avoid it. It may be observed that the story of Ben-Sira's birth given in this Alphabet, and said to be found in some copies of the Talmud, is modelled on a Zoroastrian tradition (Darmesteter, *Avesta*, i. 79).

2. From the reviews which have appeared of

Dr. Nestle's article on Sirach, I gather that it will soon be generally acknowledged that of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus we possess no more than the fragments preserved in the oral tradition of the Jews, most of which have suffered severely from that mode of transmission. To this meagre collection a small addition is made by Hoeschel's MS. in xlviii. 17b, where the ordinary text tells us that 'Hezekiah strengthened his city and brought into their midst *the Gog*.' The true reading is *ton ēōr, i.e.* אֶת־הַיְאֹר, 'the river,' which the translator was perhaps emboldened to reproduce by the fact that the word is Coptic, EIIOR, used for 'channel' in the Coptic of Ecclus. 24^{29}. Hoeschel's MS. with *τὸν νηώρ*, is nearly right; next comes the Sinait. with *τὸν ἠώγ*; of this 'Gog' is a bad correction, *ἀγωγόν* a good but infelicitous alteration. The verses are of the usual measure, חזקיהו חזק את עירו : ויבא אל תוכה את היאר. I fancy that Ben-Sira never omitted the *eth* when the accusative was definite; and he probably used this word because no other would have given him two syllables.

3. For those who think the original of Ecclus. survived into the seventh century the following passage may be of some interest. In Muslim's *Tradition-Book* (Cairo, 1290, i. 27) we read: 'Bushair, son of Ka'b, said, "We find it written in the Wisdom that of shame there is honour and of it there is weakness."' Bushair, son of Ka'b, appears from the narrative to have said this about the year 640; and the text to which he referred is certainly Ecclus. 4^{21}, 'for there is shame which causes sin, and there is shame which is honour and grace.' Unfortunately the different forms of the tradition collected by Muslim render it impossible to discover in what language Bushair heard it. The word used for honour (*Waḳār*) suggests that it was Syriac.

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The *Locus Classicus* for the Incarnation overlooked.

Let me call attention to a few points where the able writer of the contribution to The Expository Times that stands under the above heading might have made it easier to follow him. In spite of some doubts as to the meaning that he assigns to *λόγος*, we may read on smoothly enough till we reach the second clause of v.[5], 'the darkness overcame (or apprehended) it not.' He proposes that this clause should be made interrogative. For this meaning would it not be more in accordance with the usage of the Fourth Gospel (cf. Jn 4^{35} 7^{25}) to have a different order—*e.g.* *οὐχ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ κατέλαβεν*? Then, however, the writer's meaning (*c*) would have required *μή* rather than *οὐ*, as would be felt especially by those that prefer the rendering 'overcame it not.' Again, at v.[6], where he proposes to translate 'It became man' instead of 'There arose a man whose name was John,' we have a feeling, when we look at the style of the prologue up to that point, that for this meaning *αὐτό* would have been inserted before *ἐγένετο*. The writer argues that, to justify the translation of the Revised Version, the word *ἐγένετο* should have been accompanied by an adverbial complement denoting the *place* where or whence. The expression, *πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι* of Jn 8^{58}, however, tends to raise doubts on this point. Then when we find that the writer has to insert immediately afterwards an *ἦν*, which does not seem to be particularly well attested, our doubts become stronger. As we come down to v.[14], where the writer holds that the expression the 'Word became flesh' refers to the 'mission received by the apostles,' and says that it would be strange that He who calls Himself the Life should enter the world as *σὰρξ*, as '*lifeless* flesh,' we ask, does *σὰρξ* necessarily mean *lifeless* flesh (the italics are the writer's), or would the mission of the apostles have been so useful if it had been a mission, in some sense, of *lifeless* flesh? Then do the expressions 'tabernacled among us' and 'we (presumably John and his fellow-witnesses) beheld (aorist) His glory as of an only Son from His Father' accord with this view? On points like these many readers that will look forward with interest to this new edition of the Gospel would welcome a word or two of explanation.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

MESSRS. WILLIAMS & NORGATE have published the first number of *The Hibbert Journal.*

With the first number there is issued a manifesto, signed by both editors. Its opening sentence is, 'The differences of opinion existing in regard to matters religious, theological, and philosophical are recognized by the editors of *The Hibbert Journal* in the spirit in which any natural phenomena would be regarded.' And the last sentence of the first paragraph is, 'Among extant varieties of religious thought, none is selected by us as the type to which the rest should conform.'

What does that mean? The first sentence means that the editors invite all the followers of all the creeds, and all the followers of none, to come and fight their battles in the pages of *The Hibbert Journal.* 'No attempt,' says a later paragraph, 'will here be made to select the views of concordant minds. Rather will controversy be welcomed.' But the last sentence? Does it mean, as Mrs. Besant would say, that one religion is as good as another—and better, for its own country and tribe? Or when they say, 'Among extant varieties of religious thought,' do they mean Christian thought? They do not tell, and we cannot say.

Nevertheless, we are not left to surmise that the editors have no creed; we are not left in ignorance as to what it is. Their creed consists of three propositions. The first is that the Goal of thought is One; the second, that thought, striving to reach the Goal, must for ever move; the third, that the movement by which the many approach the One is furthered by the conflict of opinion. So we think it must mean Christianity after all. For it was Christ who said, 'I and the Father are One'; it was Christ who said, 'I came that they might have life'; and it was Christ who also said, 'I came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword.'

The contents are varied. The first article is doctrinal, the second philosophical, the third scientific, the fourth literary, the fifth exegetical, the sixth textual, and the seventh cosmological.

Professor Percy Gardner has the first place, with the weakest article. This is probably not intentional (as if the contents were meant to rise to a climax with Dr. Horton's 'Catastrophes and the Moral Order'); for, if weak, it is well written. Yet it cannot be simply because it is well written that this honour is conferred upon it, the literary grace of Dr. Stopford Brooke's article on Matthew Arnold being still greater. Perhaps it stands first because it seems fundamental—'The Basis of Christian Doctrine' is its title. But that is just where its weakness lies. In the very beginning

Dr. Gardner removes the true basis of Christian doctrine, and that too by so airy a sentence as: 'The history contained in the Gospels is certainly largely mixed with mythology.' And after that, though the article is surprisingly 'orthodox,' Christian doctrine never finds a resting-place.

The Principal of the University of Birmingham states 'the Outstanding Controversy between Science and Faith.' He says it is the efficacy of prayer. For there is no controversy with Science on the existence of God, the controversy now is upon His government. 'Is the world controlled by a living Person, accessible to prayer, influenced by love, able and willing to foresee, to intervene, to guide, and wistfully to lead without compulsion spirits in some sort akin to Himself? Or is the world a self-generated, self-controlling machine, complete and fully organized for movement, either up or down, for progress or degeneration, according to the chances of heredity and the influence of environment?' That controversy, says Sir Oliver Lodge, is not yet settled, but he clearly thinks that faith and prayer will win.

Enough. It is a good first number, somewhat advanced perhaps, in spite of the editors' determination to have nothing to do with 'advanced' thought and to give themselves wholly to thought 'which advances,' but not enough to startle us or dismay.

A series of volumes entitled 'Handbooks for the Clergy' are under issue by Messrs. Longman. One of the series has been written by the new Dean of Westminster. It is called *The Study of the Gospels*.

The series seems to say that the Clergy are not very well educated, even in the Gospels. Dean Armitage Robinson is elementary, as all his fellows have been. He silently assumes that about the study of the Gospels the clergy know nothing at all, just as Professor Swete assumed that they knew nothing about the study of the Fathers, and Canon Mason that they knew nothing about the Ministry of Conversion. But it is always possible to be at once very elementary and very profound, like the Gospels themselves. It is possible, although it is not easy. And Dean Armitage Robinson has succeeded in making the clergy think.

How should the Gospels be studied? The Dean of Westminster begins with their date and authorship. But he does not recommend his readers to begin in that way. He deliberately advises them not to begin in that way—at least if they have serious doubt about their date and authorship. He says, 'I should not ask a man who had serious doubts of the truth of Christianity—to enter upon a literary inquiry as to the date and authorship of the Gospels. I should say: Leave that untouched for the present. Read the books themselves, wholly irrespective of when or by whom they were written, or even of their accuracy in detail. Take the picture of Christ as drawn by the vigorous hand which wrote our Second Gospel. Read it as a whole; let the story grow upon you; watch that powerful sympathetic original Character; ask how the simple unliterary author came by this story, if it was not that the story was a direct transcript from the life. If a new Power was then manifested in the world, revealing a new ideal of human goodness, saving men everywhere and only refusing to save himself, must you not yearn to welcome the belief that this Power was not finally vanquished by death, but still lives to save men to the uttermost?'

Dean Armitage Robinson himself, however, begins with the date and authorship of the Gospels. He cannot do otherwise. And he begins with St. Luke. For he has no doubt that the Third Gospel and the Acts are of one authorship, that indeed they form two parts of one work, which the author intended to complete with the issue of a third. Now at a certain point in one of these parts this author begins to use

the pronoun 'we.' That pronoun leads us to a date. For it means that he who wrote the Third Gospel and the Acts was a companion in travel of St. Paul, whose history he carries down to the year 63. That he does not carry it farther was due, Dean Robinson thinks, to his intention to write another book. There was a certain length, you see, that was considered proper for a book in those days, and the book of the Acts had reached it. The rest of the history must be told in another. And so it is not to be assumed that the whole work was finished by the year 63, or even before the year 70. Dean Armitage Robinson is inclined to put the date of the Gospel according to St. Luke 'shortly after 70.'

Now he who wrote the Third Gospel made use of the Second. Therefore the Second Gospel was already written when St. Luke began his work. And it is practically certain that it was written by St. Mark. For 'it is exceedingly probable that St. Peter could not write or preach, even if he could speak at all, in any language but his mother tongue, the Aramaic of Galilee, a local dialect akin to Hebrew.' And the tradition which not only gives this Gospel the title, 'According to St. Mark.' but also says that St. Mark was the interpreter of St. Peter, has every probability in its favour. The date is probably the year 65.

Seventy A.D. for St. Luke, 65 A.D. for St. Mark —these dates are practically certain. It is otherwise with St. Matthew. 'I do not know a harder question,' says Dean Armitage Robinson, 'in the whole of New Testament criticism than the date of the First Gospel.' There are things internal that are sure enough, as this, that 'St. Matthew' used St. Mark and did not use St. Luke. There are also things external that are at least quite likely, that St. Matthew had something to do with the writing of a Gospel. But they do not carry us far. And at last Dean Armitage Robinson ends with a verdict of *non liquet*: 'I do not feel that I am entitled at present to express a definite opinion on this difficult question, and therefore I must content myself with leaving the authorship and date alike uncertain.'

The opening article in the *Expositor* for October is by Professor Swete of Cambridge. It is simply the exposition of the last five verses of St. Matthew's Gospel. It was read 'to a gathering of past and present members of the Cambridge Clergy Training School,' held at Westcott House, July 7–9, 1902. It is well worth its place in the *Expositor*.

At the end of the article, Professor Swete explains why he chose such a passage for such a gathering. It was a gathering of clergy, of ministers of the Word, of English parish priests, —what had they to do with this passage? Does it not contain the marching orders of the missionary? It does. Dr. Swete rejoices to find that it is the great incentive to missionary work. 'The immense field it opens ("all the nations"), the vast reaches of time it contemplates ("unto the consummation of the age"), the responsibility it lays on all Christian people ("go and make disciples"), the infinite resources upon which it permits them to draw ("all authority")—such a combination of motives to missionary and evangelistic work is unparalleled.'

And yet Professor Swete deliberately chose this passage for those who stay at home. For he could remember none more stimulating to a body of men who are engaged in pastoral work. It contains the missionary's marching orders—that happily is recognized on all hands. But it also contains the commission of the pastor and teacher. For He who said, 'Go ye therefore and make disciples,' said also, 'teaching them to observe.' And behind the teacher also there is the authority, and with him there is the presence, of the victorious Christ, 'until the end of our brief share of "all the days" which span the interval between the Advents.'

The first thing that confronts an expositor of the last five verses of St. Matthew's Gospel is the situation they imply. It is Galilee. It is a mountain in Galilee where Jesus had appointed them. But the Ascension did not take place in Galilee. And St. Luke never mentions Galilee either in the end of his Gospel or in the beginning of his Acts.

Professor Swete believes that there were two traditions in the Apostolic Church. St. Luke follows the one; St. Matthew (who depends upon St. Mark) the other. According to the tradition which is preserved by St. Luke, the apostles continued at Jerusalem, and the appearances in the Holy City and its neighbourhood culminated at the end of forty days in the final vision of the Ascension. According to St. Matthew, the appearances at Jerusalem were limited to Easter Day, when the scene shifts to Galilee, and the narrative leaves us.

If these two traditions are irreconcilable, Professor Swete would prefer to follow St. Matthew. For St. Matthew is St. Mark, and while St. Luke's trustworthiness is above suspicion, his opportunities were scarcely equal to those of St. Peter's interpreter. But they are not irreconcilable. 'In the present state of our knowledge,' says Professor Swete, 'it is reasonable to regard the two accounts as complementary and not mutually exclusive.'

But why did our Lord lead the Eleven back to Galilee when He proposed to ascend from the Mount of Olives? To fulfil prophecy? Well, there were prophecies. There was the prophecy of the night before the Passion (Mt 26^{32}), 'After I am raised up, I will go before you into Galilee'; and there is the prophecy of the morning of the resurrection, the prophecy of the angel at the tomb (28^{7}), 'He goeth before you into Galilee.' But that would be a reason for *St. Matthew's* sending them into Galilee, not for the Lord's leading them thither. Dr. Swete believes that He led them into Galilee, because nowhere but in Galilee could a great concourse be gathered together to be witnesses with the apostles of His resurrection, and to receive His last instructions to the Church.

For Dr. Swete believes that such an assembly was held, and that it is identical with the meeting recorded by St. Paul (1 Co 15^{6}). He draws a picture of it. 'The day for the meeting (for a day had doubtless been fixed) has come, and the Eleven are at the appointed place, in Galilee, and on the line of the hills indicated,'—'unto the mountain' our versions have it. But the mountain (τὸ ὄρος) is not necessarily a particular isolated hill, such as Tabor or Hattin; rather it is the hill country, probably on the western shore of the lake, which had been the principal scene of Christ's preaching and prayer, and was in proximity to the towns which He had evangelized.

'There the Eleven have now taken their stand, and with them there is an eager crowd of Galileans who have left their farms or their merchandise at the call of the Master. How long they waited we do not know; but at length the form of a man was seen crossing the hills and coming towards them, and we can hear the exclamation passing from mouth to mouth, "It is the Lord." At once the assembly prostrated itself.' Professor Swete takes notice of the word. They prostrated themselves (προσεκύνησαν), they fell on their faces; they did not fall on their knees only (ἐγονυπέτησαν). And yet Dr. Swete counts it less than an act of worship. The majority of the Galilean disciples could not have been ready yet for the worship of Jesus as Divine. But it was at least an acknowledgment of the claims of One who had proved His supernatural character by overcoming death.

They worshipped—but some doubted. What did they doubt? That He had risen? Dr. Swete cannot believe it. The very word used by St. Matthew shows that they did not doubt that. He

does not speak of the doubt of unbelief (ἠπίστησαν); he speaks of the doubt of uncertainty (ἐδίστασαν). What they doubted was not whether the Christ was risen, but whether the form they saw in the distance was indeed that of the risen Christ.

He did not keep them long in doubt. He came near and spoke to them. And they doubted no longer. There was ever something in the form of the risen Christ which made men doubt, but always the voice drove doubt away. One word to the Magdalene, 'Mary.' To the Emmaus disciples, the blessing as He brake the bread. To the multitude on the hills of Galilee the wonderful words, 'All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth.'

Into the exposition we do not follow Professor Swete. The article is intelligible and accessible. Noting only that it is Deissmann's *Bible Studies* and Dalman's *Words of Jesus* that he chiefly refers to for the freshness of his thoughts, we pass to the question of the genuineness of the baptismal formula.

The question is a simple alternative. Did Jesus say, 'Baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost?' Or did the Evangelist put into the Lord's mouth words which by his own time had come to be connected with the administration of baptism, and which sufficiently represented Christ's general teaching? Says Dr. Swete—his words are well weighed and worth quoting: 'The second view receives much support from modern scholars, but I trust that we shall hesitate before we accept it. The words as they stand are consistent with the majesty of the whole scene. Nor can I see the least improbability that they were actually spoken by the Lord on this occasion. It was one of vast importance to the Church, when she received from her Head her age-long commission. What more likely than that the Lord would have seized this opportunity of gathering up in the fewest words the substance of all His earlier teaching concerning God, and connecting it for ever with the sacrament of initiation into the Christian brotherhood? Indeed, is it not almost certain that some such form of words was actually used by Christ before He left the earth? Is it possible on any other hypothesis to explain the frequent occurrence of trinitarian language in Christian writings of the apostolic age and the steady and growing trinitarian belief of the early Church?'

Moreover, there the words stand. The document in which they are found is 'as old as the eighth decade of the first century.' If the original formula of baptism is 'into the name of Jesus Christ,' whence came the sudden change of front which led to the substitution of a trinitarian form? 'Questions such as these,' says Professor Swete, 'call for an answer before we set aside the plain and undoubted witness of so early a document as the First Gospel.'

'Who then is this?' They asked the question when they saw that the wind and the sea obeyed Him.

For there was nothing that could have surprised them more than that. Familiarity does not always breed contempt. The fishermen on the sea of Galilee were very familiar with the movements of the wind and the sea, but they never lost their dread of them.

> O for a soft and gentle wind!
> I heard a fair one cry;
> But give to me the snoring breeze
> And white waves heaving high,

is the song of the English sailor. But physical fear and religious awe made such a song impossible to the boatmen of the Galilean lake.

So when they saw that the wind and the sea obeyed Him, they were like to fall in as great a dread of Him as they were of the wind and the sea. 'They feared exceedingly (ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν), and said one to another, Who then is this?'

But the commonplace asserted itself. There were those who knew Him. They knew Him to be the son of the carpenter. In spite of the wind and the sea, they knew Him. They knew that He was one of themselves. And they said, 'Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James and Joseph and Simon and Judas? And his sisters are they not all with us?' He is ours, they said; He is one of us. That was the first answer to the question, 'Who then is this?'

But the second answer came. 'This is my beloved Son' (Mt 17^5). He is not yours, said the Father Almighty, He is mine.

Men are troubled still that the wind and the sea should obey Him. His influence, which ought to have ended long ago, is not yet even on the wane. The leading article in a daily newspaper said, not very long ago, that Matthew Arnold had undoubtedly been a great religious force in his day, but not so great as the Nazarene Jesus. No, not so great. For the wind and the sea obeyed the Nazarene Jesus, and they obey Him still. These miracles of the Gospels that take so much explaining, this persistent spiritual influence that connects itself with a risen, reigning Redeemer, they compel men still to ask the question, 'Who then is this?' But the miracles must be explained away, and the spiritual influence must be detached from the fancy of a risen Christ, for He is only one of ourselves.

Then God the Father comes and says, 'He is not yours: He is not yours at all if you think He is only yours. This is my beloved Son.' Neither evolution nor the commonplace can account for Him. He is the carpenter's son, but that is neither the beginning nor the end of Him. And it is of no use calling Him the carpenter's son if it is not recognized that He is the Father's beloved Son.

So this second answer to the question, 'Who then is this?' was not made to those who said He was the carpenter's son. It was made to those who said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' They who said that He was the carpenter's son, when they found that the wind and the sea obeyed Him, went back and walked no more with Him. When He said in the synagogue at Nazareth, 'This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears,' they who knew that He was the carpenter's son took Him up to the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, to cast Him down headlong.

But there were those who found that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God. They could reconcile the two no more than the others. Wiser than the others, however, they held by the highest that they knew. It was as certain that the wind and the sea obeyed Him as that He was the carpenter's son. And when they could not reconcile the two, they wisely held by the greatest. So it was to them that the second answer came.

And it came to them just in order that they might see how the two were to be reconciled. The multitude said He was the carpenter's son. 'But whom say ye that I am?' They answered and said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' *From that time* Jesus began to show them that He must suffer many things and be killed. They knew that He was the Father's beloved Son; they must not forget that He is also the son of the carpenter. And the difficulty came back upon them in keener pain than ever—the difficulty of understanding how He could be both.

So while He prayed—prayed surely that they might know how He could be the Son of the living God and yet suffer many things, prayed that they might know that though He was rich yet for their sakes He became poor—the fashion of His countenance was altered; He *was* the beloved Son of the Father and yet it was of *the decease that He should accomplish at Jerusalem* that Moses and Elijah spoke.

The Author of 'The Cross and the Kingdom.'

By the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, M.A., B.D., Montrose.

The hearty welcome which the first book of the Rev. W. L. Walker, *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, met with, is likely to fall to the lot of his second, *The Cross and the Kingdom*, as the latter, no less than the former, possesses two characteristics which should commend it to all serious and thoughtful men in the present day. On the one hand, the need of the gospel is keenly felt; on the other, as strong a desire for a restatement of the gospel in terms of modern intelligence is being experienced. The author of these books has wandered far and wide in the ways of contemporary thought to find truth, and he has at last found a home for his mind as well as his soul in a *liberal evangelicalism*, which accepts the facts of the Incarnation and the Atonement, but endeavours to give both such an interpretation as will be free from the objections many have been forced to recognize in regard to the traditional orthodoxy, and will answer such questions, speculative and practical, as present intellectual conditions are compelling us to face. The qualifying clause in each of his titles is most suggestive. In his first work he attempts to see 'the Spirit and the Incarnation in the Light of Scripture, Science, and Practical Need'; in the second he endeavours to present 'the Cross and the Kingdom as viewed by Christ Himself and in the Light of Evolution.' In all his theological thinking he has been greatly influenced by the critical and historical method of studying the Scriptures, the scientific doctrine of evolution, as expanded and elevated by the Hegelian philosophy, and the practical needs of men.

This last factor has been most potent in his theological development in the judgment of those who not only know the books, but also the man himself. He is a man intensely sincere and conscientious, gentle and modest, tenderly sympathetic to the sorrows and struggles of other men, as eager to lead others into the path of peace as he is intent to find the way of truth for himself. In his youth he witnessed the reality and blessedness of the Christian life in a Christian home, and under Methodist preaching passed through a definite experience of conversion. When he became the minister of a Congregational Church in Glasgow, he took an active part in the formation of the Home Mission Union, and engaged largely in district visiting and open-air preaching. Even in his pastorate in a Unitarian Church he preached Christ 'as an abiding revelation and organ of God in the Holy Spirit,' although he thereby estranged some of his hearers for whom Christ had no such meaning or value. His aim in both his books, as any sympathetic reader will soon discover, is not simply to gratify an intellectual curiosity, but to be helpful in confirming Christian experience and forming Christian character. Whatever mental presentation of Christian truth may at any time have secured his acceptance, his own personal allegiance has always been given to faith in the grace of God in Christ.

In spite of this personal affinity with evangelicalism, he soon was driven into revolt against the traditional orthodoxy. The question asked by one of the members in his first charge at Hawick, whether he could be happy in heaven while a dearly-loved one was suffering eternally in hell, forced on his attention the doctrine of eternal punishment; and for a time he found relief from doubt in the doctrine of 'eternal life in Christ alone.' Dr. Dale's insistence on Christ's endurance of penalty first shook his confidence in the accepted theory of the Atonement; while the study of New Testament theology led him to recognize the importance of the conception of the kingdom of God, which has now such prominence in his theology. The moral difficulties which the Old Testament presents were relieved only by the abandonment of the current views of inspiration, and the acceptance of the critical position, as presented in the public lectures of Dr. W. Robertson Smith, which he attended in Glasgow.

It was a study of the teaching of Jesus Himself which made him begin to question the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the Person of Christ; and further study of some Unitarian literature to cherish the hope, that a reasonable and righteous evangelicalism could be built on a Unitarian basis.

When, however, he attached himself formally to Unitarianism, he was not long in discovering that neither intellectually nor spiritually could he hope for satisfaction in it. Its cold intellectualism, its practical impotence, and its indifference to the Person and Work of Christ, distressed him. He discovered that what was wanted more than mental lucidity was spiritual energy, and he desired to find out the secret of the power of the early Church. This inquiry led him back again to a recognition that it is the Divine in Christ that men need for their salvation; that it is the presence and power of the Spirit that the Church needs for the fulfilment of its task; and that the doctrine of the Divine in Christ and the doctrine of the Spirit are essentially related. In his first book he seeks intellectually to justify this hard-won conviction, that the Church can possess and exercise power for the saving of men only as Christ is personally present and active by the Spirit. To the further step, which he takes in his second volume, he has been led not merely by logical necessity, but by the constraint of his own personal experience. The Christ who lives and works in the Spirit is the Crucified, and it is through His sacrifice that He has reached His supremacy. The writer gives us in the book his own recovery of the meaning of the Cross.

This brief sketch of the theological development, or the spiritual biography, of the author of two works of such unique interest and exceptional value, which the privilege and honour of an intimate friendship enables me to give with no violation of personal confidence, may appear to require justification. Two valid pleas can be advanced. The books will be better understood if the experience which makes them interesting 'human documents' is known. This experience is itself typical, and the record of it may prove helpful in showing that the revolt from traditional orthodoxy need not, should not, end in doubt or denial, but by the leading of the Spirit of truth may be followed by a recovery of a genuinely evangelical faith and theology.

'The Cross and the Kingdom.'

By Professor the Rev. James Iverach, M.A., D.D., Aberdeen.

The Cross and the Kingdom, as viewed by Christ Himself and in the Light of Evolution. By the Rev. W. L. Walker, Laurencekirk. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

The readers of Mr. Walker's former work, *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, will give a hearty welcome to his present volume. The generous welcome given by the critics and the public to the former volume, when the author was unknown, will surely be more than repeated, now that the author is known and has won his reputation as a thinker and a writer of no mean worth. We, at all events, are glad to welcome Mr. Walker again, and we may express our pleasure at the thought that a minister in a small country town should have taken so high a place among the thinkers and theologians of the day. In truth, the works of Mr. Walker are of the highest order; they show him to be a reader of enormous range, and a man who can make good use of his reading. Then his books are directed to the needs of the present time, and the problems which agitate and perplex the people of to-day are precisely those with which Mr. Walker has grappled, and with which he has wrestled to such good purpose.

The volume before us is of varied interest. From one point of view it is a contribution towards the study of the Synoptic Gospels, and an attempt to answer the question whether we have any authentic record of the words of Jesus, and whether we can use the Gospel record of the sayings of Jesus with the assurance that they are His sayings, and not the product of the subsequent reflexion of the Church. We have also the theological interest strongly excited as we follow Mr. Walker in his description of the place and function of the Cross in the life of the individual and in the life of man. Ethically and spiritually we are enriched as we

follow him in his delineation of the Kingdom of God and the significance of the Cross for the Kingdom. Mr. Walker has been able to use the magnificent contribution of Ritschl towards the conception of the Kingdom of God without using those implications which make the Ritschlian theology so difficult to many. Then we have, finally, the interest attaching to any thoughtful attempt to reconcile the theory of Evolution, now so widely accepted, with distinctive Christian doctrines, such as the doctrines of the Fall and the Atonement. All these are practical and burning questions of the present time, and it is a satisfaction of no ordinary kind to find a man like Mr. Walker girding himself to the task of an adequate statement of the Christian relation towards them all.

To give some account of the book, if adequate, would take more space than we can afford. But some account must be given. After an introductory chapter, Mr. Walker sets forth his theme in five parts: first, the necessary implication of the Cross; second, the reality of our Lord's references to His Cross; third, the Cross as viewed by Christ; fourth, the interpretation of the Cross; and fifth, the Cross in the light of Evolution. The necessary implication of the Cross is made plain by a statement of what Christianity would have been without the Cross, and of what Christianity is with the Cross brought in, and by a statement of the fact of the Cross in relation to the grounds of faith. Something might be said on the value of these sections, were there time. We can only say that they are of great worth, both in themselves and in relation to what follows. When Mr. Walker comes to the consideration of the reality of our Lord's sayings in relation to the Cross, he is met with the fact that much recent criticism has tended to throw doubt on the authenticity of many of the sayings attributed to Him in the Synoptic Gospels. He could not ignore the fact that in the writings of men like Moffatt, Percy Gardner, Schmiedel, Pfleiderer, and others, principles are laid down and results attained, which would make it impossible to say whether Jesus ever made reference to His own death. Not many years ago Dr. Dale could write as follows:—

> Let the Gospels stand alone, let the testimony of the Epistles be entirely suppressed, and the strong foundation of that conception of the death of Christ, which has been the refuge of penitents and the joy of saints for 1800 years, will remain unshaken. The words of Christ and the words of Christ alone are a sufficient vindication of the ancient faith of the Church.

But what if we have no words of Christ? what if the words of Christ, or those sayings attributed to Christ in the Gospels, are themselves the product of the faith of the Church, not themselves true or real, but simply what the Church, reflecting on her needs, desired to be true? Confronted with this view, confronted with the fact that Pfleiderer had striven to prove that Jesus never did refer to His own death, clearly Mr. Walker must make good the foundations on which he has to build. He has not dealt with the general question as to what share, if any, Christian reflexion had in the production of the Gospels. Nor has he examined the machinery set forth by Professor Percy Gardner and Mr. Moffatt, by the use of which the immature Church of the first century was able to invent the great figure of the Christ. A great feat, certainly, on the part of that Church, the most remarkable characteristic of which was its immaturity. On this we quote from the masterly article of Dr. Charles in the *Expositor*, sixth series, vol. v. p. 259—

> Though in the gracious figure depicted in the New Testament we have a marvellous conjunction of characteristics drawn from the most varied and unrelated sources in the Old Testament prophecy and apocalyptic, yet the result is no artificial compound, no laboured syncretism of conflicting traits, but truly and indeed their perfect and harmonious consummation in a personality transcending them all. So far, indeed, is the Christ of the Gospels from being the studied and self-conscious realization of the Messianic hopes of the past, that it was not till the Christ had lived on earth that the true inwardness and meaning of these ancient ideals became manifest, and found at once their interpretation and fulfilment in the various natural expressions of the unique personality of the Son of Man.

Mr. Walker has dealt with the general question only in an incidental manner. He wisely limits himself to a critical examination of Pfleiderer's contention that Jesus never referred to His own death. Pfleiderer's article lies open before us as we write. It is entitled 'Jesus' Foreknowledge of His own Death,' and it occupies pp. 178–204 of the volume entitled *Evolution and Theology*, published by Messrs. A. & C. Black.

Most of the sayings of Jesus regarding His death, Pfleiderer dismissed as 'the products of the apologetic reflexion of the Church,' the basis of them being certain passages of the Old Testa-

ment. We cannot enter into the discussion, but we may say that Mr. Walker has subjected the paper of Pfleiderer to a detailed examination, and has given reasons why the sayings ascribed to Jesus were really uttered by Him. Further, he shows that, apart from particular sayings, there is good ground for believing 'that Jesus looked forward to and spoke of His death as holding a most important place in the fulfilment of His mission.' These two chapters are valuable from every point of view, and though preliminary to his main argument, they show that Mr. Walker has exegetical and expository gifts of a high order. These chapters also have great value in the light of the tendency of Gospel criticism in many quarters.

Passing from the discussion of the data, Mr. Walker proceeds to the interpretation of the attitude of Jesus towards His death. 'The Cross as viewed by Christ' is the title of the third part of the book. He first looks at the subject in the light of the Old Testament, then he looks at the special sayings of our Lord with reference to the Cross, then the experience of our Lord in view of, and in, His death is reverently examined, then the title Son of Man is suggestively treated, then the Remission of sin in its bearing on Christ's view of the Cross is dealt with; and, lastly, the whole subject is regarded in the light of Christ's teaching concerning the Kingdom of God. It may be well here to quote—

> There must be such a manifestation of the love of God as shall prove stronger than the evil power that holds them, that God must so communicate Himself to them that the spirit in them shall completely triumph over the flesh, and the Righteousness of the Kingdom be made theirs in blessed, eternal possession. The necessity before us is not an unreal creation of theology, but most real, practical, and pressing—so much so that the Saviour gave Himself as a sacrifice to meet it. It was an absolute necessity, if the Kingdom of God was to be established and man's destiny as God's child realized. Unless men are to be hopelessly lost, some more powerful motive must be set in operation in their hearts than anything that is as yet working. Whatever it may be that hinders the coming of the Kingdom in its power, must be taken away. That sin that keeps God back must be removed. In short, God must come to man in a new revelation of His Grace, if they are to be saved. That Jesus interpreted, ultimately at least, the necessity for His death in this light, cannot, we think, be doubted. It was that which should bring the Kingdom in. It was the great sacrifice by means of which man should be redeemed from that sin which shut them out of the Kingdom. It was that which should seal and establish that new covenant of assured salvation which was founded on forgiveness, and according to which God should come to men whose sins He had forgiven, to dwell in them and save them, putting His laws in their inward parts and writing them in their hearts.

Having described the attitude of Christ towards the Cross, Mr. Walker proceeds to inquire into the significance of the Cross. The interpretation of the Cross leads first to a criticism of unwarranted and inadequate theories, and secondly to a positive statement of the truth of the Cross. Its significance is finely pointed out. It is the culmination of vicarious suffering and sacrifice; it is the triumph over the power of evil. There is also a fine statement of the meaning of the Cross in its relation to God, on which we should like to dwell if we could. Of great significance is the chapter on the Cross and the Kingdom, but that also we must pass by.

While we approve generally of the trend and tendency of the discussion contained in the last part of the book, we must regard it as inadequate. 'The Cross in the Light of Evolution' is too large a subject to be treated adequately in a few pages. No doubt Mr. Walker has many considerations relevant to his proper theme; but it would be necessary to tell us what form of the theory of Evolution he is inclined to accept. Would he accept that form of Evolution which throws the movement of the universe into the life of God, and makes the outcome the realization of God? Or would he accept that form of Evolution which makes it to be the blind movement of unintelligent forces working out results along the line of least resistance? We rather think that neither of these forms would commend themselves to Mr. Walker. A form of Evolution consistent with purpose and with a meaning, which would be consistent with the reality of God and with the freedom and worth of man, would, we believe, be advocated by Mr. Walker. But then he ought to have said so. So far as he goes, we are disposed to agree with him, but we desiderate a more adequate treatment of this great subject.

Apart from this we desire to speak with admiration of the good work done in this book. It is worthy to stand beside his former treatise. Taking both together, they form a magnificent contribution to the theological literature of the age, and we trust Mr. Walker will be encouraged to continue that kind of work, for the doing of which he is so well qualified.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Kautzsch on the Poetry of the Old Testament.[1]

The name of Professor Kautzsch of Halle is happily well known to the readers of The Expository Times, as to most students of biblical and theological subjects in this country. His work on the Old Testament, its translation, its history, and its permanent significance, is valuable not only for the scholarship it displays, but for the sound judgment with which difficult questions are discussed and handled. Professor Kautzsch has paid somewhat special attention to the Psalms, and in the volume before us he gives an interesting, popular, and general account of the poetry and poetical books of the Old Testament. The substance of this short treatise was delivered in six lectures, intended rather for the educated layman than for the scholar. The author does not profess to bring forward any new contribution to the discussion of the many vexed questions which gather round his subject—unless it be in the pages which he devotes to recent theories concerning the Book of Job,—but the theme in itself is full of interest, and it is handled, one need hardly say, with clearness, skill, and discrimination.

The earlier sections of the book are devoted to a general discussion of the structure of Hebrew poetry, and the various kinds of poetical composition that have come down to us. Under the heading of Secular Poetry, Dr. Kautzsch describes the war-song, the epigram, the 'enigma,' the proverb, the dirge, and other short poetical types, of which specimens lie embedded in the Old Testament literature—from Lamech's song in Gn 4^{23} to the elegy upon Saul and Jonathan in 2 S, and the 'taunting song' against the king of Babylon in Is 14. Next he deals very briefly with the collections of verse, such as the Book of Jashar and the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, of which traces are to be found in the historical books. Then the poetical books are handled separately: Psalms, Lamentations, the Song, the Proverbs, and Job, though the author's limited space allows but a brief treatment of each.

Chief attention is naturally given to the Psalter. This is described as the prayer-book and hymn-book of the Jewish Church after the Exile, arranged for the edification of the community during that period, not for public use in the service of the temple only. Professor Kautzsch shows how impossible it is to trust the titles of the Psalms, and points out how some of the obvious mistakes of the compilers may have arisen. We cannot agree, however, with his view of the way in which David came to be regarded as a pious Psalm-writer, and throughout the author appears to us to minimize the value of early tradition. But in the main the account of the compilation of the Psalter corresponds with that which is now generally accepted by scholars. Some interesting remarks follow on the theology of the Psalter and its value for religion generally. The limits of the Old Testament dispensation are pointed out, especially as illustrated by the imprecatory Psalms and the apparent self-righteousness of the psalmists. Professor Kautzsch partly explains these latter features by interpreting the 'I' of the Psalms in a large number of instances, in a national, not a personal, sense. The purity and spirituality of the Psalter as a book of devotion for all ages receives full and reverent recognition.

In the exposition of the Song of Songs, recent theories—notably that of Budde—which made the book a mere bundle of fragments, a collection of popular songs sung at weddings by professional or amateur singers, like the *wasf* in Syria to-day, are duly considered. But Kautzsch, while recognizing the difficulties attaching to almost every explanation of this fascinating but perplexing poem, is wisely inclined to emphasize its character as an artistic whole, though it may be one to which we have not yet fully succeeded in finding the key.

On the whole, though there be nothing specially new or striking in this *brochure*, it renders excellent service in giving a clear account in small compass of the poetical books of the Old Testament, viewed in the light of the best and most recent scholarship—which was precisely the aim which the esteemed author had in view.

Handsworth College. W. T. Davison.

[1] *Die Poesie und die Poetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments.* Sechs Vorträge von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie zu Halle. London: Williams & Norgate.

The Sibylline Oracles.

THE Greek literature of the first three centuries of the Christian Church is being edited under the direction of the Prussian Royal Academy in a way to put all other editions out of date. The most recent addition to the handsome series of volumes is *The Sibylline Oracles*,[1] and it is quite equal in textual scholarship to those which have gone before it. The editor is Dr. John Geffcken of Hamburg.

The story of the Sibylline Oracles is one of the most romantic in the history of literature. It begins with the well-known but ill-attested legend of the offer to some early king of Rome of certain oracular verses by a Sibyl. The verses were rejected as not worth the money; whereupon the Sibyl retired, destroyed part of them, and offered the remainder at the same price as before. They were again rejected. Again the Sibyl destroyed a part, and again she offered the remainder at the old price. At last the money was given and the Oracles were laid up for imperial consultation.

Did the Christian Church—for the Oracles Dr. Geffcken has to do with are Christian literature—receive its oracles from Rome? What influence, then, had Rome in the development of early Christian theology and practice? It is one of the most intricate and interesting of Church History questions.

Roman or not Roman, the early Fathers believed in the originality of the Sibyls. When it was found that there were similarities between the Oracles and Homer, they had no hesitation in calling Homer the plagiarist, Tertullian going so far as to assert that the Oracles were the oldest literature in the world.

But Dr. Geffcken does not give himself to the deep discussion of these matters. Touching just what is necessary for his purpose, he spends his strength on the text. This he gives with utmost care and with much apparatus of footnote. And the text is so beautifully printed that it is a delight to read it.

The first volume of Professor Bovon's *Étude sur L'Œuvre de la Rédemption*[2] has appeared in a new edition, revised and enlarged. It is the first of the two volumes which deal with the Historical Basis, and describes the Life and Teaching of Jesus. The success of this great work is very welcome to all students of theology. It is to be hoped that even more than it has yet done, the book will make its way in our own country. Teachers cannot afford to ignore it; and preachers will find it very stimulating and enriching.

The new edition of the *Grammar of New Testament Greek*[3] by Dr. Blass will be welcomed on several grounds. It is a sign that the new study of the language of the New Testament—its study by aid of MSS and inscriptions—is making good progress. It is also an encouragement to men of great classical learning who are weary with translating Aristophanes' *Wasps* for the thousandth time to turn their attention to that mine of inexhaustible intellectual interest, the New Testament, whose language is as scientific as the most severely 'classical' model. When Professor Blass gave his mind to the study of New Testament Greek, he found his heart soon follow. And it is a boon to us all to have the very latest findings of so great a scholar on so important a subject for our study.

So far as we can gather, the corrections and additions in this edition are mostly to be found in Macmillan's English edition, which is so admirably translated by Mr. St. John Thackeray. Professor Blass read all the proofs of that edition and made his corrections and additions upon them.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

Wie predigen wir dem modernen Menschen? Eine Untersuchung über Motive und Quietive. Von Lic. theol. F. Niebergall. Tübingen: Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate. 3s. net.

Das Wesen des Christentums. Von Adolf Harnack. Akademische Ausgabe. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M.1.

Jesus Christus und das gebildete Haus unserer Tage. Von Gustav Sorglich. Berlin: Schwetsche und Sohn. M.–80.

Le Magnificat, doit-il être attribué à Marie ou à Élisabeth? Par M. Lepin. Lyon: Em. Vitte.

Die evangelisch-lutherischen Freikirchen in Deutschland. Von Georg Froböss. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M.–60.

Histoire des Livres du Nouveau Testament. Par E. Jacquier. Tome I. Paris: Lecoffre. Fr. 3.50.

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[1] *Die Oracula Sibyllina.* Von Dr. Joh. Geffcken. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. M.9.50.

[2] *Théologie du Nouveau Testament.* Par Jules Bovon. Tome I. La Vie et L'Enseignement de Jésus. Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. Fr. 10.

[3] *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch.* Von Friedrich Blass. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister. M.6.

Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs. M.9.

Among the Periodicals.

The New 'Dictionary of the Bible.'

Each of the volumes of the *Dictionary* has now been reviewed in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* by Professor Schürer. We gave our readers some account of the former three reviews, and it will no doubt be of interest to them to hear Professor Schürer once more, on the work as a whole and on the last volume in particular. All the reviewer's notices have been discriminating, although commendation has always far outweighed censure. The notice of the fourth volume approaches very nearly to unmingled praise, Dr. Schürer apparently feeling that this is the most solid of the series.

It is natural that Dr. Schürer should start with a reference to the almost contemporary issue of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. For thoroughness (*Gründlichkeit*) he considers that there is nothing to choose between the two publications, and if he finds the *Dictionary* unduly conservative in some matters, he admits that the *Encyclopædia* carries its criticism at times to the extreme of fantasy. 'English theology may be congratulated on being enriched with both these works at once.'

Starting with the Biblical Theology articles, the reviewer notes as a peculiarity (*Eigenart*) of the *Dictionary* that in some instances Biblical passes into Dogmatic Theology. This is the case, he considers, in 'Predestination' (Warfield), 'Reconciliation' (Adamson), 'Regeneration' (Bartlet), 'Resurrection' (Bernard), 'Righteousness in the N.T.' (Stevens), 'Salvation' (Brown), 'Sanctification' (Bartlet), 'Sin' (Bernard), 'Son of God' (Sanday). As examples of a more strict adherence to the Biblical sphere, he specifies 'Praise in the O.T.' (Selbie), 'Prayer' (Bernard), 'Prophecy and Prophets' (A. B. Davidson), 'Propitiation' (Driver), 'Psychology' (Laidlaw), 'Righteousness in the O.T.' (Skinner), 'Satan' (Whitehouse), 'Shekinah' (Marshall), 'Soothsayer' and 'Sorcery' (Whitehouse). Professor Driver's article 'Son of Man' is pronounced 'extremely careful, as one is accustomed to expect from this author.' The reviewer agrees with Mason, in article 'Power of the Keys,' that *bind and loose = forbid and permit.*

Passing to another category, Dr. Schürer passes a very warm eulogium on White's article 'Vulgate.' He adds that there are many other articles of the same kind (*e.g.* Strack's 'Text of the O.T.,' Nestle's 'Septuagint,' 'Text of the N.T.,' and 'Syriac Versions'), in which an admirable summary of the present condition of research is given by experts who have been for long familiar with their subject. Nestle's article on 'Sirach' is awarded the palm for interest among those dealing with the apocryphal books. It is especially in the articles belonging to the sphere of New Testament Introduction that Dr. Schürer finds the conservatism he deprecates. As instances he adduces Lock's articles on the Pastoral Epistles, and Plummer's 'Quirinius.' A notable and praiseworthy exception to the tendency he finds in Porter's 'Revelation.' Professor Ramsay's geographical articles receive the praise due to their author's knowledge of his subject. Dr. Schürer notes an interesting coincidence between his own conclusion (*G.J.V.*[3] i. 559, 589f.) and that of Professor Ramsay (art. 'Pontus,' p. 16b), regarding the date of the marriage of Polemon II. with Berenice.

The articles on Archæology are pronounced 'careful and admirably informing.' As notable amongst these the following are selected: 'Poor' (Driver), 'Pottery' (Bliss), 'Priests and Levites' (Baudissin), 'Sabbath' (Driver), 'Sacrifice' (Paterson), 'Sanhedrin' (Bacher), 'Scribes' (Eaton), 'Servant, Slave, Slavery' (Whitehouse), 'Shewbread' (Kennedy), 'Synagogue' (Bacher), 'Tabernacle' (Kennedy), 'Temple' (Davies), 'Time' (Abrahams), 'Unclean, Uncleanness' (Peake), 'Urim and Thummim' and 'Weights and Measures' (Kennedy), 'Writing' (Kenyon, 'at present one of the first authorities on the subject'). Special praise is bestowed upon the article 'Synagogue,' whose author, Professor Bacher, 'combines with historical sense and scientific training a rare acquaintance with the ocean of Rabbinical writings, so that he has been able to bring forward many new details even on this subject.'

Babylon and the Bible.

In the July number (p. 454 f.) we had occasion to refer to the interesting work recently published by Professor Frd. Delitzsch, under the title *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, M.2), and

to the no less important rejoinder of Professor Ed. König, entitled *Bibel und Babel* (Berlin: M. Warneck, 80 pfennigs). As Delitzsch's work is typical of a tendency that prevails at present in some quarters, we may be pardoned for returning to the subject, and for giving some account of an important review of *Babel und Bibel*, which is equally typical of the objections which the book has called forth. Delitzsch not only shows how much light has been thrown upon O.T. history by the cuneiform inscriptions, but seeks to trace many of the customs, laws, and institutions, nay some of the most essential religious notions of Israel, to Babylonian influence. His work is criticised in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (13th September 1902) by Dr. Volz, who compliments the author on the clearness of his exposition, and the fine get-up of his book, but takes exception to some points alike in its method and its results. To begin with, in order to impress the circle of readers to whom he appeals, Delitzsch is almost compelled to speak at times with a confidence that is scarcely justified by strict science. It appears, moreover, to Volz to be a radically mistaken procedure to seek to enlist support for Oriental studies by always approaching these Bible in hand. This is at once disparaging to the great nations of antiquity, and unfair to the O.T. itself. These ancient peoples lived a life of their own, which has quite enough of independent interest, without having to fall back on the Bible for any charm or value. And the sooner this is learned by the popular mind the better. On the other hand, the plan followed by Delitzsch can hardly fail to be detrimental to Scripture. The meagreness of our sources readily gives rise to exaggerations like this: 'In Babylon as in the Bible, the notion of sin is the all-controlling influence.' Or we hear high-sounding words about the one God, the goal of the human heart, and are told that 'monotheism' had already its home in ancient Babylon. So, again, Volz reproaches Delitzsch with writing as if we had to do with absolute identity of religious conceptions, forgetting that not infrequently Israel borrowed only the *form* and filled this with *wholly different contents*. The latter would be the case, for instance, even if it should prove that the well-known cylinder, with its figures of a serpent, a tree, and two human figures, was intended to portray the Fall. 'That the religion of Israel grew upon the soil of Babylonian culture we are told afresh in this book; yet that religion remains an independent, and in many respects an inexplicable growth, quite as much as does Greek art.'

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Miracles and the Supernatural Character of the Gospels.[1]

By Professor the Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Oxford.

It may conduce to clearness if I begin by stating summarily the points to which I propose to address myself in this paper.

i. I would at the outset lay down the proposition that miracles, or what were thought to be miracles, certainly happened. The proof of this seems to me decisive.

ii. It does not, however, follow that what were thought to be miracles in the first century of our era would also be thought to be miracles in the strict sense now.

My next step will therefore be to compare the attitude of the ancient and of the modern mind towards miracles.

iii. This will lead on to the third point: How far is it possible to reconcile, or harmonize, these two different attitudes? In other words, What are the chief problems for research and thought in regard to miracles at the present moment?

iv. And lastly, I propose to ask, What would appear to be the place of miracles in the Divine Plan?

i. I start, then, from the proposition that

[1] A paper read at the Church Congress, Northampton, October 1902.

miracles, or what were thought to be miracles, certainly happened.

You will observe that I qualify the statement by saying 'miracles, or what were thought to be miracles.' I do not for the moment distinguish between the two things. I will come to the distinction later; but for the present I disregard it, or hold it in suspense. For the statement, thus qualified, I conceive that the evidence is nothing short of stringent.

1. I must ask leave for a few seconds to step outside the Gospels. From the point of view of historical attestation the best evidence lies outside them. But though it lies outside, it has a direct bearing upon them, because it bears upon the Dispensation of which they form part.

The Epistles of St. Paul are the best kind of evidence conceivable; because those of which I shall make use are without doubt absolutely genuine, and they bear testimony immediately to the feelings both of an actor and of spectators in the events that are called miraculous.

Take, for instance, the following: 'For I will not dare to speak of any things save those which Christ wrought through me, for the obedience of the Gentiles, by word or deed, *in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Ghost;* so that from Jerusalem, and round about even unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ' (Ro $15^{18.\ 19}$). 'Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, *by signs and wonders ana mighty works*' (2 Co 12^{12}).

'There are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all. . . . For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom . . . to another *gifts of healings*, in the one Spirit; and to another *workings of miracles;* and to another *prophecy;* and to another *discernings of spirits:* to another [divers] *kinds of tongues;* and to another *the interpretation of tongues*' (1 Co $12^{6.\ 8\text{-}10}$).

'I thank God, *I speak with tongues more than you all:* howbeit in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue' (1 Co $14^{18.\ 19}$).

'He therefore that *supplieth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you*, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?' (Gal 3^{5}).

It is simply impossible that evidence of this kind for the special purpose for which it is adduced should be otherwise than true. It is given quite incidentally; it is not didactic, *i.e.* it is no part of an argument the object of which is to produce a belief in miracles; it refers to notorious matter of fact, to fact equally notorious for St. Paul himself and for those to whom he is writing; it shows that he himself was conscious of the power of working miracles, and that he had actually wrought them; and it shows that he assumed the existence of the same power in others besides himself, and that he could appeal to it without the fear of being challenged.

[I digress for one moment. I may be told, from the last volume of *Encyclopædia Biblica*, that Professor van Manen of Leyden denies the genuineness of all St. Paul's Epistles. My reply is, in brief, that Professor van Manen of Leyden does not count. It is true that there is a small school in Holland and in Switzerland who do question the genuineness of all St. Paul's Epistles. But they have been demolished again and again; by none more effectively than by critics whom we perhaps should think extreme, such as H. J. Holtzmann, P. W. Schmiedel, and Jülicher. I believe that I should be right in saying that Professor van Manen stands alone among the contributors to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in questioning the Epistles from which I have quoted. I need not say more.]

2. There can be no real doubt as to St Paul, and the time of St. Paul. I might go on to urge that the presence of miracles in the middle of the movement pre-supposed miracles at the beginning of the movement, to give it the impulse which it had. But we do not need to fall back upon inferences. There is evidence as to our Lord Himself that is also, I conceive, quite stringent. This applies specially to the Temptation. The argument might be stated thus. No one could possibly have invented the story of the Temptation. At the time when it was first told and first written, no one possessed that degree of insight into the nature of our Lord's mission and ministry which would have enabled him to invent it. It must have come from our Lord Himself, and from none other. But the story of the Temptation all turns on the assumption of the power of working miracles. All three temptations have for their object to induce Him to work

miracles for purposes other than those for which He was prepared to work them. The story would be null and void if He worked no miracles at all.

3. The proof in this case I believe to be stringent, as stringent as a proposition of Euclid. But besides this there is a great amount of evidence which, without being exactly stringent, is exceedingly good; and that on thoroughly critical grounds and by thoroughly critical methods. A writer at the present day who desires to proceed critically would not speak, as most of us would speak, of the first three Gospels; he would speak rather of the three documents, or main authorities, out of which those Gospels are composed. He would speak, that is to say, of the Petrine tradition, embodied substantially in our St. Mark; of the Matthæan *Logia*, or collection of discourses, which gave its name to our present St. Matthew; and of the 'Special Source,' in addition to these, which has been incorporated into, and gives its distinctive character to, the Gospel of St. Luke.

Now each of these fundamental documents contained not only a number of incidental allusions to miracles, but also express narratives of miracles. Even the Matthæan discourses, in addition to the important reply to the inquiry of John's disciples, and the discourse on the casting out of demons through Beelzebub, contained a full account of the healing of the centurion's servant. And the Special Source of St. Luke included the miraculous draught of fishes (Lk 5^{1-11}), the healing of the crippled woman (13^{10-17}), and the raising of the widow's son at Nain (7^{11-17}). In other words, all the best and oldest strata of the evangelical tradition bear direct witness to miracle. To this we have to add the evidence of the Fourth Gospel, which I myself firmly believe to be the work of an eye-witness and an apostle, though this is questioned with a somewhat greater show of reason.

4. Not only so; the evidence of these convergent documents is again from a historical point of view peculiarly good in quality. There are features in it which mark it off from the great mass of other evidence for miracle. When we look into it, we see, not obtrusively or quite upon the surface, but again running through all our authorities, a remarkable self-restraint in the exercise of miraculous powers, corresponding to the self-restraint brought out by the narrative of the Temptation. The outcome of the whole is a picture of miraculous working of the full significance of which the writers of the Gospels were only partially aware, but yet which is in itself very coherent and striking. As historical portraiture, it has a strong claim to acceptance.

ii. There is then, I conceive, practically no doubt that at the time when the miracles are said to have been wrought, there really were phenomena which those concerned in them with one consent believed to be miraculous. It would be another thing to say in what sense they were miraculous, or in what precise way we should describe them. We may lay down broadly that remarkable phenomena accompanied the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. He called them miracles; His disciples called them miracles; the crowds before whom they were wrought and the patients on whom they were wrought called them miracles. What should we call them now? The common idea of miracle is that it is an interruption of the order of nature. I do not say that this is a true definition or the best definition. That is just what we are in search of. When we have found the best definition of miracle, that which most exactly expresses its true essence or *rationale*, we shall have gone a long way to solve the whole problem. We are not quite in a position to do this at present. But although what I have just given may not be the true definition of miracle, it is a very convenient one from which to start, as it brings out into sharp contrast the difference between ancient and modern ways of looking at the subject; and this difference is the real seat of the difficulty.

Starting, then, from the idea that a miracle is an interruption of the order of nature, we are at once confronted by the fact that the ancients and the moderns have a different conception of the order of nature. The ancients as well as the moderns believed that there was an order of nature; if they had not had this belief, they would not have attached the importance they did to miracle. The difference between them and the moderns lies mainly in this, that it was more easy for them to think of the order of nature as interrupted. Wherever there was any great intervention, as we call it, of God in the affairs of the world, they expected to see the regular order of things interrupted. They expected to see some

special 'sign' of the Divine Presence. The modern man of science does not find it so easy to believe in these interruptions. The uniformity of nature has been so driven into his mind by a multitude of particulars not known to or not contemplated by the ancients, that he finds it difficult to conceive of it as in any way broken. If he is a Christian, what he would say would be not that God *cannot* interrupt the order which He Himself has created, but that the presumption is very considerable against His will to do so. This presumption rests on an immense induction, covering wide tracts of space and time, to the effect that God does as a fact confine His action within regular channels.

It is, however, important to note that this induction fails just at the crucial point, because we have no experience of His extraordinary action, such as it would be according to the hypothesis. We have no induction to preclude His use of exceptional means under such exceptional conditions. If the Son of God did assume human flesh for man's redemption, that alone is an event so unique and stupendous that we cannot wonder if its accessories were also in a manner unique. Still the minds of the present generation are dominated by this fact of the regularity of nature, and it no doubt does give rise to a reluctance to believe what is really inconsistent with it.

iii. This, then, is the problem that lies before us more particularly at the present time, how we are to bring into harmony these two apparently conflicting sets of data and mental attitudes: on the one hand, the definite proof that our Lord and His apostles, not to speak of others of His disciples, did in point of fact work what were fully believed to be miracles; and, on the other hand, the strong conviction, which has become yet stronger through the scientific advance of the last century, that God does act by general and uniform laws. One thing we may say with confidence. All revelation is adapted, closely and accurately adapted, to the particular age to which it is given. We therefore cannot doubt that if it had been so ordained that the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ should have occurred in our own time, the whole surroundings of it would have been different. We must be careful not to apply to the time at which He actually came, measures and standards that are not appropriate to it.

That is our first lesson, which should not be lost sight of. But it still leaves room for some attempt to harmonize the two orders of conception; that of our Lord's contemporaries, who expected miracles, and to whom, as we have seen, miracles in some form were certainly given, and our own conception of natural law, which also has not been formed lightly or without reason.

We could conceive it possible that the miracles of the Gospels should have been so constituted as to show two sides, one to the contemporaries and the other to our own day; I mean, so that to contemporaries they might come with the force of miracle, and that to us, with our wider knowledge and improved insight into the order of nature, they might be seen to be really embraced within that order. That we should be able to see law where the ancients could not see law; and that what to them seemed contrary to nature, to us should only seem due to the operation of some higher cause within the enlarged limits of nature.

I ought perhaps to say that I have tried this to some extent in my own experience as a working hypothesis, and I am afraid that though it may carry us some way it certainly will not carry us the whole way; it may explain some of the things that meet us in the Gospels, but it will not by any means explain all.

Let us make an attempt in another direction.

The highest cause with which we are familiar, within the range of our common experience, is the human personality and will. And the nearest analogy that we possess for what is called miracle is the action of the human will. We see every moment of the day how the natural sequence of causation is interrupted, checked, diverted by the act of volition. If I lift my hand, there is something within me that counteracts for the moment the law of gravitation. That is a simple case; but the action of the will is very subtle and complex, and some of the phenomena connected with it are as yet very imperfectly explored, and are more like miracle than anything we know. At the same time the will, as we have experience of it, is subject to certain conditions and operates within certain limits. The main question is whether a higher personality, and a higher will, than ours would not transcend these conditions and limitations. Nothing would seem more natural than to suppose that it would. And that is just what on the Christian hypothesis we have. It would not

follow that even this higher Personality and Will would be without its limitations; but they would be at least different from and not so circumscribed as ours.

I do not doubt that it is in this direction that we are to seek for the true *rationale* (if so we may call it) of miracle. The miracles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in pre-eminent degree, and the miracles of His apostles in a lesser degree, were a result of the contact of personalities filled with the Spirit of God with the conditions of the outer world. That is the key to their nature, so far as we can understand it. We may apply that key to the different instances of miracle. It will help us to explain some better than others. We shall be able to understand best those which appear to be a direct extension or heightened illustration of phenomena that come within our cognisance. Such would be more particularly the healing of disease.

Of course any such explanation can be only partial. The lower cannot supply an adequate measure of the higher. And, by the hypothesis, we are dealing with causes which stretch away beyond our ken. We should therefore be prepared to excercise much caution and reserve in judging. It is natural and right that we should dwell most upon those instances which are to us most 'intelligible,' and from which we can draw the most instruction. It is also natural and right that we should read the Gospels critically, that is, with attention to the different degrees of evidence in different parts. But it would be wrong to leap hastily to the conclusion that whatever we fail to understand did not therefore happen. It is probable that our successors will be better equipped and more finely trained than we are: and just as in the world of nature many things that once seemed incredible are now seen to be both credible and true, so also it may be in the sphere of revelation.

iv. If we thus take the Personality of our Lord Jesus Christ as the clue that we are to follow, many things will be clear to us that would not be clear otherwise. The Old Testament and the New together form a whole; the one prepares the way for, or runs up into, the other. The central point in the Old Testament revelation was that God is a *living God;* that the world is not a dead world, but instinct with life, which is all derived from Him. The New Testament takes up this, and tells us that Christ the Word was the Light and Life of man.

Life is of all forms of energy the most plastic, the most creative. When, therefore, we think of our Lord Jesus Christ as impersonated or incarnate Life, it is no surprise to us to find in Him the creative and formative properties of life reach their culmination.

There is a peculiar fitness in the fact that His career on earth should issue in the Resurrection. All other lesser manifestations are consummated in this. And that is why the early Christians, with St. Paul at their head, clung to the belief in the Resurrection so passionately. The conception of Christ as the Life seems to me central in relation to miracles. In proportion as we get away from it our difficulties increase. But if we keep in mind the broad considerations that I have stated, we shall not trouble much, and I do not think that it is wise to trouble too much about the details of particular miracles that we cannot weave exactly into our own scheme.

Recent Literature in Comparative Religion.

THERE is no branch of study that has made greater progress in popular esteem within recent years than the study of Comparative Religion. One reason for this is the recognition that the propagation of Christianity is to be slower than had been anticipated, especially in countries which cling to an ancient and elaborate religious cult. The missionary must understand the worship he seeks to supplant. One of the most valuable documents in existence relating to the spread of the gospel among the northern nations of Europe, is a letter written by Bishop Daniel of Winchester about the year 720, and addressed to Boniface, giving him advice regarding his mission work in central Germany. The bishop admonishes Boniface that the preaching should not be at

haphazard, but that the missionary should give evidence that he is acquainted with the cult and legends of the heathen. The wisdom of that advice is now beginning to be recognized. It is even beginning to be suggested, that before missionaries are sent out to their field of labour they should receive some instruction, not only in the language, but also in the religion of the people among whom they are to labour.

But there is another reason, and it is more fundamental. There has taken place within recent years a revolution in men's minds regarding the meaning of religion. It is not very long since the name of religion was grudged, it is not very long since it was passionately denied, to any form of faith or practice outside Christianity. The study of other religions was merely a branch of Christian Apologetic; it had no significance for its own sake. All that is altered. That which used to be denounced as superstition is now dignified with the name of religion. It is admitted that religion is inseparable from mankind, no tribe being without some form of it, no human creature being able to divest himself of the sense of it. The study of religion has thus taken its place among other scientific disciplines relating to man. And although by some it is still denied the august title of science, it has now the independent interest of a most absorbing scientific pursuit.

In the study of Comparative Religion one ought logically to begin with the study of each religion by itself. Not until the religions have been separately examined, is it possible to make a comparison of them. But the logical order is not always the best order for the student, and in any case others have made that separate study for us, and it is now in our power to enter into their labours. The following article touches upon some of the literature of Comparative Religion. Suggestions for the fuller study of the various religions separately may follow after.

I.

POPULAR INTRODUCTIONS.

1. *The Story of Religions.* By the Rev. E. D. Price, F.G.S. Newnes, 1901. 1s. net.

2. *Studies of Non-Christian Religions.* By Eliot Howard. S.P.C.K., 1900. 2s. 6d.

3. *The Religions of the World.* By G. M. Grant, D.D., LL.D. A. & C. Black, new edition, 1901. 1s. 6d. net.

4. *Four Great Religions.* By Annie Besant. Theos. Pub. Co., 1897. 2s. net.

5. *Studies in Comparative Religion.* By Alfred S. Geden, M.A. Kelly, 1901. 2s. 6d.

Mr. Price's book belongs to Messrs. Newnes' very elementary 'Library of Useful Stories.' No knowledge of Comparative Religion is presupposed in it; nothing is presupposed but a little love of the truth. More than half the space is occupied with Christianity, each branch of which, whether Greek Church, Anglican Church, Wesleyan Methodism, or Swedenborgianism—is treated as entitled to the distinct name of religion, like Taouism or Jainism. There is no theology. That is to say, in the author's words, 'the *facts* connected with the religions of the world are set forth as clearly as possible, but the *inferences* to be drawn from such facts are left to the judgment of each reader.'

Mr. Howard's *Studies of Non-Christian Religions* is Mr. Price's book on a slightly enlarged scale, but with the significant difference that all religions are regarded as in contrast to Christianity. This apologetic interest is, however, never very obtrusive and rarely hurtful. It does for us what the other book asks us to do for ourselves, that is all. The greater space makes room for deeper interest, especially biographical interest. The story of Buddha is told in some detail, and with a sympathy that is open and unashamed.

Principal Grant of Canada (whose recent death was a felt loss to scholarship and the cause of education) is the author of the book which has done more than any other to make this study popular. It has appeared in two forms, one for pupils and one for teachers; and between them they have already reached a circulation of thirty thousand. A better elementary guide has not been and perhaps could not be written. No doubt each of the four religions described—Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism—is regarded in the light of 'Israel' and 'Jesus' (to use the titles of the last two chapters), but there is none of that fear that casteth out fairness. No nicknames are given. Every form of religion is found to have been a blessing to the people who professed it.

In Mrs. Besant there is no Christian apologetic nor the suspicion of it. She too describes four religions—Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity,—and as she believes that 'each religion has its own mission in the world, is suited

to the nations to whom it is given, and to the type of civilization it is to permeate, bringing it into line with the general evolution of the human family,' there is given to each a free field and no favour whatever. But there is another thing. Each of these four religions is looked at 'in the light of occult knowledge,' both as regards its history and its teachings. And Mrs. Besant knows that thus her book is thrown out of touch with the science of Comparative Religion: she knows it and does not care. She did not hesitate, in preparing her lectures, to fling aside the work of European scholars when it conflicted with occult knowledge, and she does not hesitate now to say that 'touching Hinduism and Zoroastrianism modern scholarship is ludicrously astray.'

This section ends well with Mr. Geden's *Studies*. The title is modest: the book is capable and up to date. But the desire to draw the uninterested and ignorant into the love of this study is so constantly kept in view that one is entitled to place it among the popular introductions. Four religions —the Egyptian, the Babylonian, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism — are introduced by a well-ordered chapter on 'Origins.' Mr. Geden has to wrestle with the classification of religions, and rests content at last with a purely external one, 'according to the nations or groups of nationalities by whom they have been accepted.' Such a classification cannot be final. It will come up again.

II.

LECTURES AND ESSAYS.

1. *The Faiths of the World.* Blackwood. 5s.
2. *Non-Biblical Systems of Religion.* Nisbet, 1887. 6s.
3. *Great Religions of the World.* Harpers, 1901. 7s. 6d.
4. *Religious Systems of the World.* Sonnenschein, new edition, 1901. 10s. 6d.
5. *The World's Parliament of Religions.* 'Review of Reviews' Office, 1893. Two vols.

The Faiths of the World and *Non-Biblical Systems of Religion* were both published some years ago. But even then they were conceived on right lines, and they belong to the modern study of the subject. The former was delivered as a series of lectures in Edinburgh; the latter appeared first as a succession of articles in a magazine. In *The Faiths of the World* there is a deliberate comparison between Christianity and other religions. But it is made by Professor Flint, and every sentence tells in favour both of Christianity and of science. In other lectures the apologetic does obtrude a little. The lecture on Judaism, though some of its positions would now be disputed, is an original and permanently valuable contribution to its subject.

Some of the writers in the *Non-Biblical Systems* are so closely identified with their special topic, that the book cannot easily be superseded—we refer especially to Sir William Muir who writes on Islam, and Professor Rhys Davids who writes on Buddhism.

The writers for the volume entitled *Great Religions of the World* have all been well chosen. We can scarcely suggest an improvement. Who, for instance, can write on Confucianism like Professor Giles, on Brahminism like Sir Alfred Lyall, on Positivism like Mr. Frederic Harrison? And here also Professor Rhys Davids writes on Buddhism, as if there were no other when he is available.

Far more elaborate than any of the books yet mentioned is the volume entitled *Religious Systems of the World.* There are fifty-eight religions described, and by nearly as many lecturers—for the contents of the volume first appeared as a series of lectures in London. As an instance of its thoroughness, notice that Mithraism occupies twenty-two closely-printed pages: in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* it is dismissed in half a page. The book is divided into two parts. The first part describes the Pre-Christian and Non-Christian Religions; the second the Christian, Theistic, and Philosophic Religions. The utmost liberty of speech is granted to each lecturer. The Rev. Charles Voysey argues for Theism as if it were the last word on Religion. Mrs. Besant, however, has a word after him on Theosophy, which also is the latest and fairest flower of religious thought. Even Scepticism itself is treated as a religion, and the Rev. John Owen, M.A., would persuade all men to believe nothing.

Yet bulkier is the work which goes by the name of *The World's Parliament of Religions.* It is elaboration and specialization carried to their furthest bounds. There is no attempt at order, and since among the religions are mixed up all sorts of philosophical addresses, it is hard to find what one wants—perhaps harder when found to find anything in it. The thought in the mind of the promoters of this gigantic scheme seems to

have been that if every form of religion had a free field for its expression, God would take care of His own; and it is a true thought. But why Professor Momerie was called to speak on the Moral Evidence for God, or the Hon. T. J. Semmes on International Arbitration, it is hard to say. If some one would sit down and make a single small volume out of these two immense volumes, we might find what we wanted, or find that it was not there.

III.

STUDENTS' MANUALS.

1. *The Study of Religion.* By Morris Jastrow, jun., Ph.D. Scott, 1901. 6s.
2. *Religions of Primitive Peoples.* By Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Sc.D. Putnams, 1898. 6s.
3. *History of Religion.* By Allan Menzies, D.D. Murray, 1895. 5s.
4. *Manual of the Science of Religion.* By P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Longmans, 1891.
5. *An Introduction to the History of Religion.* By F. B. Jevons, M.A., Litt.D. Methuen, 1896. 10s. 6d.

One of the first questions which we have to face when we pass from the primer in Comparative Religion is, How are the religions of the world to be classified? To that question Professor Morris Jastrow has devoted seventy pages of his book. The old classification was simple if not scientific. There were two kinds of religion, the true and the false, and the false were not religions at all. Professor Jastrow is merciful, and finds some good in all classifications, but he does not adopt that one. Neither does he adopt Hartmann's classification into naturalistic and supranaturalistic, nor Kuenen's into national and universal, nor Tiele's into nature religions and ethical religions, nor Réville's into polytheistic and monotheistic. He works out a classification of his own. What does religion do for life,—how much of life does it cover? The savage is religious only when he is afraid (like the traditional atheist); so we will place his religion lowest: it is available only for the moments of peril in his life. There are religions which cover the whole of life—Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam are such religions,—there is no act but is or may be religious. These are the highest. There are two grades of religion between. It is not a final classification. It shows how difficult a thing classification of religions is. The part of Professor Jastrow's book which classifies religion is called the general part. It is followed by the special part, which explains how religion stands to ethics, psychology, and the like. The last part is the practical. It encourages the founding of museums and other means for prosecuting the study of religions. The scope of the book is wide. For the whole subject of Comparative Religion it is the latest and best we have.

Professor Brinton of the University of Pennsylvania has so charming a style, that the severity of the study of religion is again forgotten. Yet Dr. Brinton makes no compromise with indolence. He goes to the root; discusses what religion is, and denies favour to any religion on the globe. What is religion? The promoters of the Parliament of Religions accepted all candidates which believed in a god or gods, in an immortal soul, and in a divine government of the world. But Dr. Brinton shows the absurdity of the definition by remarking that Buddhism, which to-day has more adherents than any other religion, rejects every one of these essential things. He himself calls that man religious in whom there is some sense of the supersensuous. And so he easily concludes that there is no tribe or man on the face of the earth, and never has been, without religion. Professor Brinton's book belongs to the series entitled 'American Lectures on the History of Religions.' Its special topic is *Primitive Religions*, but, as the first of its series, it introduces to religion generally.

The best student's book is the *History of Religion* by Professor Menzies. It was written with examinations in the writer's eye. It was written by an examiner and a setter of examination papers. The essentials are in it, all that is requisite for an easy pass, and all in admirable order and lucidity. Yet it is good reading too. Dr. Menzies has the gift of style also. It is wonderful that so many of the writers on Religion should possess this rare gift—Max Müller and Andrew Lang at the head of them. In a comparatively small book Professor Menzies covers the whole ground, for he wastes no space with minute discussion. He even finds time to name the best available literature at every step. His literature can now be added to, and we hope he will produce a new edition soon and add to it.

De la Saussaye's *Manual* is not so useful. It is but a portion of the work he wrote, the rest

has never been translated, and it is out of date in several particulars now, outdated partly by himself. Yet it is a strong, stirring book, not to be overlooked in a survey such as this. Some men owe their interest in the subject to it, their sense of what the comparative study of Religions means.

If Menzies is for the student getting up an examination, Jevons is for the man who has passed it and now would master the subject for its own sake. Again we find the sense of style. There is order also, first things first; and the awe of the most exalted matter for knowledge, the most momentous occupation of life. And more than that, from the very beginning there is the consciousness that the science of religions is not the explanation of religion. One religion is not compared with another in its entirety, but the things that are found in religions throughout their history — taboo, totemism, fetishism, ancestor-worship, and the rest—are described in order of their development, till the Mysteries and Monotheism are reached.

IV.

FOR FURTHER STUDY.

1. *The Science of Religions.* By Emile Burnouf. Sonnenschein, 1888. 7s. 6d.

2. *Prolegomena of the History of Religions.* By Albert Réville, D.D. Williams & Norgate, 1884. 6s.

3. *The Religion of Philosophy.* By Raymond S. Perrin. Williams & Norgate, 1885. 16s.

As 'introductory' as any are the last three books. They begin by laying down the things that are fundamental. They make their appeal to the natural man—the man unspoilt by bad philosophy and rigid orthodoxy. Yet they must be taken where we have placed them—last. They are none of them milk for babes.

Do they belong to 'recent literature' at all? Not by date of issue perhaps; but by dateless gift of insight, by universal human appeal, they do. And even in the matter of year and month they may claim their place. For there is a dividing line in the history of Comparative Religion, and they are all on this side of it. Beyond the line Comparative Religion is a part of obsolete apologetic; it was Réville, Burnouf, and others who rendered all that apologetic old-fashioned and carried Comparative Religion within at least the possibility of the name of science.

That it is a science indeed is Burnouf's purpose to prove. That is his aim in writing his book, and he boldly calls it *The Science of Religions.* Writing some years later, Brinton considers such a title still 'a little presumptuous, or at least premature,' and says we have no more right to speak of a science of religion yet than we have to speak of a science of jurisprudence, for which the materials are more plentiful. Burnouf knows that he is the first to claim the title, and he defends it. The materials, he says, are abundant; the scientific spirit — the 'liberal mind, free from all prejudice'—is available; and the underlying unity of all religions has been discovered and can be set forth. These are the essentials of science. So his book is no description of individual religions, nor is it much occupied with religious phenomena; it is occupied with the method of studying religions, and the relation of religions to one another and to the religious spirit. Christianity is treated without favour, but it is denied that the strictly scientific attitude is hostile to Christianity; in so far as it is moved by an antagonistic or any other bias, it is not scientific.

Réville is historical. Religion may be a science and it may not; it is a most interesting product of the human mind, and a most potent influence in human life. He defines it; discovers its origin; traces its development; describes its most outstanding manifestations, as the Myth, the Symbol, the Sacrifice, the Priest, the Prophet; and finally estimates its influence on morality and its contribution to the civilization of the world. In the course of this history of religion and religious phenomena, Réville classifies religions into polytheistic and monotheistic: the monotheistic religions being Judaism, Islamism, and Christianity. And although the classification is open to the criticism that Buddhism, which recognizes no god at all, is called a polytheistic religion, yet there is none that is simpler or freer from scientific offence.

It is only the third part of Mr. Perrin's book that immediately concerns us. The first two parts are philosophical. The title of the third part is the 'Religion of Philosophy,' but it is occupied with an examination of the chief religions of the world from the standpoint of an ethical writer and reformer. Mr. Perrin allows himself the utmost liberty of expression in criticizing both Judaism

and Christianity, and sometimes it would have been well had he used more endeavour to make his statements good. Thus: 'In order to distinguish Jesus from others of the same name, he was called the son of Mary. His widowed mother, soon after her husband's death, moved to Cana, a small town about eight miles from Nazareth. Here Jesus plied the trade of carpenter during his youth, and gradually developed that character which afterwards made him one of the greatest of moral reformers; great because his teachings have influenced a vast civilization, although they contain nothing either purer or higher than had been taught before.' The statements that may be challenged are not a few. But the value of the book lies in its earnestness of ethical purpose. Mr. Perrin does not care about a science of religions; it is the practice of religion that he wants. And he is bold enough to pass all the great religions of the world before him, while he criticizes them in respect of the gulf that lies between their profession and their practice. His book closes this survey fitly. Science that deals with religions as mere natural phenomena, classifying them but pronouncing no judgment on them, is not the last word we must listen to. The last word is, 'This do, and thou shalt live.' Mr. Perrin brings us back to that.

Jeremy Taylor and Richard Baxter: A Comparison and a Contrast.

By the Rev. Martin Lewis, B.A., Fellow of University College, London.

II.

In natural disposition the Anglican possessed a sweetness of blood and a happiness of temper denied to the Puritan. Dean Rust said most truly, in his funeral panegyric, 'Nature had befriended him much in constitution; his soul was made up of harmony; he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour; his cadences were musical.'

Baxter's temperament was not thus finely balanced and tuned. His figure was indeed tall and slender; his voice rich and full; he could smile with dignity and sweetness; but there were in his nature discordant elements of peevishness, asperity, and disputatious stubbornness. And yet beneath a rugged and thorny surface there were fountains of passionate tenderness, courageous cheerfulness, and large-hearted charity, deeper than the streams which sparkled through the flowery meads of the more winsome nature.

The tender humanity of Baxter's heart of hearts wells up in the almost ideal love which united him to his noble wife.

Jeremy Taylor was twice married, but from his writings we should scarcely guess that either of his wives had ever existed. His flowing periods and delicate compliments were reserved for his lady friends of high rank, the matchless Orinda and the rest. Baxter's wedded life was a romance from first to last. After he had become homeless and almost penniless, on black St. Bartholomew's Day, for conscience' sake; when he was beginning a life of perpetual martyrdom, — 'in prisons frequent, in deaths oft, in labours more abundant,' an exile and a wanderer in his own dear native land, then it was that a noble woman took that sad, brave heart to her tender bosom. Margaret Charlton was a lady of gentle birth and breeding. She was young, only twenty-three, and he was growing old, nearing fifty. She was rich, and he was poor. But true love laughs at all barriers and overleaps all gulfs. The two lives flowed into one, and were joined in perfect unity.

When they were first engaged, Baxter, with the absolute disinterestedness of his character, stipulated two things: that he should have none of her money, and that she should not ask from him any of the time which belonged to the duties of his sacred calling. The compact was faithfully kept. Baxter's helpmeet became his second-self, and for nineteen years her heroic and gracious figure stood like a good angel by her husband's side, befriending him in prison and in sickness;

following him cheerfully from hiding-place to hiding-place; taking the sting from his wounds and the bitterness from his temper; ever prompting him to duty, counselling him with excellent sense, and joining with him in countless acts of beneficence.

And her husband showed himself worthy even of this superb affection. Some of his letters to her overflow with exquisite tenderness, and he paid her an immortal tribute in the Breviat of her life, in which he tells how they lived together 'in inviolate love and mutual complacency,' till 'the blade of her spirit being too keen, cut the sheath,' and Baxter was left on earth for ten lonely years to carry her memory embalmed with fragrant spices in his heart, next to his God, his chief food.

There is no chapter in the other life that will bear comparison with that Puritan love story.

In Theology these representatives of opposed schools were on many points not far apart. Taylor was Arminian in his leanings; Baxter was Calvinistic. But each had an eclectic system peculiar to himself, and on some points, such as Justification, they approach very near to one another. Taylor was more of a rhetorician than an exact theologian. Baxter held the Puritan faith in a comprehensive system of doctrine as competent to explain the universe, and though his own particular system was different from all others, he insisted upon it in his earlier and more dogmatic days with absolute confidence. But his views on many points broadened and mellowed wonderfully in later years.

The close of Taylor's career did not reach anything like the height and grandeur of Baxter's. The Bishop of Dromore was indefatigable in diocesan duties, but in the day of victory he failed to carry into practice the large and tolerant principles for which he had pleaded in the day of adversity. The rigorous measures he adopted to silence the resolute Presbyterians of Ulster ill became the author of *The Liberty of Prophesying*. In the wide places of prosperity the prelate's spirit narrowed. Baxter might have been a bishop also, and the See of Hereford, which he declined, was a higher honour than that of Dromore. But for the sake of a very tender conscience he lived for nearly thirty years a despised Nonconformist, driven from lodging to lodging, from chapel to chapel, from prison to prison; accused by the ignorant parson in whose church he meekly worshipped week by week, because he addressed a few friends in his own house; harried by the infamous Conventicle and Five-Mile Acts; brutally insulted in his venerable age by the yet more infamous Judge Jeffreys, who threatened to flog him through the streets of London; never enjoying any long respite from persecution, until shortly before his death the Revolution brought a quiet sunset to end his stormy life. But this is the most splendid trait in all Baxter's lofty character, that amid sufferings and wrongs that might well have embittered the sweetest nature, this man grew steadily in breadth of view, in calmness of judgment, in catholicity of spirit, in Christian gentleness and magnanimity and patience.

At the very time when he was sent to gaol by the leaders of the Church of England, he obtained from the King, through the influence of one of his disciples, Sir R. Temple, the charter for the Original Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Sir James Stephen has pointed to this as one of the noblest revenges ever taken by man.

At a time when Foreign Missions were ignored even by earnest Christians, Baxter was eager for the conversion of the heathen, and corresponded with Eliot, the apostle of the Indians. In his letters he extols the industry of the Jesuits and friars and their successes, which 'do shame all of us, save you.'

On the doctrine of the Atonement, Baxter maintained the modern evangelical view, that 'Christ did not come to make God loving and good, but to make men loving and good,' and to make it possible for God to forgive us in consistency with His honour and justice.

His thoughts on many questions ran far in advance of his contemporaries, and often astonish one by their brilliant anticipation of modern positions to which we have been only slowly led after two centuries.

Thus his missionary zeal was not inflamed by the hard doctrine of the hopeless perdition of the heathen which many of the best men of his day cheerfully accepted. 'I am not inclined to pass a peremptory sentence of damnation upon all that never heard of Christ, having some more reason than I knew of before *to think that God's dealings with such are much unknown to us.*' It is an

anticipation of Livingstone's answer, 'Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?'

Lord Brougham pointed out that when the Slave Trade first appeared, 'the pious and fearless Richard Baxter was one of the first to express his disapprobation.' In 1673 he wrote: 'They who go as pirates and take away poor Africans and sell them, or use them as beasts of burden, ought to be considered the common enemies of mankind, fitter to be called demons than Christians.' It was an anticipation of Wilberforce and Emancipation.

And on the doctrine of Holy Scripture Baxter's teaching is of quite peculiar interest and value for Scottish Christians to-day.

There is a passage in the *Saints' Rest* omitted from some editions, because it gave offence to less robust believers, to which we shall do well to give heed.

'Though all Scripture be of divine authority, yet he that believeth but one book, which containeth the doctrine of the substance of salvation, may be saved.

'They that take the Scriptures to be but the writings of godly, honest men, and so to be only a means of making known Christ, having a gradual precedency to the writings of other godly men, and do believe in Christ upon those strong grounds which are drawn from His doctrine and miracles, rather than upon the testimony of the writing as being purely infallible and divine, may have a divine, saving faith. Much more those that believe the whole writing to be of divine inspiration when it handleth the substance, but doubt whether God infallibly guided in every circumstance.'

Is it not marvellous anticipation of the position of modern scholarly evangelism, earnestly desiring to be true at once to the facts of faith and to the facts of criticism? May not some devout Christians of the older type, who are trembling for the dear Ark of God, be reassured by the thought that teachers who are moving on the very same lines as the saintly author of the *Saints' Rest*, cannot be so very far astray; and, like him, may be sound and consistent believers in the saving verities of Christ's gospel?

Christians must learn to grow as Baxter grew—in knowledge and understanding, as well as in grace, right on to the end of their earthly school days.

In the *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* the man himself has written down 'what changes God had wrought in his mind since the unriper times of youth, and where he had differed in judgment and disposition from his former self.' That closing passage is unique in Christian autobiography. Dr. Benjamin Jowett preached a sermon upon it in Westminster Abbey, in which he calls Baxter 'one of the greatest of Englishmen, not only of his own time, but of any time.' The shrewd Master of Balliol cannot have been unduly prejudiced in favour of a fervent evangelical; nor can Sir James Stephen, when he said to Dean Stanley, 'Lose not a day in reading the last twenty-four pages of the first part of Baxter's narrative of his own life; you will never repent it.' The perusal made the large-hearted dean one of Baxter's most devoted admirers; and the present writer has heard him in the Abbey set Baxter beside Anselm as a great Christian thinker, quoting with delight Baxter's famous saying, 'I had as lief die for charity as for any article in the Creed.'

The evangelical fervour of Baxter's faith is proverbial; but too few know that he added to his faith magnificent breadths of knowledge, brotherly kindness, and charity. Is it not after a happy union of warm piety with veracity and charity that the best evangelical Christians of to-day are striving? They could not find a better model than Baxter the Aged.

There is another present-day question with which both Taylor and Baxter wrestled in their time, and on which they have light to lend us—the Visible Unity of Christians and Christian Churches. Both our heroes strove, each in his own way, to bring about greater visible union among warring servants of the one Lord. In his *Reliquiæ* Baxter says, 'Except in the case of the infidel world, nothing is so bad and grievous to my thoughts as the case of divided Churches. The contentions . . . have woefully hindered the kingdom of Christ.' And again, 'He that is not a son of peace is not a son of God.' His efforts after unity began early among his neighbours round Kidderminster; they were continued in a wider field by the scheme of comprehension laid before the bishops after the Restoration.[1]

[1] Baxter had no difficulty about the use of the ring in marriage, but he could never bring himself to use the sign of the cross in baptism. In this, again, he anticipated modern Presbyterian usage.

The harmonious spirit of Jeremy Taylor also hated the jarring discords of acrimonious contentions over minutiæ, which he scornfully calls 'the fringes of the garment of the body of religion.' He too discusses plans of union, but perhaps his most important contribution to the question was his exposure of methods that are *not* sound, *e.g.* the method of *Moderation* favoured by Erasmus and Grotius, in which union is sought by the use of vague terms, 'phrases of accommodation,' capable of diverse interpretation, and covering opposed views in a haze of dubious words. Taylor rightly judges: 'This is but the skinning of an old sore, and will break out again upon all occasions.'

He sees God's way in the promise: 'If any man will do My will, he shall know.' Truth dwells implicitly in goodness; by cultivating the goodness of the divine life, Christians will draw nearer to one another, and learn by degrees to see 'eye to eye.'

That is true, and Baxter would have said Amen. But Baxter advances a long step farther when, by another of his remarkable anticipations, he grasped the principle of union which has been applied with happy effects in the recent union in Scotland —I mean the principle of gradation in truth—of *degrees* of certainty and degrees of importance. Some Christian doctrines are more sure and more important than others. In *The Great Question Solved*, Baxter says, 'Study hard to find out men's agreements, and to reduce the differences to as narrow a compass as possible. Be sure to distinguish all that is merely verbal from that which is material; and that which is about methods and modes from that which is about substantial truths; and that which is about inferior truths, though mighty, from that which is about the essentials of Christianity.' 'Lay not the unity of the Church upon anything but what is essential to the Church.'

Baxter's idea was that Christians might unite on the basis of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed. He had a dream of a great Protestant Church, which would include the excellences of all the separate Churches. Each minister was to have full independent authority in his own congregation; but ministers were to meet for conference in Presbyteries and Synods, and a kind of bishop was to act as a permanent moderator. The age was not ready for any such fusion, nor is our age ready. Yet the Churches are all learning fast from one another. Episcopalians in the colonies, and Congregationalists in England, are becoming more Presbyterian in government; Presbyterians are learning the value of Congregational freedom and of Episcopal reverence, order, and beauty in worship. Larger unions are looming dimly through the mists of the future, and some day Baxter's dream may yet come true. But it will never be realized if Anglicans remain as immovable as they did at the conference after the Restoration, for Episcopal intolerance was the rock that sadly wrecked all Baxter's eager hopes.

Both our teachers warn us that the true line of advance in all schemes of union is not that of unreal agreement by skilfully framed forms of words to which different meanings may be attached. One of them tells us that the true line lies along frank admission of differences joined to a demand for agreement on essential virtues. The right method leaves 'open questions.'

Sons of peace must be content to hasten slowly —waiting for real and cordial union—learning patience from Jeremy Taylor's wisdom. And while controversies clash and division sunders, and good men differ in this dim world, when 'we see only in part,' and 'prophecy in part,' we may find comfort in Baxter's insight.

'It is better men should be purblind, and make the mistakes of the half-blind, than make no mistakes being blind. He that never regardeth the Word of God is not likely to err much about it. Men will sooner fall out about gold and pearls than swine or asses will.'

And 'let us remember,' he adds again, 'while we wrangle here in the dark, we are dying and passing to the world which will decide all our controversies, and the safest passage is by a peaceable holiness. It is a great source of calm and repose in our religious life always to turn from small things to great; from things far away to things near at hand; from the foolishness of controversy to the truths which are simple and eternal, from man to God.'

Theological Intellectualism.

A CRITICISM OF FAIRBAIRN'S 'PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.'

By the Rev. W. Morgan, M.A., Tarbolton.

Since the foundation of the Gifford Lectures, philosophies of religion have poured in upon us in a constant stream. With one or two exceptions, they have been marked by a strong family resemblance. The interpretation of religion has proceeded in the main on intellectualistic lines. It is true that the rationalism of the eighteenth century—of Locke, Toland, Tindal, and Kant—has been left behind. The attempt is no longer made to evolve religion from the reason of the individual. In this, as in other departments of thought, the significance of history has been learned; and for the subjective reason of the individual there has been substituted the objective reason in the great historical life of humanity. It is recognised that a man's religion is not the product of his isolated thought, but that it comes to him as an inheritance from a past in which the universal mind, in contact with fact, has been slowly working out a solution of the world-problem, and building up an interpretation of human life. No one will dispute the reality and importance of the advance thus made. From the modern standpoint the historical religions can be understood and appreciated in a way that was not possible while they were regarded as made up of a few simple, self-evident truths overlaid with a mass of superstition. But, notwithstanding this gain, it is questionable whether the modern speculative theisms bring us appreciably closer to the real religious forces and motives than the old rationalism. If the ground of rationalism has been widened, it has not been abandoned. No other method of reaching truth is recognised than the speculative method; no other kind of certainty than that which belongs to the most satisfactory hypothesis. The doctrines of religion are developed in complete independence of Christ; Revelation and Faith are reduced to the terms of reason. One might easily carry away the impression that Jesus and the prophets are of less importance for our knowledge of God than Plato, Kant, and Hegel. Christianity is indeed recognised as the highest, if not as the absolute, religion; but Christian ideas are, at the same time, subjected to a process of philosophic refining that leaves them barely recognisable. Stripped of their 'imaginative' and 'anthropomorphic' form, and elevated to the dignity of exact or conceptual knowledge, they turn out to have lost their religious value. The Universal Reason is a poor substitute for the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

From Principal Fairbairn, whose book on the Philosophy of the Christian Religion is one of the most recent contributions to the subject, we had looked for something different. We had expected to hear less about reason, and more about Revelation and Faith. And in many important respects his book is much more faithful to the genius of the Christian religion than the bulk of speculative theisms. To mention only one point, his philosophy of Christianity is Christo-centric. His cardinal idea is that 'the conception of Christ stands related to history as the idea of God is related to nature, *i.e.* each in its own sphere is the factor of order'; or, less cryptically expressed, that the interpretation of Christ's Person supplies the ideas that give significance and unity to human life. This thesis sounds unimpeachably Christian, but in working it out the author sacrifices the advantages of the position to a one-sided intellectualism. Deserting the ground of Christian experience and faith-certainty, he takes his stand on that of speculative philosophy. As the result of his method, the real productive forces of religion are to a large extent missed, and the distinction between Religion and Philosophy becomes well-nigh invisible. It may serve to bring out the unsatisfactory character of his method if we pass in review some of his leading positions.

At the outset there is ground for complaint that Principal Fairbairn is not always careful to define the terms with which he works—an omission that is partly responsible for the vagueness in which his thinking is occasionally involved. Particularly is this the case with the term Reason, of which he makes such abundant use; nowhere do we find any analysis of the process or processes covered by it. Kant's epoch-making distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge is barely men-

tioned, while the turn given to this distinction by Lotze and Ritschl is not even referred to. From the use he makes of the term, as well as from one or two occasional remarks, one can infer that he regards reason, both in its theoretical and in its practical exercise, as a single cognitive process, and that this process consists in thinking things together, in contrast with the process of the understanding which views things in their isolation. If this inference is just, then faith on its cognitive side will be only another name for the theoretical reason; and the fact, so frequently emphasized in Scripture, that the knowledge of faith is morally conditioned, will be deprived of all support. But here again we are left in obscurity. We are indeed told that faith is at once an intellectual act, an emotional attitude and activity, and a moral intuition; but there is no analysis of it as a cognitive process, and no investigation of the nature and grounds of its certainty. Principal Fairbairn has not, in fact, felt the need for a theory of knowledge. But in a philosophy of religion this is surely one of the things that can least be dispensed with. Without a theory of knowledge some of the most litigated questions, such as that of the relation of religious knowledge to science and to philosophy, cannot be answered or even understood. And, apart from this, a philosophy of religion has not surely accomplished its task until it has exhibited the nature and examined the validity of the mental process by which religious truth is apprehended.

In the first half of his volume Principal Fairbairn seeks, through a philosophy of nature, mind, evil, history, and religion, to establish a basis for his view of the supernatural character of Christ's person. If there is to be a supernatural person, it is obvious that the world must be at bottom supernatural. His argument for the Being of God is of the ordinary Idealistic pattern. Since nature, as an ordered system, is rational and intelligible, thought must lie behind it; and since thought can belong only to a person, personality must be postulated as the condition of nature as known to science. This conclusion is supported by the Berkeleian argument drawn from the theory of external perception,—that we know nothing of a world existing apart from, and independent of, a conscious mind, but only of a world that is *in* consciousness, and constituted by its categories. A third proof for the supernatural ground of the world is found in the existence of man; for mind can be got out of nature only by being first deposited in nature. There are two objections to this line of argument. The first is that it does not really bring us to the supernatural we are in search of. The uniformity of nature is not equivalent to the presence in it of such reason as is embodied in a person. Even apart from the question as to the sufficiency of a purely mechanical explanation of nature, it is a flagrant fact that its system of inflexible law makes upon us the impression that we are in contact, not with personal will and thought, but with an impersonal power, against which personality finds it a serious enough task to maintain itself. What brings us to a personal God is not the reason that sees itself mirrored in nature, but only the faith that lifts us *above* nature, by establishing the absolute worth of personality and its moral ends. The Berkeleian argument is no more effective: as Hume said of it, it admits of no reply, but produces no conviction. The impression of objectivity and independence which the material world makes upon us, is too powerful to be dissipated by even the most irrefragable dialectic. With respect to the third of Principal Fairbairn's proofs, it is enough to say that we know too little of what is or is not possible in the way of genesis to obtain any convincing result from the application of the causal law. The second objection to the line of proof adopted is, that the inferences, even if they were valid, do not as a matter of fact represent the logic implicit in our belief in God. They may have their place in philosophy, but they do not properly belong to a philosophy of religion. The most that can be claimed for them is that they may serve as an apologetic, to refute, on its own ground, the arguments of a materialistic metaphysic.

Principal Fairbairn brings us closer to the grounds of religious belief when he passes from the metaphysics of knowledge to the metaphysics of Ethics. In our sense of freedom and of moral obligation, we have certainly the primary if not the sole root of our belief in a God who is not the mere personification of nature, but who stands above nature. The statement given of the moral argument is a combination of the positions of Butler and Kant. Freedom, Right, and Duty, he argues, cannot be construed as creations of experience, but must be regarded as involved in the very idea of human nature. 'But what is integral to man is no less integral to his universe. As the

intellect implies the intelligible medium in which it lives, so we can conceive a personal conscience only when it can express a universal law, and moral freedom only when there is a supreme ethical will to govern. Without this correspondence of man's nature with the constitution of the universe in which he lives, moral life would not be possible to him, nor would obedience bring the harmony between personal will and imperative law which is the very notion of beatitude.' This statement is vitiated by the attempt to present the process of the practical reason as if it were exactly parallel with that of the theoretical. From a purely theoretical point of view the contentions in the above quotation possess but small cogency. The moral law might be real and universal for man, and yet have no significance for the power that lies behind phenomena. So much, indeed, Professor Bradley, in his *Appearance and Reality*, has attempted to demonstrate. And man might be free in any sense that can be theoretically established, and yet be amenable to no tribunal other than his own autonomous will, and the tribunal that wields the social sanctions. Ethics, it might be argued, is an independent science, and does not need to borrow its postulates from theology. We do not see how, from Principal Fairbairn's standpoint, such objections could be answered. The force of the moral argument can be appreciated only when we abandon the attempt to present it in a theoretical guise, and recognise that its basis is laid in feeling—in the feeling, namely, of worth which the sanctities of man's moral life can inspire. It is because of the absolute worth which we attach to moral personality and its ends, as over-against the life of natural impulse and the mechanism of the material world, that we have the impulse and the courage to seat them on the throne of the universe. The first in rank must be the ultimate in being. Those who have lost this feeling for the sanctities of life will not be convinced of the existence of God by any appeal to their theoretical reason.

Principal Fairbairn's account of religion, like his philosophy in general, has a markedly intellectualistic colour. The living heart of all religion, he tells us, from the rudest form to the highest, is an idea of reason,—the idea, namely, of a transcendent being behind nature. The way in which this idea is generated is that 'the transcendent reason, using the terms of experience, awakens the transcendental idea.' We are thus 'rational and religious by the same necessity of nature.' The ever-varying forms in which the idea has clothed itself have, on the other hand, been the creation of experience—the result of more or less local and occasional causes, like race, locality, and the action of great personalities. And not only is reason the root of religion, it is also the factor of progress. What has brought advance in man's knowledge of God has been the 'evolution of the idea,' and 'the refining activity of thought.' In all this the influence of Hegel is manifest enough. From Principal Fairbairn's account, it would appear that no radical distinction can be made between the philosophical and the religious motive; religion and philosophy being both rooted in the impulse to explain and understand the world. And this conclusion is borne out by what is explicitly stated with respect to the relation of the two. The only distinction drawn is that in religion there is the added element of worship. 'The reasoned idea,' he says, 'without the worship (*i.e.* the means of expressing and inculcating reverence, and inculcating piety and obedience) is theology or philosophy: the worship without the idea is superstition.' And he adds the extremely Hegelian statement that worship is to the popular consciousness what theology is to the speculative reason—a form under which Deity is conceived. We cannot but feel that Principal Fairbairn has signally failed to strike the real springs of religious life. Religion is not rooted in a theoretical but in a practical impulse,—the impulse, namely, to maintain moral personality and its ends against the pressure of nature, and to place the life on earth with its goods under the protection of a supernatural power. Even its aspect as knowledge is practically conditioned. And the factors of progress are not to be found in the 'refining activity of thought,' or in the 'evolution of the idea,' but in the development of a Kingdom of God on earth, and the appearance of inspired men, whose life and aims have commanded the reverence of their fellows, enlarged and exalted their conceptions of the character and purpose of God, and make them sensible of divine forces beating up against their soul.

A curious example of the intellectualistic cast of Principal Fairbairn's thinking occurs in connexion with a distinction he draws between

spontaneous and founded religions. Christianity is a founded religion since it was established by Christ, and Buddhism and Islam are admitted to the dignity, but the claims of Hebraism are rejected. The reason given for their rejection is that the person of Moses was not speculatively construed. Now the distinction is a good one, but so much cannot be said for the criterion. A religion is surely entitled to be considered as founded if it has received its character from one or more great personalities. And the Hebrew religion satisfies this test: it was the creation of the Prophets, and to reject its claim because none of the Prophets was 'speculatively construed,' is surely to exaggerate the importance of the part which speculation plays in this field. But of this later.

It is a significant fact that Principal Fairbairn in his religious philosophy finds no employment for the word Revelation. Probably he considers that all that is of value in the idea is covered by the term reason. From his standpoint, Revelation can signify nothing else than the fact that the productive reason is not a merely subjective thing, but also objective and universal, the divine thought being immanent in it. We cannot think that he is right in discarding the term, or that the substitute he provides will satisfy the Christian consciousness. The conception of Revelation is as cardinal for the Christian religion as that of Faith, the one being, indeed, the counterpart of the other, and any construction that fails to do justice to either is condemned at the outset.

Having laid the foundation in a discussion of the questions belonging to religion in general, Principal Fairbairn, in the second part of his book, proceeds to establish and develop his main thesis, that the interpretation of Christ's person supplies the ideas that give significance and unity to human life. In his delineation of the historical Jesus, he draws his materials—and particularly with respect to the self-witness—almost wholly from the Synoptists, although in one passage he seems to take the genuineness of the Johannine speeches for granted. A good deal of what he says in vindication of the Gospel narrative conveys an impression of futility, from the fact that the argument is throughout directed against the well-nigh abandoned view that the history of Jesus is substantially a mythical creation. The point of dispute now is not this, but whether anything mythical and legendary has gathered round a history that is in its essence authentic. General statements about the intellectual sanity of the miracle narratives, and the correspondence of the miracles with Jesus' character and teaching, do not carry us far in deciding this point. The features which Principal Fairbairn seeks to bring out in his portrait of Jesus are those which exhibit His supernatural character. We must confess that in this part of the book we have been only very partially successful in gathering anything like clear ideas from its rhetorical and diffuse statement. What, for example, are we to understand by the term supernatural? In traditional theology, supernatural and miraculous are almost synonymous terms: an event is regarded as supernatural when our presumed inability to bring it into connexion with established facts and laws throws us back on the direct intervention of Deity. This account—which, describing the supernatural only in a negative way, fails to bring out its intrinsic character, and which, moreover, leaves it in uncertainty, since we never can be sure that the absent connexion may not be discovered—Principal Fairbairn rightly rejects as inadequate if not false. His own view is presented in the following sentences. 'The supernatural,' he says, 'is the ideal, the universal, the causal or ultimate existence, the permanent reality which binds nature and man, and determines the tendencies that reign in history, and the ideas that govern man. The natural is, on the other hand, the apparent, the phenomenal, the thing in its separateness as opposed to the organism, so uniform, unprogressive, uncreative.' All that we can gather from this is that the supernatural is another name for the transcendent reason in nature and history, which, veiling itself in the particular, manifests itself only in the whole. While this may be good Hegelianism, it is doubtful if it will satisfy the religious consciousness. The supernatural can be defined only by reference to a Kingdom of God in the world and a life in man, that lift man above the natural impulses that are within and the mechanical necessity that reigns without. The forces, laws, and ends that belong to this Kingdom and life are supernatural—above nature—though their character can be determined, not by the theoretical reason, but only by a judgment of faith. In the application of his view of the supernatural to the Person of Christ, Principal Fairbairn does not seem altogether consistent.

He does indeed lay stress on the supreme significance and worth of His ethico-religious life, but in the last resort he seems to define the transcendent in the old miraculous terms. What constitutes the physical transcendence of Jesus is not, in Principal Fairbairn's account, the fact that through faith and patience He exhibited His might over the world, and made it His minister,—this receives no recognition,—but the fact that He could work miracles. And the description of the ethical transcendence vacillates between the idea that the divine fulness and power of His life created a new epoch for mankind, and the further idea that His sinlessness establishes Him even for the theoretical reason as a miraculous Being.

We now come to what may be described as the author's pet idea. He maintains that what created the Christian religion was not the direct influence of the historical Christ, but the interpretation of His Person, begun in His own self-witness, and completed by the apostles. 'What we have in the Synoptists,' he says, 'is the personal religion of Jesus, *i.e.* the modes in which He conceived His relation towards God, and fulfilled His duty towards man. What made the religion was the significance His person had for thought, the way in which it lived to faith, the way in which it interpreted to the reason God and the universe. Without the historical person we should not have known the kind of man acceptable to God, the kind of worship to cultivate, the mode in which it proposed to change the old order. But if conceived only as a man, we might have had a school or sect, never a religion.' It was 'the idea' that Jesus was the Christ, he declares, that transformed God and religion, man and history, and out of the conflicting elements of the old society organized a new community. With respect to the precise content and action of this so potent idea, Principal Fairbairn is less explicit than might be desired. We have found nothing more luminous than the statements that 'to conceive the typical man as essentially Son was to be driven to think humanity in terms of sonship,' and that 'one person conceived as the symbol or epitome of man, in whose life all lived, in whose death all died, achieved the unification of mankind.' We are at one with the author in the view that Christian theology must revolve about the person of Christ. History has shown that Christ's teaching cannot permanently maintain and realize itself when cut off from the power of His person. And no doubt Principal Fairbairn's motive is to establish on reasoned grounds this position. But as a matter of fact his line of thought leads to precisely the opposite result. The place which he gives to the 'idea' or 'interpretation' necessarily results in substituting for Christ a doctrine of His person. It is no longer Christ Himself that is the object of faith and the power of God unto salvation, but a doctrine about Christ; the reality being ousted in favour of the idea which is nothing but its intellectual shadow. Where Principal Fairbairn goes astray is in reversing the relation in which Christian experience stands to Christian doctrine. The doctrine is not the creative ground of the experience, but only its product—it brings to expression the significance and worth which Christ has for the believer. It is not the object of faith—that can only be Christ Himself—but the confession of a faith already established. When Peter made his memorable confession at Cæsarea Philippi, he was but uttering what Jesus had been to him during the years of their companionship, along, doubtless, with the thought that what He had been to him He might be to others also. Jesus had kindled in Peter's heart the light of a new ideal, lifted his life to a new elevation, and brought him into a new relation to God. Reflecting on this, and on the hope it opened for the world, the disciple could think of no idea so adequate to express the Master's significance as the idea of Messiahship. What made him a Christian was not the fact that he had come to apprehend something of Christ's world-significance,—his apprehension was after all of the most rudimentary character,—but the fact that, through contact with Christ, faith, hope, and love had been born within him. He might conceivably have interpreted Jesus in terms of prophecy; and though in that case he would have shown himself a poorer theologian, he would not have been the worse a Christian. To say, therefore, as Principal Fairbairn does, that the interpretation created the religion, is to give a wrong account of the productive factors. But although we refuse it the fundamental place, it does not follow that we must regard it as of but small importance. The attempts of the early Church to construe Christ's person and work brought its faith to clear consciousness of itself, making vivid to thought what was real to the heart. They asserted for Christ a

place in human life which all subsequent history has justified. They supplied the Jewish disciples with an intellectual justification for breaking with their old traditions, and enabled them to read the past and the future course of history in a new light. It was their Christological ideas that made it possible for the apostles to bring the convictions of their faith into connexion with the profoundest thought of the day, and to present the gospel in a form that would appeal to the reason as well as the conscience of those who had been nurtured on the old philosophies. To admit all this is, however, very different from admitting that the interpretation of Christ is the constitutive element in the Christian religion. As well say that moral disposition and conduct are the product of ethical theory, or human progress the creation of a philosophy of history. The home of the great redemptive and constructive forces is not to be found in ideas but in persons; not in the Christ of theological construction—however true the construction — but in the Jesus of history. Here as elsewhere Principal Fairbairn is misled by his intellectualistic bias.

Principal Fairbairn must have felt that the importance he attached to the interpretation tended to remove the seat of authority in religion from Christ to the apostolic interpreters; and as this would be contrary to his own view, he attempts to save the situation by tracing back their ideas to Christ's self-witness. This attempt is, however, beset with formidable difficulties. If we put aside the Fourth Gospel, there is little in the recorded sayings of Jesus that can be used in the construction of a philosophy of His person or work. Jesus spoke of Himself as the Messiah, but the Messianic idea does not lend itself to the determination of ontological relations, and is not adapted for speculative elaboration; moreover, being largely unintelligible to Gentile converts, it soon dropped out of sight. If, however, the self-witness of Jesus is to be the sole authoritative source of interpretation, it is not easy to see how the Church was justified in allowing it to pass into the background, and in substituting the Logos idea in its room. Jesus also spoke of Himself as the Son of Man; but though this term, even apart from its probable Messianic reference, is capable of speculative development, it was never taken up. To find in it, as Principal Fairbairn does, the root of the Pauline idea of the Second Adam, is purely arbitrary. There remains the title Son of God. But while Jesus used this title, and spoke of Himself as *the* Son, in distinction from the sonship common to all servants of God, the sense which it bears in His lips is yet substantially different from that read into it by apostolic theology. In the one case the sonship is ethical and economic,—the Son knows the Father and reveals Him,—in the other it is predominantly metaphysical, with, of course, an ethical implicate. Principal Fairbairn admits the differences between the conceptions of Christ and those of the apostles, but contends that these differences are notes more of continuity and independence than of contradiction and isolation. There is, however, no question of contradiction, or even of isolation; and if we concede independence in developing and modifying conceptions, there is no valid reason for refusing it in originating them. In one place the author seems to admit as much, when he says that Christ did not so much teach the disciples doctrines about His person, as leave these doctrines for the discovery of their own reason.

The grounds on which Principal Fairbairn refuses to regard the primary interpretative ideas (particularly the idea that Christ is the Son of God, *i.e.* divine) as a product of the Church consciousness, are that, since they modified man's whole conception of the universe, and created the religion that has proved the most important factor in the history of the race, they are too great and momentous to have had such a source; and, further, that it is not possible as a matter of fact to account for them in this way. With respect to his first contention, it rests on a mistaken notion as to what are the creative factors in Christianity; as we have tried to show, it was not the ideas about Christ that created the Christian religion, but Christ Himself. In establishing his second contention, Principal Fairbairn subjects to destructive criticism the view that treats New Testament theology as a gradual product of apostolic experience and thought. It is unfortunate that he should have selected for examination an extreme type—a type that does not represent anything that has secured wide acceptance. To describe the account given of the evolution of Christological ideas by such men as Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Harnack, and Wernle, as if the creative factors were found in myth and imagination, would not correspond with fact. His own view of New

Testament theology, as a development of germinal ideas supplied by Christ's self-witness, is one that cannot be carried out. Nor, even if it could, would it safeguard any interest of faith. Christ is not a philosopher or a theologian, but a Saviour. Principal Fairbairn is the advocate of a Christocentric theology, but such a theology cannot be constructed on the lines laid down in his book.

At the Literary Table.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

THE third volume of the new issue of the 'English Men of Letters' is *Matthew Arnold*. It is written by Mr. Herbert W. Paul.

Mr. Paul knows too much about Matthew Arnold. Messrs. Macmillan should have gone to some writer who knew less. Mr. Paul knows so much that he simply sits down and writes and writes. He does not arrange his matter, nor does he consider whether he is giving us a whole conception of Matthew Arnold or only bits of a conception. As a matter of fact he gives us only bits. And he repeats himself. He repeats himself so frequently that it becomes a joke. The last paragraph of his book begins in this way: 'The great fault of his prose, especially of his later prose, is repetition. He had, like Mr. Brooke in *Middlemarch*, a marked tendency to say what he had said before.' Mr. Paul makes this statement five times in the course of writing his little book. He also has 'a marked tendency to say what he has said before.' On p. 42 he introduces the subject; on p. 61 he speaks of 'productions which show even for the first time that tendency to the undue repetition of words and phrases which afterwards became a vice of his style'; on p. 79 he discovers 'the first conspicuous instance of a fault which grew upon Mr. Arnold until at last it almost destroyed the pleasure of reading his prose. I mean the trick of repetition'; on p. 133 he says that a certain phrase 'was in bad taste, and the needless repetition of it is most wearisome. Repetition is the besetting sin of Mr. Arnold's later prose.'

Yet, in spite of the repetitions that are in it, in spite of its fragmentariness, in spite of the supposition that all his readers know Matthew Arnold as well as he himself does, Mr. Paul's book is excellent reading. No one who has an interest in English literature, in modern speculative theology, or in Matthew Arnold, should miss it. The surest way of making good this judgment will be to quote a page. Let it be out of the chapter which airily discourses on Matthew Arnold's theology—

'No man, says Mr. Arnold, who knows nothing else knows even his Bible. The sentiment is familiar; and Mr. Rudyard Kipling has performed a variation upon it in his celebrated but fallacious inquiry, What can they know of England who only England know? The answer to Mr. Kipling is, Everything, if they read the newspapers. Mr. Arnold was aiming at Mr. Spurgeon, but he hit Bunyan without meaning it. If stupid people would read the Bible less, and clever people would read it more, the world would be much improved. The objects of Mr. Arnold's just scorn were not really men who confined themselves to the Bible, but those who tried to serve God and Mammon. Such, for example, was a late Chairman of the Great Western Railway, who quoted to the workmen at Swindon the beautiful sentence uttered to him every morning by his mother, when he went to work on the line: "Ever remember, my dear Dan," said the good lady, "that you should look forward to being some day manager of that concern." The words of the Gospel were fulfilled in Dan. He had his reward. He did become manager of that not very well managed concern. He was outwardly more fortunate than the secretary of the insurance company, who committed suicide because he laboured under the apprehension that he would come to poverty, and that he was eternally lost. Against the vulgar degradation of religion, as unchristian as it is gloomy and sordid, implied in these awful words, Matthew Arnold set his face, and so far he followed the teaching of Christ.'

THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD.

At last we have the *Testament of our Lord* in a worthy English edition. The editors are Professor

Cooper of the University of Glasgow, and A. J. Maclean, M.A., F.R.G.S., sometime Dean of Argyll and the Isles. The publishers are Messrs. T. & T. Clark, who have issued the book in such a way that it will fit into 'The Ante-Nicene Christian Library.'

The editors have done their work thoroughly and well. First, they have given a list of the modern literature on the *Testament* and its like. Next they have described the *Testament* itself, its character, its MSS, the parallel literature, its supposed Montanistic original; its theology and characteristics; and its date. Then comes the *Testament* itself, in beautiful clear type. It is followed by Notes, historical and liturgical, and two Appendixes, the one on 'The Abyssinian Anaphora of our Lord,' the other 'The Last Chapter of the Arabic Didascalia.' The volume is made complete by an Index of Texts and an Index of Subjects and Authors.

The *Testament* of our Lord, says Professor Cooper, in his preface, 'is one, and not the least interesting, of a series of writings, whereof the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* is the first, and the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* one of the last, whose aim seems to have been to provide the clergy of the Early Church with a manual of their duties, and especially with directions for the proper fulfilment of the offices of Public Worship.' He adds that a special historical importance belongs to the *Testament*, because it is 'the production of the very period — the very moment, we may say—when the great transition in the Church's fortunes, from Imperial persecution to Imperial favour, was leading to the inevitable transformation of her buildings and her services to suit her altered circumstances.' Doctrinally, again, the *Testament* is of intense interest, because 'it vibrates with the pulsation of the great controversies — Arian, Macedonian, Apollinarian — through which the Church was passing, or into which she was just about to pass.' But above all this, the *Testament* is 'a veritable mine at once of devotional expression and liturgical lore.'

Let us illustrate the last statement, quoting this

Prayer of Ordination of a Deacon.

O God, who didst create all things, and didst adorn [them] by the Word; who dost rest in the pure ages; who didst minister to us eternal life by thy prophets; who didst enlighten us with the light of knowledge: O God, who doest great things, and [art] the Maker of all glory; Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom thou didst send to minister to thy will, that all the race of mankind might be saved; and didst make known to us and didst reveal thy Thought, thy Wisdom, thine Energy, thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, the Lord of light, the Prince of princes, the God of gods; give the spirit of grace and earnestness to this thy servant, that there may be given to him earnestness, quiet, strength, power to please thee; give him, O Lord, as a worker in the law without shame, kind, a lover of the orphans, a lover of the pious, a lover of widows, fervent in spirit, a lover of good things; and enlighten, O Lord, him whom thou hast loved and chosen to minister to thy Church, offering in holiness to thy holy place those things which are offered to thee from the inheritance of thy high priesthood; so that ministering without blame and purely and holily and with a pure conscience, he may be counted worthy of this high and exalted office, by thy good will, praising thee continually, through thy Only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom [be] praise and might to thee for ever and ever. Amen.

THE HOME AND SCHOOL LIBRARY.

Mr. John Murray's 'Home and School Library' was a happy conception. And in Mr. Murray's hands—one might say in the hands of its editor, Mr. Laurie Magnus—it was not likely to descend to mere amusement. The volumes before us are all sufficiently light for holiday reading, but they are also instructive enough to belong to the science of education. They are: *Plato's Republic*, by Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D.; *The Face of Nature*, by the Rev. C. T. Ovenden, D.D.; and an *Introduction to Poetry*, by Laurie Magnus, M.A.

Mr. Magnus—to look at the third for a moment—has written a clever and original book on Poetry, with the half of which no one will agree, though the whole of it every one will read and enjoy. Poetry is so much a matter of taste, as indeed everything is, except taste itself. That is to say, given that native (for it can never be acquired) sense of the fitness of things which we call taste, and then taste may be exercised most variously. What we then call lapse of taste is only variety of taste, and may be finer in its quality than our own.

A week or two ago (it was on the 6th September) a reviewer in the *Pilot* took Hazlitt to task for not seeing 'the curious lapse of taste, which led Milton to write with two immortal lines, others which are commonplace lines with a tinge of vulgarity'—

> Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,
> The tufted crowtoe, and pale jessamine,
> The white pink and the pansy freak'd with jet,
> The glowing violet,
> The musk-rose, and the well-attired woodbine.

And lest we should not know where the tinge of vulgarity is to be found, in perfect taste he cries, 'O horror! the *well-attired* woodbine! in the latest Paris fashion, like Solomon in all his glory.' And he is not even original in his taste.

Mr. Magnus has much to say about the diction of Poetry. He criticizes Browning's diction, sometimes severely. So does Mr. Stopford Brooke in his new book on Browning. But Mr. Magnus and Mr. Brooke do not agree, and the Browning admirer has a word to say to both. We all know what poetry is, but we do not all agree on what is poetry.

Yet this is a book for the Home and the School. If we do disagree, it is within due range.

JOHN MACKENZIE.

There is no man with whom the history of Bechuanaland is so closely identified as the Rev. John Mackenzie, Resident Commissioner under Her Majesty's Government, and Missionary under the direction of The London Missionary Society. His biography has been written by his eldest son, the Rev. W. Douglas Mackenzie, M.A., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Chicago Theological Seminary, and published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. It is of interest to two great classes of readers, the political and the Christian—pity it is that they are two and not one—and it must be read by both. We should greatly discount any man's judgment on South African politics who had not read either John Mackenzie's own works or this biography, in which John Mackenzie's plans and purposes are set forth with such freedom from self-consciousness. And we should know that he had missed one great opportunity of seeing what patience and what power the man of affairs can exercise who is also a Missionary of the Cross.

It is not necessary for obtaining the good there is in the book that a man should agree with John Mackenzie's politics. Mr. Stead loved him, Mr. John Morley admired him, yet the policy of John Mackenzie was the policy these men have set their faces against like a flint. Indeed, it is not the policy nor its present triumph that gives the book its worth. It is the unwearied spirit of well-doing which this great man was able to manifest right through his long and most intimate connexion with the politics of South Africa.

One can easily understand the pride of a gifted son in so gifted and generous a father. Yet the book is no panegyric. It may be that when we are less thrillingly interested in South African politics, the political parts of this biography will thrill us less; but it can never cease to be reckoned a great biography, for it has the undying merit of presenting a vivid portrait of a great Christian statesman.

Books of the Month.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES. By R. H. Charles, D.D. (*A. & C. Black*). — Professor Charles always provokes unto thinking. It does not matter what he writes upon. For the most part he writes upon subjects which are reserved for the love of the very few, like the *Book of Jubilees*. But sometimes he deals with subjects that move the vast multitude, as in his Jowett Lectures on *Eschatology*. It does not matter. He always provokes unto thinking. It is his own alert mind that does it. It is his determination to count nothing as settled, to agree with nobody if he can possibly differ, and by differing get nearer the truth and make progress. The consequence is that we often differ from him—when we know enough to differ. And we always think.

What a revolution these studies of Dr. Charles and his like have made in our knowledge of the New Testament. New facts? Yes, in plenty, but more than that, a new atmosphere, a new mind almost, with which to go to the study of the New Testament.

His work is never final. But it is always the best work for the time. It is usually the best until he himself supersedes it. This is the only edition of the *Book of Jubilees* which any scholar in Britain or America would recommend. And even in Germany will they not see that this is as good as Littmann?

RICH AND POOR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Orello Cone, D.D. (*A. & C. Black*). —'It is evident, then, that the standpoint of Jesus was radically different from that of the social reformer. The method of the one cannot be that of the other. The latter seeks to accomplish his object by readjustments of social relations. He aims to change the conditions of the

industrial world, the attitude of the employer towards the labourer, the relative shares of capital and labour in the product, and by various practical devices to diminish poverty and finally remove it altogether. This was not the manner of Jesus. He did not contemplate the slow development of society and the improvement of the condition of the poor by means of a long and painful wrestling with social problems. To Him the kingdom of God was at hand, and when it should come there would be no social problem.'

Then as to St. Paul: 'In striking contrast with the procedure of the primitive Christian community in Jerusalem, is the attitude of the apostle of the Gentiles toward the social question. Instead of the empirical enthusiasm of the first Christian Socialism, which evaporated before it could be permanently realized, and which has left no other result than a doubtful record in Acts, we have received from the reasoner Paul a few fruitful principles, out of which have proceeded issues that show him to have builded better than he knew.'

These quotations will indicate both Dr. Cone's conclusions and his attitude to the records he has to deal with. There is room enough for his book; its independence is very welcome. But it opens more questions than it closes; and on the whole it suggests materials for a doctrine of New Testament socialism rather than constructs it. The one serious criticism we should make, however, is that Dr. Cone misses the significance of Jesus, and so misses the meaning of some at least of His sayings. He misses the meaning of the advice to the rich young ruler to sell all that he had and give to the poor. It is not a question for him alone, it is for us all, and that precisely as it stands. It cannot be done? No; that is the very point and purpose of the command. What then? Yes, that we may ask 'What then?' and find Christ.

Professor Muss-Arnolt has issued through the Chicago University Press his Catalogue of *Theological and Semitic Literature* for the year 1901. Again it compels our admiration and amazement, so full is it and so accurate. How few are the scholars of this industry and accomplishment who would give themselves to such work! But now that it is done, every scholar should keep the volumes beside him. They will save him labour and enrich his resources.

There is just one improvement we should suggest. When a book is published in Britain, the British publisher's name should be given rather than that of the American importer.

THE PART OF RHEIMS IN THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE. By J. G. Carleton, D.D. (Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press*).—Much has been done, yet every student of the subject knows that much yet remains to be done, on the history of the Bible in English. It is a 'popular' subject and it has suffered from 'popular' writing. In reality there are few matters that demand more of the discipline of scholarship. Works like Westcott's, Lupton's in the forthcoming Extra Volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and Dr. Carleton's before us, make real progress in our knowledge of it.

Dr. Carleton has confined himself to a small part of the subject. He has investigated the obligation which the Authorized Version owes to that published at Rheims in 1582. The bulk of his book is filled with tables. The first table gives the readings that are common to the Rhemish and Authorized Versions, but are not found in earlier versions. The second gives the Rhemish readings adopted in the A.V. margin. The third gives the readings common to Geneva, Rheims, and Authorized, but not found in other versions. These tables are preceded by an Introduction, part of which is historical and part analytical. The historical part sketches the life and work of the English translators; the analytical arranges the results of the comparative tables under special topics, as Vulgate-Latin influence, Archaisms, Concise Renderings. The work is done with accuracy and printed with art. Enough has been said to make it evident that Dr. Carleton's book is indispensable to every serious student of the English Bible.

JOSEPH AND MOSES. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. (*T. & T. Clark*).—Another course of lectures on Bible characters? Not so. You are weary of Bible characters and courses, but this is new. Mr. Buchanan Blake hit upon a fresh idea when he wrote his books on *How to Read the Prophets*. Nothing has made the prophets so accessible to the average man. He has hit upon a fresh idea again. It came to him, he tells us, as he worked upon the prophets. He saw that the

historical portions of Scripture are also essentially prophetic, and that only when they are seen to be prophetic can they be properly appreciated 'as contributing to the development of religious truth and a fuller knowledge of God.' And then (for that of course is not original) came the call to set forth the prophetic teaching of the historical books 'in its own pure spiritual power.'

Round Joseph and Moses the prophetical portions of the narrative gather. It is a double narrative. There is first the narrative of Judah and then the narrative of Israel. Each narrative is given both in text and prophetic explanation, so that while we see the prophetic revelation we can also compare its reception in the case of two different histories. It is the Old Testament (after the labour of historical criticism has been given to it) seen in the simplicity and pure prophetic reception of the earlier time when these history books were not yet welded into one.

And especially it is God revealing His mind and will to men in that earlier time, revealing the great principles of righteousness and mercy, not in prophetic word, but in the much more touching and graphic illustration of the experience and discipline of life.

Have we come to the point as preachers when we desire to make a new start with the Old Testament? This book will enable us to make it.

MATRICULATION ENGLISH COURSE. By John Briggs, M.A., F.Z.S. (*Clive*).—There is another name on the title-page, but needlessly: it is evident that Mr. Briggs is the author of the book, and deserves the credit for it. What is it? It is one of the University Tutorial Series, and its object is 'to help the learner to express himself simply, correctly, and naturally.' An unmistakable 'examination' atmosphere is around it. Much space is spent on paraphrasing and précis-writing; and there is a section on the reading of printers' proofs. In short, it is a book written to secure a good 'pass' in Higher English, and it will secure it.

PRIMITIVE SEMITIC RELIGION TODAY. By Samuel Ives Curtiss, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—This book is the outcome of a fourteen months' tour in Syria and Palestine, added to four years' training in Semitism under Delitzsch at Leipzig, and twenty years' teaching of the same at Chicago. 'What you see is what you bring'—no, what you see is what you know where to look for. Professor Curtiss knew. He has no time to write diaries of journeys, therefore he writes down inestimable illustrations of Bible manners and customs, and his book is full. The engravings, too, are inestimable. It is but the gleanings of the vintage which Dr. Thomson gathered in the *Land and the Book*, but Dr. Curtiss seems to be one of the best of the gleaners.

THE REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE BIBLE. By George Matheson, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—'A well of water springing up' is Dr. Matheson's spiritual mind, always fresh, always plentiful. In touch too with scholarship; not in advance, not too far behind; in touch, so that he may save devotion from the blame of intellectual idleness, and yet keep the critical under the thankful faculty.

Take Jacob: He calls him 'Jacob the Aspiring.' He has adjectives for all his 'Representative Men.' Jacob is a student who would be a minister, not yet for the love of the work but for the pride of it. Yet Jacob's desire is his response to God's election. And 'let us not forget that in Jacob's Bethel dream there is a penal as well as a pleasurable element. He pronounced the spot of the vision to be "a dreadful place." This indicates that in some sense the scene jarred upon him—that it was not in every place harmonious with his nature.'

Is that the meaning of 'How dreadful is this place'? The word 'dreadful' is dealt with in the *Dictionary of the Bible*. There it is shown that 'dread' and 'dreadful' have not the meaning in the A.V. that they have now. 'We may still say that we *fear* God, but we must not say that we *dread* Him, or that He is our dread, as in Is 8^{13}, "Let Him be your fear and let Him be your dread," for dread has lost the sense of awe or reverential fear it once possessed, and signifies that which shocks or terrifies.'

Yet Dr. Matheson is right spiritually, as he always is. Jacob did shrink, the situation was out of harmony with his nature. For he was elect, and election means to privilege, not for one's self, certainly not for one's own security or ease, but for others; it is the choice of one to be, *through discipline*, a blessing to many. That is the election of the Bible. Any other would be immoral.

THE LIFE OF THE REV. JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. By William Adamson, D.D. (Glasgow: *Inglis, Ker, & Co.*).—The purpose of art is to give pleasure. This book gives pleasure. Why ask further the reason for writing a man's life in his lifetime? A work of art has always a reason for its existence. That reason is itself.

But this Life of Dr. Joseph Parker is also profitable. It is a preacher's life. It is to be read by preachers. They say that Professor Henry Drummond walked the streets of Edinburgh a whole evening to discover the secret of Dr. Parker's power. They say he did not discover it. Perhaps no one has discovered it. But what we see from this Life is that Dr. Parker preaches with all his heart and soul and strength and mind. He would have been great in business, in politics, in medicine. He would have done whatever he had to do with all his might. And when he went into the pulpit, which was his work on earth, he could not fail. Well, yes, there is one thing more a man must have who goes there. But Dr. Parker has it. 'I heard him,' said a woman after one of his services of power, 'I was close to the pulpit, driven to its very door by the press, and before he rose he was saying passionately, "Be near me, Lord; O Lord, be very near me every moment."'

No expense has been spared by the publishers; no pains have been spared by the biographer.

THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY. By Major W. H. Turton, R.E. (*Jarrold*).—This is the fourth edition and the fourth thousand of Major Turton's book. It is a great success for an apologetic pure and simple, but the book deserves it. Major Turton most modestly speaks of it as 'compiled from various sources.' That really means no more than that he has read diligently, for the book is manifestly his own, and half its persuasiveness arises from its unity. There is a determination to give facts and reasons and never go beyond them, a determination that is carried right through to the end. He has read diligently, and he has read the right books. He has read for every new edition too. Ramsay is used for the latest, and used just as he should be. It is surprising that an officer, who was serving in South Africa when he wrote the preface to the latest edition, has found it possible even to notice the literature that was being published on his wide subject. Fair and firm, the book is sure to do good.

THROUGH ROMAN SPECTACLES. By the Rev. J. A. Clapperton, M.A. (*Kelly*).—The New Testament is not to be understood, says Mr. Clapperton, till you put on a pair of Roman spectacles. For the writers of the New Testament take it for granted that their readers are familiar with the Roman customs to which they refer. They may remark that the Passover was a feast of the Jews, but they do not explain the value of a 'penny.' Their readers *were* familiar; but we are not. And we have to put on such spectacles as Mr. Clapperton has furnished us here, when, lo! there is a new world of interest opened up to us in the familiar pages.

PRIESTLY BLEMISHES. By the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A. (*Longmans*). — This volume follows *Priestly Ideals*. Its sub-title is 'Some secret hindrances to the realization of Priestly Ideals.' What are these secret hindrances? They are vanity, sloth, despondency, impatience, and self-neglect. As with *Priestly Ideals*, the book was delivered in chapters as Lent Addresses in St. Paul's. And assuredly Canon Newbolt has reckoned it part of his business to be plain. Under 'Vanity' he notices 'the vanity of little-mindedness' which is seen in the man who tries to do well only those things which he thinks he can do well. And again: 'There is a petition in one of the metrical Litanies in our hymn-book which we need to pray with all our heart, "From the love of our own way, save us, we beseech thee."' Occasionally, too, there is illustration that gives light. Canon Newbolt speaks often of the difficulty of prayer, and once he says its difficulty is sometimes due to distractions, which we must resolutely shut out, and he uses this illustration: 'Malarial fever, as we know, has now been traced to mosquito-bites, and immunity from its attacks depends practically on the protection of a few mosquito-nets.'

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGETIC. By W. L. Robbins, D.D. (*Longmans*).—This is a small book on a great subject. But Dr. Robbins has been wise enough to limit himself. He takes the existence of God for granted, and some other things besides. He sees that the essential thing in Apologetic is the Divinity of Christ. That granted, all else follows; that denied, nothing else can be called Christian. 'There is only one

question essential to the integrity of Christianity: Was Jesus Christ divine? That a man who respects reason and obeys its dictates can believe that He was, is the thesis which we are interested to prove.'

Dr. Robbins is reasonable, and yet he knows that reason can never make a man a Christian. Do not oppose it, he says, but do not rest all upon it. Think hard and constantly, but do not suppose that by hard thinking you can find out Jesus Christ. In the way of reasoning the most effective argument is the dilemma. This is Mr. Ballard's way. The 'Miracles of Unbelief' are greater than the miracles of the Gospels. This is Dr. Robbin's way also. 'If the Fourth Gospel represents Jesus as habitually emphasizing His eternal relationship with the Father, and puts into His mouth a clear statement of the glory which He shared with God before the foundation of the world, it is none the less true that the same divine claim is unmistakably implied in the picture of His character as drawn by the Synoptists. And this brings us face to face with a dilemma, which it is cowardice to shirk.'

Messrs. Macmillan have issued the seventh volume of their edition of Thackeray. It contains the *Paris and Irish Sketch-Books*. So perfunctory is the editing of standard works sometimes, that a conscientious series like this deserves emphatic commendation. For the hand and for the shelf it is most satisfying.

THE REVELATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. By J. E. C. Welldon, D.D. (*Macmillan*).—It is strange that our Lord should have promised that when the Holy Spirit was come He would lead us into all the truth, and yet when men begin to write about the Holy Spirit they run more easily and farther into error than on any other subject. Two books might be chosen, both entitled 'The gift of the Holy Spirit,' or something like that, which never get in sight of one another. The one makes the Holy Spirit act upon us magically, never letting Him recognize a single human faculty or use it; the other makes Him serve no higher purpose than to stimulate our natural faculties, much as food might do or drink or some occasional sensation.

Bishop Welldon, we are glad to say, is neither a mystic nor a materialist. He is a lover of the Old Testament and the New. He goes to the Law and the Testimony. His title, you observe, is 'the *Revelation* of the Holy Spirit.'

Nor does he use Scripture blindly. He is not a severe critic either of the letter or the arrangement. He does not find it necessary to cut very much away. But at least he uses Scripture as a whole, making one place explain another; and he is a sober circumspect interpreter where passages are hard to understand. His book is a beginners' book. It gives the Bible doctrine of the Spirit, and that in simplicity.

MEMORIES OF THE LIFE OF GENERAL F. T. HAIG. By his Wife (*Marshall Brothers*).—The interest of Major-General Haig's life belongs to Arabia, and the interest in Arabia centres in Christ. He was a soldier, but he was also a soldier of the Cross. He found his work now in India, now in Arabia, now in Ireland; but he gave himself most to Arabia, and he gave himself altogether to Christ. He did many commonplace things, the things which civil and military men have all to do; but he did them with a single eye to God's glory. You discount a wife's idolatry? You cannot annihilate the facts. Nor can you go over all the men who knew him, and discount their testimony one by one.

SHINING AND SERVING. By J. R. Miller, D.D. (*Melrose*).—The title is good; Dr. Miller's titles are always good. It recalls some familiar phrase—is it Milton's 'They also serve who only stand and wait,' or something closer?—and hangs upon the memory. The book is good also. Dr. Miller has not yet exhausted the possible ways of making devotional literature attractive to the multitude. The titles of these six chapters are: The Transfigured Life; Summer Gathering for Winter's Need; Mary of Bethany; The Path of Promise; The Dew of Thy Youth; Why Should We Worry? The thoughts are simple and sunny, and deserve the beautiful form in which Mr. Melrose has clothed them.

SAMUEL THE PROPHET. By F. B. Meyer, B.A. (*Morgan & Scott*).—Mr. Meyer quotes his authority for the title: 'He gave them judges until Samuel the prophet' (Ac 13^{20}). And then he treats Samuel as a prophet. Which suits Mr. Meyer better than if Samuel had been a

judge. For it is the spiritual and the typical that Mr. Meyer is interested in.

From the Clarendon Press come two volumes on St. Paul. The one, *The Life of St. Paul;* the other, *The Letters of St. Paul.* Their author is the Rev. T. H. Stokoe, D.D. Now Dr. Stokoe writes for Bible classes and younger students, and he has been found to be one of the most successful of that numerous class to-day. He knows exactly the literature to read and be accurate; he knows unerringly what to set down and how to set it down. Not for the fireside are these notes; but for the class-room they are unsurpassed.

PREACHING IN THE NEW AGE. By Albert G. Lyman, D.D. (Manchester: *Robinson*).—When Dr. Lyman knew that he should have to lecture the Hartford students on Preaching, he went and spent a few days among them. He got them to ask him questions about Preaching; they did this as soon as they saw he was worth asking; and he made his lectures the answer to these questions. There is an immense variety in the questions. One of them is: 'How can the preacher reach the hearers who say the sermon is good, but who make no effort to comply with it?' Another, 'Can you give us a relief picture of the arena in which we have our task?' There is immense variety in the questions, but the book is a unity. A great fresh conception of Preaching, called on the title-page 'an art and an incarnation,' gives unity to the book. The questions are caught up by the spirit that rules the book itself; and while each questioner finds his answer, he finds also that the answer carries him beyond his own thought into a region of high calling and imperative claim.

Mr. James Robinson has published a new edition of Père Lacordaire's 'Conferences' on *Jesus Christ, God, God and Man.* The book needs no review. This is a very cheap and very convenient edition of one of our few classical books in theology.

Mr. Robinson has also published a very American modern and haunting book, which bears the title of *The Rise of a Soul*, and is written by Dr. James I. Vance.

EARTH TO HEAVEN. By Mgr. J. S. Vaughan (*Sands*).—These sermons are scarcely to be distinguished from sermons which might be preached in any Protestant pulpit, if the preacher had this man's gift. The only difference is perhaps in this, that Mgr. Vaughan is less troubled with qualifications. He can speak of Hell without hesitation. He can say, 'There, down, down, deeper than any plummet can sound, he lies buried. There is his dwelling-place, and as we rivet our eyes upon him, we perceive that he is in pain, in anguish, in torture, with the worm of remorse gnawing at his vitals. The fires are all around him. True, for sheer want of a stronger word, we call them fires; but they are not such as we are acquainted with, but immeasurably more intense in the fierceness of their heat, immeasurably more subtle and searching in their power; for they are such as to torment and to punish not only the material body, but even the immaterial and spiritual substance of the soul.'

In every sermon the attention is arrested at once. The theology is as definite as Trent, but the application and illustration are as modern as last night's newspaper.

INTRODUCTION TO DOGMATIC THEOLOGY. By E. A. Litton, M.A. (*Stock*).—Dr. Wace holds that Dogmatic Theology is the most permanently interesting and the most profoundly human of all studies, that of the Scriptures alone excepted, and he says so in an introduction on 'The Study of Dogmatic Theology,' which he contributes to this volume. He has therefore little sympathy with Harnack, who writes the history of dogma in seven (translated) volumes for the purpose of getting rid of dogma. On the other hand, however, Dr. Wace warns dogmatic theologians not to say or think that their dogmas are 'an adequate or even the highest expression of the truth.'

Dr. Wace's temperate enthusiasm fitly introduces a really great book. Mr. Litton first published in 1882, then in 1892; and now in 1902 the two previous publications are made one and form a sumptuous (but posthumous) volume of dogmatic theology.

The attitude, we are told, is Protestant—an amusing distinction, as if the rector of an English parish might, could, would, or should adopt a (Roman) Catholic attitude. Its basis is the Thirty-nine Articles, of which neither he nor Dr. Wace has doubted the Protestantism. The whole range

of systematic theology is covered, for it is a book of over five hundred pages very closely printed. But it is well written and will not weary. On debated matters there is always open-minded discussion, even on matters debated between Protestants and Roman Catholics. On the subject of the psychology of the Bible—to touch one matter of debate only—Mr. Litton was a dichotomist. He gets rid of the difficulty of the word of God 'piercing to the *dividing asunder* of soul and spirit,' which seems to make three parts plain, by following Bleek's interpretation. It is not the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, it is piercing to the very marrow of the soul (the unregenerate man), and also the spirit (the regenerate). That is a ticklish subject to take as illustration of a strong, sane convincing book.

THE FREE CHURCHMAN OF TO-DAY. By J. Compton Rickett, M.P. (*Stockwell*).—Mr. Compton Rickett claims the title 'Catholic.' His are the Fathers of the Christian Church, he says, not theirs, or at least not theirs only, who are Churches by Act of Parliament or permanence of stone and lime. In the Church as in the Bible, the letter killeth, it is the spirit that giveth life. Nay, he claims to have the mind of Christ. For it was to evil that his fathers became non-conformists. Now non-conformity to evil is conformity to good. He encourages his fellow-non-conformists to be non-conformists to every evil and sectarian thing.

GETHSEMANE, AND OTHER SERMONS. By the Rev. W. S. Swanson, M.A. (*Stockwell*).—There are preachers who continually and aggressively assert their evangelicalism. Mr. Swanson does not need to do that, he never dreamt of being anything but evangelical. But he will have every evangelically instructed person see to it that he maintains good works. So he searches the conscience and does not preach to the head. He searches the conscience keenly and unsparingly, his style aiding him greatly, it is so direct and intelligible. No congregation, no one in the congregation, will go to sleep even mentally under direct unmistakable preaching like this.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

Addis, 'Job and Ruth' (Temple Bible). Dent.
Anderson, 'The Bible and Modern Criticism.' Hodder.
Archer-Shepherd, 'Three Bulwarks of the Faith.' Rivingtons.
Arnold, 'Literature and Dogma.' Watts.
Baldwin, 'Development and Evolution.' Macmillan.
Bishell, 'Human Nature' (poems). Stockwell.
Bosanquet, 'The Strength of the People.' Macmillan.
Byers, 'A Bright Border Sunset.' Brodie.
Connor, 'Beyond the Marshes.' Revell.
Cunningham, 'The Gospel of Work.' Camb. Press.
Drake, 'Maternity without Suffering.' Vir Pub. Co.
Foster, 'Life Secrets.' Revell.
Gowan, 'Preaching and Preachers.' Stock.
Harrison, 'John Ruskin' (Eng. Men of Letters). Macmillan.
Heath, 'Eighty Good Times out of Doors.' Revell.
Horsburgh, 'Girolamo Savonarola.' Methuen.
Illingworth, 'Reason and Revelation.' Macmillan.
Jackson, 'Just Beyond' (poems). Stockwell.
Johnston, 'Bible Criticism and the Average Man.' Revell.
Kelman, 'Redeeming Judgment' (sermons). Oliphant.
Kennedy, 'Judges' (Temple Bible). Dent.
Lyall, 'Tennyson' (Eng. Men of Letters). Macmillan.
Malan, 'The True Cross.' Drummond.
Margoliouth, 'Proverbs, Eccles., Canticles.' Dent.
M'Kinney, 'The Child for Christ.' Revell.
Mason, 'The Little Green God.' Revell.
Mitchell, 'Outline Addresses.' Stockwell.
Morrison, 'The Gentle Art of Making Happy.' Oliphant.
Parker, 'The City Temple Pulpit,' vol. vii. Hodder.
Patton, 'How to Live the Christian Life. Oliphant.
Rennie, 'Seedtime and Harvest.' Morgan.
Robertson, 'Erromanga, the Martyr Isle.' Hodder.
Robertson, 'Letters on Reasoning.' Watts.
Rossiter, 'The Story of a Living Temple.' Revell.
Slater, 'The Higher Hinduism.' Stock.
Slosson, 'Aunt Abby's Neighbours.' Revell.
Smith, 'Talks on Favourite Texts.' Oliphant.
Speer, 'Missionary Principles and Practice.' Revell.
Speer, 'The Principles of Jesus.' Revell.
Stalberg, 'The Lamp of Friendship' (sermons). Stockwell.
'Supernatural Religion' (popular edition). Watts.
'Temples of the Orient and their Message.' Kegan Paul.
Todd, 'Another King, One Jesus.' Stockwell.
Tucker, 'The Bible in Brazil.' Revell.
Varley, 'Scientia Christi.' Stock.
Watson, 'In Life's School.' Hodder.
Watson, 'The Life of the Master.' Hodder.

MAGAZINES.

The new number of the *Church Quarterly* opens with an article on 'Religion in Oxford,' and this sentence: 'Who is the great influence in Oxford?' The question should be easy to answer, but this writer is sadly pessimistic. He hungers and thirsts for influence, 'but, whatever the causes, there are no great influences in Oxford.' The article 'Criticism Rational and Irrational' is a

review of the *Dictionary of the Bible* and *Encyclopædia Biblica*. It is pleasant to read this able reviewer's estimate of Nestle's work: 'This article [it is the article on the TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT], it is needless to say, is admirable. The author is as genial as he is fine a scholar, and he sets out the principles of textual criticism in the clearest and most readable manner.' This also is worth noting: 'In the article on SIMON MAGUS it seems to be conclusively shown that the identification of Simon Magus with St. Paul in early Christian literature, on which so much of the depreciation of Acts depends, is a mere modern fancy.'

A new quarterly has appeared in America—the *Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly*. It is described as 'a Magazine of Religion, Philosophy, Science, and Literature.' The first article in the first number is written by Professor R. V. Foster. It consists of 'Thoughts' on God and Human Nature. The second number is opened by Professor Goodspeed with a very clear article on a very puzzling subject, 'Sennacherib's Invasion of Judah.'

The Disuse of the Marcan Source in St. Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14.

BY THE REV. CANON SIR JOHN C. HAWKINS, BART., M.A., OXFORD.

III.

OF the 35 verses, constituting about one-tenth of Lk 9^{51}–18^{14}, which alone contain any matter which is in any way parallel to Mark, 13 still remain to be examined. They are found in three passages, two of which are longer and more complex than any that have been hitherto discussed, and all of which deserve careful and minute attention, for it is from them chiefly that a cursory reader might gain the impression that Luke's disuse of the Marcan source was not entire in this division of his Gospel, and that consequently what we have here is not simply and completely a 'great interpolation' into the Marcan *Grundschrift*.

1. Luke x. 25–28.

This passage, which is the earliest of the three, has to be brought into comparison with Mk $12^{28\text{-}34}$, with which Mt $22^{34\text{-}40}$ is exactly parallel in position and in general substance. For the two latter passages describe one of four brief discussions which appear to be represented as occurring consecutively on the Tuesday before the death of Jesus (Mt $22^{15\text{-}46}$, Mk $12^{13\text{-}37}$; cf. Lk $20^{20\text{-}44}$). But Luke has there three only of those discussions, for he omits the question of the scribe (Mark) or Pharisaic lawyer (Matthew) as to the first or great commandment, and the reply which that question received. His only account of such a dialogue is that given in the passage now before us ($10^{25\text{-}28}$), which forms part of the great interpolation. But the contrasts between it and the Marco-Matthæan account are very considerable: (*a*) the incident is attributed to a much earlier time and to a quite different locality, and it leads up to the Parable of the Good Samaritan; (*b*) the lawyer does not, as in Mark and Matthew, ask about the 'first' or 'great commandment,' but (as in Mk 10^{17}, Lk 18^{18}, and cf. Mt 19^{16}) about the way to 'inherit eternal life'; and (*c*) by the interrogative form of the response to the lawyer, he himself is made to be the quoter of the well-known passage from Deuteronomy, which in Mark and Matthew forms the direct reply given by Jesus. These three alterations—or, at any rate, the first and third of them,—could hardly have been made by a writer who had the Marcan document before him as one of his sources, and who relied upon it, and especially upon its order, as Luke did usually. And they constitute divergences which very far outweigh two Marco-Lucan correspondences which have now to be noted and allowed for.

These correspondences occur in the same verse, Lk 10^{27} compared with Mk 12^{30}. (*a*) The first of them is important. To the three elements of man's being which are to be exercised in the love

of God these two evangelists add a fourth, viz. ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου (Mark) and ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι σου (Luke). This coincidence is not very likely to have been accidental, although it is possible that the use of ἰσχύς in this connexion may have come naturally to both writers from a reminiscence of its occurrence in 4 (2) K 23^{25}, where in the Deuteronomic language used in extolling the character of Josiah, ἰσχύς is adopted as the rendering of מְאֹד, instead of δύναμις, as in Dt 6^{5}. (β) The other such correspondence is certainly insignificant. It is true that Mark and Luke agree in having ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου against Matthew's ἐν with the dative, but this is only because the two former adhere more closely than the latter to the usage of prepositions in Dt 6^{5}, LXX. It may be well to place that passage side by side with these quotations, adding to them the scribe's reply in Mk 12^{33}, which is practically a second quotation in that Gospel, so that the numerous variations may be clearly seen; though indeed there is no passage of the O.T. i quotations from which we should so little expect o find variations as the leading portion of the familiar 'Shema' (Dt 6^{4-9} 11^{13-21}, Nu 15^{37-41}).

Dt 6^{5} ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου.	Mt 22^{37} ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου.	Mk 12^{30} ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.	Lk 10^{27} ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου.	Mk 12^{33} τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος . . . περισσότερόν ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.

To which passages may be added for further comparison, 4 (2) K 23^{25}, above referred to: ὃς ἐπέστρεψεν πρὸς Κύριον ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ (so in B; in A ἰσχύι follows ψυχῇ).

On the whole, then, and after giving due weight to the coincidence as to ἰσχύς, there is no sufficient ground for supposing that Luke was here using Mark as one of his authorities. It seems much more reasonable to assume either (*a*) that the two writers were referring to two distinct incidents—and it is by no means unlikely that the Shema, which as an often-repeated formula 'undoubtedly belongs to the time of Christ' (Schürer, *H.J.P.* ii. 2. p. 77; cf. p. 84) might more than once enter into His discussions with Jewish νομικοί—, or else (*b*) that one incident had in the course of oral tradition been deflected into these two forms.

On the other hand, and by way of contrast, it deserves notice that while Matthew agrees with Mark as to the time and place of this incident, the verbal correspondences between him and Luke only are very considerable, viz. νομικός (used here only by Matthew, but often by Luke), πειράζων (for which, however, Luke characteristically has ἐκπειράζων), διδάσκαλε, and ἐν τῷ νομῷ, besides the use of ἐν with ψυχῇ and διανοίᾳ, which more than balances the Marco-Lucan use of ἐξ with καρδιάς which has been mentioned. These identities seem sufficient to show either that Matthew and Luke were influenced by some non-Marcan source, or else that one of them was familiar with the other's Gospel in some form. There is not much here to guide us towards a decision between these alternatives, but that the former of them is by far the more probable will, I think, be suggested by the analogy of the passage which we have next to consider.

2. Luke xi. 15, 17–23.

These seven verses have to be brought into comparison with Mk 3^{22-27}. And it is at once evident that the verbal resemblances in which Mark and Luke stand alone are of the slightest kind. There are but three of them at the utmost. (*a*) There is the use of ἐπί for 'against' twice in Mk $3^{24.25}$, and in Lk 11^{17}, where Matthew (12^{25}) has κατά; but we have already seen that κατά with this meaning is a favourite usage of his (see on Lk 12^{10} in the previous part of this article, and cf. especially Mt 10^{35} with Lk 12^{53}); and even he agrees with the others in having ἐφ' ἑαυτόν in the very next verse (12^{26} = Mk 3^{26} = Lk 11^{18}). (β) There is the parallel use of the participial forms εἰσελθών in Mk 3^{27} and ἐπελθών in Lk 11^{22}; but this little grammatical resemblance can count for nothing in comparison with the mass of exclusively Marco-Matthæan identities which distinguish the records of this saying about the 'strong man armed.' (γ) And it is not impossible that ὅτι λέγετε κ.τ.λ. in Lk 11^{18} may be a reminiscence of Mark's brief concluding comment, ὅτι ἔλεγον κ.τ.λ., in 3^{30} or *vice versâ*.

But to most people it will seem far more probable that none of these three little similarities betoken a common source. At any rate, it will be admitted that their testimony in favour of the dependence of Luke upon Mark would be outweighed by any fairly good arguments for the independence of the two accounts. And a careful study of those accounts in their relation to the parallel passage of Matthew (12[24-30]) will be found to supply such an argument.

That study may be best commenced by a reference to the incident of asking for a sign, which in Matthew follows upon, and in Luke is actually bound up with, the controversy which produced this 'defensive discourse' (as it has been aptly named) on the subject of casting out demons. We find that Matthew, and he alone, has *two* accounts of such a request for a sign and of the answer with which it was met, one of those accounts being found in Mt 16[1. 4] (vv.[2] and [3] are almost certainly spurious), and being parallel to, and presumably derived from, Mk 8[11. 12], and the other occurring here (Mt 12[38-40]), and being parallel to Lk 11[16] and [29f]. So these two incidents which come before us in Mark and Luke respectively, and are by them attributed to different occasions, are treated by Matthew as doublets, which may be taken as an indication that he drew them from two distinct sources. He does not, however, take this course as to the 'defensive discourse' which is now under our consideration; though it happens that he does twice record miracles which might have led up to such a discourse (with Mt 12[22. 23]; cf. Mt 9[32-34], remember that v.[34] is bracketed by WH as perhaps a 'Western non-interpolation'), he does not twice append any sayings of this defensive kind. Probably it may have seemed to him too distinctive and striking a discourse to have been delivered twice, — or at any rate too distinctive and striking to need to be recorded twice in the Gospel. So, instead of giving in one place the Marcan account and in another place the (probably Logian) account used by Luke, he combines or 'conflates' them into a single account here. That this was almost certainly the genesis of the Matthæan passage as we have it, may be seen most conveniently and convincingly in Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, or less easily in any ordinary Harmony of the Gospels (though, indeed, the arrangement of these parallel passages by Tischendorf in secs. 47 and 91 of his *Harmonia Evangelica* is not as simple and helpful as usual). For the following phenomena will be observed in the course of a close comparison of Mt 12[24-30], Mk 3[22-27], Lk 11[15. 17-23]:—

i. Mark's record is considerably the shortest of the three, the number of words being in Matthew 136, in Mark 98, in Luke 139.

ii. The chief cause of this disparity in length lies in three entire verses which are found almost word for word in Matthew and Luke, so that they must have had a common origin, but to which Mark has no parallel at all (Mt 12[27. 28] and [30], Lk 11[19. 20] and [23]).

iii. And, besides those three complete verses, Matthew has some detached words and phrases which are found also in Luke but not in Mark, and as to which it is hard to believe that they were all adopted independently by the compilers of the First and Third Gospels, viz. (*a*) *εἰδὼς . . . αὐτῶν* (with *ἐνθυμήσεις* in Matthew here as in 9[4], and with *διανοήματα* in Luke); (*b*) the participial forms *μερισθεῖσα* in Matthew, and, according to the Lucan habit of prefixing prepositions, *διαμερισθεῖσα* in Luke; (*c*) the verb *ἐρημοῦν*, which is found in N.T. only here and in Rev 17[16] 18[16.19]; and (*d*) the interrogative form of the sentence *πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;*

iv. And Matthew further agrees with Luke in introducing this discourse by means of the record of a miracle which had just been wrought, whereas Mark only speaks of it as resulting from the inference which 'scribes which came down from Jerusalem' had drawn from such miracles generally. The exclusive agreement of Matthew and Luke in this point is particularly noteworthy, because as a rule such agreement is not found to exist in records of acts, but only in records of discourses. The only other two exceptions to this rule are the accounts of the Temptation and of the Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Mt 8[5-13], Lk 7[2-10]). But, indeed, the former of these can hardly be called an exception, for it could only have been regarded as embodying what Jesus had revealed.

v. On the other hand, it is with Mark rather than with Luke that Matthew agrees as to the period of the ministry in which this discourse was spoken, though he is not here following Mark's order exactly.

vi. And Matthew's v.[29] corresponds almost

precisely with Mark's v.[27] in the presentation of the little parable of the 'strong man armed,' while Luke's vv.[21. 22] differ very widely from them,[1] as has been already noticed.

vii. The use of Mark by Matthew is further supported by the fact that they both subjoin immediately to the verses now under consideration the passage on the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (Mt $12^{31.32}$, Mk $3^{28.29}$), and their versions of it agree not only exactly in position but generally in form and substance, the few and easily accounted for exceptions being (*a*) the absence in Matthew of the plural *υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, which, though common in the O.T., is almost disused in the N.T., being found besides only in Eph 3^{5}; (*b*) the expansion by him of Mark's *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* into the then familiar Jewish eschatological terms *οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι* (see Schürer, *H.J.P.* ii. 2. p. 177, and especially the references there to *Pirqe Aboth*, and 4 Esdras;[2] and (*c*) his omission of the profound saying *ἔνοχος ἔσται αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος*, the difficulty of which is proved by the later introduction of a *facilior lectio* even into the Marcan text itself. While, on the other hand, we have seen previously that the corresponding Lucan saying is considerably more compressed, besides occupying an entirely different position (12^{10}).

[1] Matthew agrees with 23 words or parts of words out of the 26 words used by Mark, but with only 7 words or parts of words of the 33 words used by Luke.

[2] But see also Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, p. 140 (Eng. trans.).

viii. Finally, the few words in Mt 12^{24-30} which remain after deducting those which we have seen to be assignable to Mark and Luke (or their sources) respectively, are just such as would be used by a compiler. For almost all of them are either quite colourless and commonplace, as *ἀκούσαντες*, and the use of *πόλις* as a third illustration intermediate between *βασιλεία* and *οἰκία*, or else they are such as we know to be characteristic of the same writer in other parts of his compilation, viz., *ἐνθυμήσεις*, and, at least against Mark, *Φαρισαῖοι*. The only alteration made by Matthew from his presumed sources which would not come under either of these descriptions is his use of *πνεύματι* (v.[28]), which might well seem to him a more easy and intelligible expression for the divine power as exercised against demons than *δακτύλῳ*, which is found in Lk 11^{20}, being probably suggested by the language of Ex 8^{19}.

These eight observations combine to prove almost irresistibly that Matthew 'conflated' his record of this discourse from two sources, which we have substantially before us in our Luke and Mark. And the insignificance of the only three resemblances which could be found between these two latter, and between them only, shows with almost equal cogency that up to the time of the employment of them by Matthew, they had been quite independent of one another, though they embody traditions either of the same controversy or at least of the same class of controversies.

(*To be continued.*)

What I Saw at the Orientalist Congress.

By Agnes Smith Lewis, Hon. Ph.D. (Halle), Hon. LL.D. (St. Andrews), Cambridge.

Thirty-six hours from Harwich on a calm sea, and three days in the thriving city of Hamburg, were a fitting prelude to five days of feasting on the best and latest which Germany has to offer in the way of Biblical and Eastern lore for the delectation of her scholar-guests. Many things conspired to make the thirteenth Congress of Orientalists a conspicuous success; so that we shall in future have no difficulty in replying to a question which was more than once put to us by the intelligent burgesses of Geneva: 'What profit is there in these gatherings?'

To begin: the initial Bureau for the transaction of business, opened on the evening of Thursday, 4th September, was a triumph of German methodical good sense. When we remember the confusion which was rampant in Paris, and how invitations addressed to us and to others remained unposted

until after the banquets and receptions to which we were bidden took place, and how the very courteous and learned secretaries were distracted about the satisfying of quite reasonable demands,[1] it was truly a pleasure to find the Bureau divided into compartments, each labelled with the title of the excursion or other festivity for which it would supply tickets. There was here no confusion, no disappointment, and none of that swarming of men like bees about a *guichet* or a table in which we suspect that Frenchmen take a real delight.

Two small shortcomings only deserve mention. The books presented to the Congress might have been placed in an apartment where they would have been easily accessible to its members, instead of being relegated to the reading-room of the Johanneum. And persistent inquiry has failed to ascertain the name of the Jewish Rabbi whose portrait, taken from a Hamburg manuscript, adorns the tasteful silver badge, so effective on the black coats of its members.

Our first informal social gathering took place in the great hall of the Concert-Haus Hamburg, where some partook of light refreshments, whilst all enjoyed the rare pleasure of a few minutes' talk with old friends, or with men who had been to us till that moment bodiless phantoms of the brain. But hardly had we been introduced to some great scholar, hitherto known to us only by his writings, when, as we were coining some suitable phrase wherewith to express our gratitude for illuminating or discriminating strictures on our own efforts, the band struck up, and the crash of drum, trumpet, and clarion completely overpowered all our attempts at speech. The social life of the Congress therefore sought other channels than those officially marked out for it. We, who had established ourselves in a small hotel overlooking the busiest part of the river and docks, had no difficulty in wiling away a few chosen friends to their mid-day meal; and rumour had it that in a *café* near the Alster basin a *séance de nuit* was held, where the chief speeches and speakers of the Congress were very wittily parodied. Music and conversation at length gave up struggling with each other as we listened to the able but somewhat lengthy speech of the President, Herr Behrmann, who justified the choice of Hamburg as the meeting-place for our Congress, on the ground that it was traders who first brought the treasures of the East home for the study of European scholars.

This speech would have been thoroughly enjoyable if it had been postponed till Friday morning.

Friday morning was devoted to a *Plenarsitzung*, when an inaugural address was delivered, and short speeches made by the delegates from foreign governments. Some disappointment was expressed at the discovery that the great English-speaking nations were so poorly represented. The Government of the United States sent only one official delegate. Our own Government sent none; and the speech of Sir Charles Lyall, who represented the Government of India, was almost inaudible. It is difficult to make foreigners understand why we Anglo-Saxons, or Anglo-Celts, leave to private initiative what is with them a department of the State.

An apology was offered to the real Oriental members, because over the prettily illuminated card of membership the date of the Congress had been printed over the Arabic text of the *Fatha*, or first Sura of the Corân, which Moslems hold in peculiar veneration. This was frankly acknowledged to be a mistake, due to the inexperience of the Hamburg Committee. They might, however, have urged that the under-script of a palimpsest is always presumed to be the most valuable.

The real work of the Congress began on Friday afternoon, when it split into its several sections. Mr. Pinches led the way in the General Semitic section. Then a very interesting paper on the newly discovered fragments of the text of Ben-Sira was read by Dr. Ryssel of Zurich; two of the discoverers, Mr. Cowley of Oxford and Dr. Gaster, being present. No discussion followed; for there was no one to contradict the assertion that the variants on the margin of Codex B, the manuscript of which includes the very first leaf found by Dr. Schechter, have been copied from the Codex C, as is clearly shown in the single leaf of it belonging to Dr. Israel Levi, and that they are not the alternative renderings of a translation from a Persian version of the Greek, according to the theory of Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

On Saturday morning an ingenious paper on Semitic family pet-names by Dr. Lidzbarski of

[1] I am told that things were worse at the Roman Congress.

Kiel was disputed by several scholars, who held that Abishai is not a diminutive of Absalom, but that it may mean 'my father was something'; and we thought it remarkable that one of David's captains should have the same kind of title as a Spanish hidalgo, '*hijo de algo*.' Professor Karl Budde threw a new light on some verses in Jeremiah; and Professor Curtiss of Chicago showed us how existing remains of ancient sacrificial altars corroborate the old Hebrew ceremonies. Dr. Oppert expounded the writing on an Assyrian cylinder with his usual perspicuous vivacity; but a paper by Dr. Guidi of Rome on the pronunciation of the '*sere*' was provokingly inaudible, owing to the hum of conversation which had unfortunately begun before he rose to read it.

In the afternoon I missed the first half of my friend Dr. Nestle's paper on a 'Baal tetramorphos.' But I was greatly pleased with the practical result of the discussion on the new Cambridge edition of the Septuagint, which was elicited by his communication. This was, that a commission of the Congress should be appointed to confer with the editors, Messrs. Brooke and Maclean, and to make them acquainted with the wishes of German scholars.

On Monday morning a *Plenarsitzung* was held in the large Concert Hall. The first paper was by Count de Gubernatis, on the story of a Chinese goddess who has reappeared in Europe under the name of St. Ursula, and is worshipped at various shrines in the north of France. But I heard only fragments of this paper; and the audience was by no means worthy of the speaker. There was a disagreeable echo in the hall, which only a powerful voice could overcome; moreover, while I love the French language on the lips of a Frenchman, I dislike it from those of any other nationality. I believe that if the Count had spoken in his own vigorous and musical mother-tongue, Englishmen who were innocent of both French and Italian would have understood better what at least was the drift of his argument.

The most important, and I may add audible, paper which followed was that by Dr. Merx of Heidelberg, about the influence of the Old Testament on the development and formation of Universal History. We shall be glad to see both these papers in print, as we feel sure that in both there will be a mine of information.

The afternoon sitting of the Semitic section began with a paper by Dr. Ginsburg on the Paseks in the Hebrew Bible. The Pasek is a small perpendicular stroke; and a discussion on it did not quite settle the question as to whether its use can be reduced to grammatical rules, or whether, as Dr. Gaster suggested, it was introduced by a scribe to mark off words from each other when he found that he had written them too closely.

On Tuesday morning we had perhaps the most important of all the communications made to the Congress, the description by Dr. Sellin of Vienna of recent discoveries made whilst working for the German Exploration Society. The good company of friends in our hotel made me too late to hear the beginning of his paper; but I understood that he has uncovered the foundations of three castles, one of which belongs to Solomon's time; that these are formed of Cyclopean stones, like those in the lower part of the Haram wall at Jerusalem; that near one of the three altars, built of unhewn stones, whose photographs he showed us, is a large cemetery of infant graves, and that some people think this points to the prevalence of infant sacrifices among the Canaanites. More startling, if possible, was the statement that under the foundation stone of several buildings lay a human skeleton. For this is the corroboration of a statement which exists in several legends, notably in the Coptic apocryphal Acts of St. John, that a girl or other specimen of humanity had been buried alive beneath a temple or a public bath-house. Thus tradition sometimes becomes verified fact, and we are now able better to estimate the character of the religion whose devotees Israel was commanded to extirpate.

Few things are rarer than an ancient inscription found beneath the soil of Palestine. I therefore esteemed it a privilege to hold in my hand for a few minutes a little dark green cylindrical seal discovered in one of Dr. Sellin's castles, and bearing an inscription both in hieroglyphics and in cuneiform. This was pronounced to be a genuine Canaanite production, although written in the script of two neighbouring nations.

Our section was enlivened by several disputes, edifying ones, for the combatants did not lose their tempers. Dr. Lidzbarski contested Dr. Hommel's

hypothesis about the ancestors (not the *origin*) of the Phœnicean letters, viz., that some of them may have been named after the heavenly bodies, and some after parts of the human frame. One of Dr. Haupt's etymologies (about Tarshîsh) gave rise to opposition, and a point in Assyriology was contested with French vivacity by M. Halévy and M. Oppert.

Dr. Hommel has found in an Assyrian tablet the name Ammi-Abbi, 'my mother is my father.' He supposes that it was given to a boy who had no reason to be proud of his immediate ancestor, and that it is the earlier form of 'Moab.'

The final *Plenarsitzung* on Wednesday morning did much to vindicate the practical utility of Congresses. After short speeches had been made by the delegates of various governments, the Chinese one, with a gentleman who interpreted for him, appearing in native dress, the following proposals were made, and were carried unanimously.

That a recommendation be addressed to the chief university librarians of Europe, that they should always be willing to show to any one who works at a manuscript, a register of those who have had it out shortly before him, and that if two people persistently work at the same manuscript the librarian should make them both acquainted with the fact.

That, on the recommendation of a committee of Assyriologists (Dr. Oppert dissenting), steps be taken to form an international commission to watch the construction of the railway to Baghdad, and to prevent the destruction of any antiquities which may be exposed.

These were carried all but unanimously. A third proposal was somewhat disputed. It was that the papers read at the Congress be no longer published in a Report (for which past experience shows that we might have to wait several years), but that they should all be sent some time within the next two months to a Committee, which shall undertake to have them inserted, entire or abridged, in a suitable scientific journal. This resolution was not to be held binding on future Congresses. It effectually takes away the power of some resident at the Antipodes, who takes months to return his proof, to delay the whole publication for an indefinite period, until what was fresh shall have become stale. But perhaps it bears hardly on those who deal in little-read alphabets, such as cuneiform and Chinese.

The above account is necessarily very superficial, as it is written entirely from memory by one who kept persistently to one section, and who neither heard everything nor paid very close attention to what she did hear. Papers there were which will be most valuable in print, but which were read so rapidly that even those most familiar with the subject must have had a difficulty in following them: and all learned men have not the gift of impressing an audience. But the chief profit of a Congress does not appear in its public sittings. New plans are unfolded, perhaps conceived, and difficulties solved, to my certain knowledge, chiefly in the private conferences for which it affords so good an opportunity.

One word as to the entertainments. After the really overpowering hospitality which we experienced at Geneva, the grand receptions at Paris, and the background of hoary antiquity which lent such a charm to the festivities at Rome, we hardly expected a commercial city like Hamburg to devise anything so entirely her own as the sumptuous hospitality of the Rathhaus on Friday evening, the magnificent representation of Wagner's 'Die Walküre' at the Stadt Theater on Saturday, and the fairy-like procession of illuminated boats on the Alster basin on Tuesday,—a scene which surpassed anything Venice has to offer. We were too much interested in the doings of our section to avail ourselves of the kind offer of the Hamburg ladies to escort us anywhere. Like most of our countrymen, we were precluded by the obligations of our Puritan faith from taking part in the excursion to Cuxhaven on Sunday; and at the closing banquet in the Thiergarten, the allotment of seats being left to the waiters, we were placed at a table completely isolated from every one else, where it was impossible to hear a word of the speeches (delivered between the several courses) or to have the faintest notion as to whose health was being drunk. But we carried away with us a vivid impression of German kindliness, and a more vivid one still of the superiority of German scholarship to that of most other nations.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

For once the book of the month is a volume of sermons. Its title is *The Called of God* (T. & T. Clark, crown 8vo, pp. 336, with portraits, 6s.). Its author is the late Professor A. B. Davidson.

The title is well chosen. For each sermon deals with some person in the Old Testament or in the New, and nearly always with his call or spiritual crisis. They have been chosen by Professor Paterson. 'They undoubtedly form,' says Mr. Taylor Innes, 'the most striking series that could be constructed from the manuscripts, and they include those discourses that have been the most popular.'

The sermons are preceded by a biography. There was only one man fitted for writing Professor Davidson's biography, and he was willing to write it—Mr. Taylor Innes. He calls it a 'Biographical Introduction,' and towards the end speaks of it as 'this in every way imperfect chapter of biography.' But it is sufficient. No longer biography than this is needed. And we cannot lay our finger on a sentence that we wish had been omitted or expressed otherwise. Those who never knew Professor Davidson have said that neither his portraits nor anything that his friends have written enable them to understand his influence or conceive his personality. There are two portraits here, each perfect of its kind; and we cannot think that when they are taken together and added to Mr. Taylor Innes' biography that feeling will longer remain.

Where has Mr. Innes found the biography? Partly in the sermons. This is the great surprise of the book. It is true that 'many went to hear his rare and occasional sermons, not merely because they struck upon their own hearts, but because they brought them nearer than anything else to the mind and heart of the speaker.' But did anyone know that he who among his friends was the most reserved and unautobiographical of men, found occasional relief in confiding aspects of his private life to a whole congregation, which he knew to be unable to recognize them?

'The day he came into the grammar school'—we quote Mr. Innes—'the boy had his first sight of a great city; and the peculiarly homeless feeling, which always mingles with the exultation of that experience, was increased by a curious accident. The mother had taken a little room for him, and the few things necessary to furnish it were sent in by the carrier. No part of them arrived, the whole being stolen on the road; and the lad spent his first night looking for a home in one lodging after another. Years after, the whole

thing seems to have come back to him, in one of those moods when life presses upon us like a dense atmosphere, and there is left not the light and warmth but the mere hope and promise of an Open Door.' And then comes the quotation from the sermon on the Open Door, of which this is one sentence: 'Sometimes, when one comes in youth from a distant home to a great city where he is unknown and alone, he walks through the streets beholding the lighted windows and hearing the sounds of music and joy within.'

It is not that the autobiography can always be lifted out like this. But it is always there. 'If we are to characterize in this respect the little pile of manuscript sermons which he has left behind, I can only say that they seem to me suffused and saturated with autobiography.' He did not count himself a preacher. So late as the early 'seventies, Mr. Taylor Innes learned that he had difficulty in admitting that the pulpit was even part of his vocation. Yet he was a most powerful preacher. And it was his preaching that brought us closest to himself; 'though each particular sermon was clear from the smallest speck of egotism, no intelligent auditor went away without feeling that at some point of it a window had been opened into the breast of the speaker.'

The sermons have no date, and they do not need it. Some of them were written very early, some of them were rewritten within the last few years. But there was little alteration. This is the amazing fact they reveal, that at the very outset of his life-work Professor Davidson chose his method, both of teaching and of preaching, and never swerved from it. 'He dreamt not of a perishable home who thus could build.'

As for their manner, 'To those who listened there was from the first the sense of power in reserve, and the expectation of much to come. That was first fulfilled, perhaps, in the use of some fit and felicitous word—often a very common word, so placed and poised as to bear a new weight of thought and feeling. But frequently there was no one word or phrase or image that you could point to or recall; only, what in another would be a dull stream of verbal slag began now gradually to glow like furnace-metal, from a fire within the man. And this grew to a crisis and explosion of thought. . . . And the whole phenomena of emotional tension—repression, disruption, and explosion—were generally, though not always, connected with his sense of

> "the burden of the mystery
> Of all this unintelligible world,"

and the conflict of good and evil there.'

The sermon on Saul is here, and the sermon on Thomas. What a revelation, what a searching of the springs of character, what a sense of the might of little things! For it is a world in which the eyes of the Lord go to and fro everywhere.

'There are characters incapable of being deeply religious. You have seen them many times. You have seen them even in your own families. Have you not felt, when you were striving to inculcate truth upon your child, that the boy's mind was strangely unimpressible; that there seemed no affinity between the religious truth and his heart; that it took no hold of a mind, keen and retentive of all other truth? He was not a bad child, not wild, not disobedient, a boy of fine feeling, high-minded, truthful, honourable; but to make him markedly religious seemed beyond you; and you were content, at last, to wait and to hope that there was some good thing in him toward God.

'This was precisely the character of Saul. He was, in the highest sense, what we term a man of honour. All the qualities that go to make up a chivalrous character were united in him. He was gallant, brave, liberal, right royal. He was a goodly man in his person, and his qualities of mind and heart corresponded to his outward appearance. Consider his modesty when destined

to the throne, how on his return he told his relative about finding the asses, but said not a word about the kingdom; and, when the day of election came, he hid himself away, and could not be found. Consider his soldierly courage and chivalry, and how, even on the field of Gilboa, his last act of self-destruction was done at the bidding of a fastidious honour, lest the unclean hands of the uncircumcized Philistines should abuse him. Consider his almost immaculate moral life, so singular in an Oriental ruler, and in such contrast with the life even of his successor; and yet so ruthlessly did fate pursue him, and so sure is any breach, even the least, of the law of God and nature to avenge itself, that the one concubine whom he had, became on his death the centre of a most tragic history.'

The first, and we must add the most important, article in the new number of the *Journal of Theological Studies* is a criticism of *Contentio Veritatis* by Professor Sanday.

Contentio Veritatis, it will be remembered, is a volume of seven essays contributed by six Oxford tutors and published by Mr. Murray. We called it the new 'Lux Mundi' when it came. For it was evident to us that as 'Lux Mundi' was the manifesto of a party—the young High Church party in the Church of England,—this also was intended as a manifesto, and was not to be taken as a representation of the teaching universally prevalent in Oxford. Professor Sanday agrees. 'It is a happy feature of the Oxford teaching,' he says, 'that differences are not extreme and not bitter, and that there are many intermediate gradations between the two ends of the scale.' But yet this volume does, on the whole, represent 'the liberal wing' of Oxford theology. And the outside observer should not go away with the impression that all or even the greater part of the Oxford teaching of theology is exactly of the same colour as that of the 'Six Tutors.'

Now, that being so, a very striking thing comes to light in *Contentio Veritatis*. Go as far back as 'Essays and Reviews,' go only as far back as 'Lux Mundi,' and compare the tone, the temper, of this book with those. They are all manifestoes of a young liberal party. But how moderate and self-restrained are the six Oxford tutors. They say what Dr. Sanday for one cannot always agree with. But they say it never offensively or arrogantly. Indeed, the impression made on Dr. Sanday's mind is on the one hand that they are perfectly outspoken, and yet on the other hand that they themselves have no joy in destruction, but are sensible, in all that they have to say, of gain rather than of loss, and look forward without fear to the future of theology and the Church.

Three essays stand apart from the rest. One is by Dr. Hastings Rashdall on the Ultimate Basis of Theism; the other two are by Mr. Inge (pronounce his name as if without the *e*) on the Person of Christ and the Sacraments.

Mr. Inge's essays 'have a distinction of style which is an index of real distinction of mind.' 'I wish,' says Dr. Sanday, 'that I could do justice to Mr. Inge's two essays, if only as some return for the genuine pleasure they have given me. To read them is like reading poetry of fine quality. The thought not only moves in high regions, but it is also constantly touched by generous emotion.' Who would not welcome criticism after words like those? And Dr. Sanday criticizes Mr. Inge also. But first he deals with Dr. Rashdall.

There are things in Dr. Rashdall's essay with which Dr. Sanday does not agree; and there are things on which he desires a fuller treatment. Of the former the most prominent is the Miraculous. In noticing the book when it appeared we pointed out that every one of the writers found the miracles of the Bible more or less in their way, and seemed to resent it. Why should the progress of thought on so great a science be hindered by so vulgar a thing as a miracle? But the miracles are there. Neither impatience nor contempt (of which none of

these writers is guilty) is sufficient to meet them. Let us first of all, says Dr. Sanday, acknowledge that they are there. 'That our Lord and some of His disciples—notably St. Paul—performed what were commonly thought to be miracles, I consider absolutely certain.' And he gives the proof of his assertion. 'When St. Paul speaks of "signs and wonders" as the marks of an apostle and as the characteristics of his own ministry (2 Co 12^{12}, Ro 15^{19}); and when he speaks again of such signs and wonders as prevalent in the Church (1 Co $12^{9.\,10.\,29.\,30}$, Gal 3^{5}), it seems to me that we must absolutely take him at his word.' Nor is the evidence, when it is all summed up, less decisive in respect of the miracles of our Lord. Dr. Sanday counts the story of the Temptation alone sufficient to prove that. For it turns on the power to work miracles, and none of His contemporaries had insight enough to invent that story if it had not come from Himself. So the miracles are there—that is to say, what were then considered to be miracles. And what Dr. Sanday complains of, both in Dr. Rashdall's essay and all through the book, is that that fact is not faced. When that fact is faced, then it becomes our duty to compare the miracles of the New Testament with that which would be miracles to us. For the real problem is not whether miracles happened, but what is a miracle and how our conception of miracles is to be adjusted to that which was current in the apostolic age.

Of the things in Dr. Rashdall's essay, of which Dr. Sanday craves fuller discussion, by far the most conspicuous and the most important is the relation of our spirits to the Spirit of God. Dr. Sanday calls it the question of questions at the present moment. Dr. Rashdall and Mr. Inge both touch it, and on the whole he counts Mr. Inge's analysis the more subtle and delicate of the two. He quotes this sentence in which Mr. Inge sums up his thought of it: 'The ideal goal which we contemplate and hope for is a state in which our nature and will shall be perfect instruments of the Divine nature and will, but in which they shall remain in a condition of free subordination to the Divine—not abolished or absorbed, so as to lose all possibility of *communion*, nor yet so separate as to admit only of an ethical harmony.'

It is 'the question of questions' at the present moment, because just here it is sought by reverent writers and by irreverent to break down the uniqueness, the essential divinity, of the Lord Jesus Christ. Dr. Sanday is doubtful of Dr. Rashdall, and quotes this statement among others: 'The divine Logos, present in all souls to some extent and in some degree, was pre-eminently present in the human soul of Christ.' Mr. Inge's language is very carefully guarded; he is not sure that Dr. Rashdall's is guarded so carefully.

The criticism which Dr. Sanday makes of Mr. Inge himself is of a different kind. Practically it amounts to a defence of the historical method in theology. No one who had read Mr. Inge's Bampton Lecture on Mysticism was surprised to find him lay all emphasis on Christian experience. Dr. Sanday thinks he does so too exclusively. Yet he is very gentle with him. He does not say he is wrong. He says only that he does not make sufficient allowance for minds of other build than his own. The Christ, says Mr. Inge, with whom historical criticism has had to do, who has been placed in the dock as it were, cross-examined, and acquitted, is a dead Christ, who could only preside over a dead Church. Not so, replies Dr. Sanday. He may be a Christ in whom the human side is strongly developed, and it may be through the human side that the imagination seeks to climb up to the Divine; but at least He is a Christ who *has lived*, lived a real true human moving life; He is not a docetic phantasm.

It is gentle criticism, but it reaches the centre. It may be that 'the majority of Christians to-day are Christians because they have found Christ, or rather because Christ has found them'; it may be that the historical method, mercilessly and exclusively employed, deserves the contemptuous

title of 'Old Bailey' theology; yet Dr. Sanday is right. The moment arrives to many minds, let us be bold and say to the most candid minds, when the origins of the Faith must be inquired into. It is not that the apostles are 'tried on a charge of perjury and acquitted'; it is that the present living Christ, who has found us, has found us because once in the past He loved us and gave Himself for us. And it is a mistake to say that we never can prove that past. As Dr. Sanday puts it, there may be no single argument that we can lean upon alone, but there is 'a multitude of historical particulars, finely graduated perhaps in regard to degrees of proof, but with certain fixed points as centres, and all convergent in their ultimate effect and rendering each other mutual support. In a picture constructed by such a method, the little facts, the lowly features come by their due—"the violet by the mossy stone half hidden from the eye," no less than the great leading ideas.' When the picture is formed we know whom we have believed and are persuaded. Mr. Inge says it is a broken reed, which will pierce one's hands as soon as we really lean upon it. Rather it is a stake driven quite securely into the soil beneath, on which we can build with confidence our houses of Christian experience, and dwell therein as in a home.

Dr. Rashdall's and Mr. Inge's essays give *Contentio Veritatis* its distinction. For Dr. Sanday they are the book. With the remaining essays he is not so well pleased. He considers how such a volume is likely to come into existence. 'The idea occurs to two or three personal friends or colleagues that a volume surveying some particular field, and stating the position of research in regard to that field, is desirable. But then they have to look round to make up their number. And whereas in their own case, perhaps, their materials are ready and the time for their publication is what they would naturally choose, the same cannot be said of the supplemental essays. The writers of these have their subjects chosen for them, and they are often pressed into publishing before they are really ready, before their materials are fully digested, or their own opinions matured.'

Moreover, he does not think that the 'Oxford essay' has a high reputation with *those who know*. For there have been Oxford essays before. Canon T. S. Evans of Durham used to say of Stanley's *Corinthians*: 'And every twenty pages or so you come to an elegant Oxford essay—all wrong.' Dr. Sanday does not mean to say that these new Oxford essays are 'all wrong.' He thinks they decidedly tend to be right. But he thinks that with them also the ease and grace of the outward form is not in proportion to the thoroughness and well-considered grounding of the subject-matter.

This criticism seems severe. Yet it is the criticism which every honest worker will welcome, and welcome it heartily from Dr. Sanday. For he is the good divine that follows his own instructions. It is indeed an incalculably precious thing that the Oxford tutors are able to lay their work at the feet of a critic like this. For, as Dr. Sanday himself says, they are the backbone of the university system, as the non-commissioned officers are said to be the backbone of the British army. They are in closest and most continuous touch with the undergraduates, they have most to do with the direct moulding of character. The only thing that we have to fear for the Bible or Christ is dishonest dealing. If the tutors are taught to deal honestly, there is nothing left to fear.

What is the difference between a Christian and a man of the world? The readiest answer is that the Christian walks by faith, the man of the world by sight. But Dr. Illingworth says that answer will not do.

Dr. Illingworth (who is perhaps our foremost writer on apologetic at present) has written another book. He calls it *Reason and Revelation* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d.). It is another volume of

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apologetic. And the very heart of the apology for Christianity it contains is this, that God is love and may be counted on.

The man of the world is a man of faith. Without faith he could not take a step in the dark, he could not move a hand into the future. His faith is in the order of the world. It is a cosmos, this world of ours, not a chaos. Things lie in order around. And if we have to put out our hand into the future, or take a step into the dark, we do so in trust that we shall find things lying in order still, just as we find them in the present or in the light. And that is faith. It is the faith of the man of the world.

But the faith of the Christian is more than that. He puts out his hand into the dark and touches another hand. He sees a Person in the future to whom he can go. His world is not merely a cosmos, orderly and arranged; it is a home. He has found that the order of this world is due to God, and God is love.

Now this difference between the Christian and the man of the world is a difference too great to be exaggerated. Is it not also too great to be true? How can the Christian look around this world and say that God is love—this world of sin and suffering?

It is the great problem of modern apologetic. It is most easily felt, it is most passionately urged, it is most difficult to resolve. Dr. Illingworth gives his last chapter to it, and the whole of his candour and strength.

He begins by clearing the way. Sin and suffering, you said? We have only to deal with sin. Suffering is a consequence of sin or else its corrective. It is sin and sin alone that makes the problem.

Then he refuses to be driven into a corner or pinned on the horns of a dilemma. There is only one legitimate way of stating the problem. It is this: Why did God create man capable of sinning? And to that the answer is that we cannot conceive how freewill could otherwise have been created. Freewill is the source of all morality, of all that has worth or value in the world. Without it there would be no heroism, no idealism, no beauty of holiness, no self-sacrificing love; man would have remained an animal, and history moved forward to no goal. Therefore, without the possibility of sin, human life—with all that it stands for—could not have come into being.

But was not then the creation of man a mistake? It depends upon the end. For a moment Dr. Illingworth seems ready to admit that it was, *if he is held to a belief in everlasting punishment.* If there is such a thing as final impenitence, if there are sinful wills that continue forever sinful, then he cannot see that it is possible to prove that God is love.

So he turns and asks, What must we believe regarding the future of the impenitent? And he finds that, broadly speaking, three views are prevalent, and we may make our choice. The first view is that they are everlastingly punished; the second is that at once or by and by they are annihilated; the third is that finally they are all brought back to God. We may make our choice, he says. For Scripture is not clear and the Church has fixed no dogma.

But just when we suppose that Dr. Illingworth means to choose the third and jump the difficulty with his head down, we find we are mistaken. He chooses the first. He says that even on the belief that man is punished everlastingly, God may be shown to be a God of love.

For punishment is not torment. There is a punishment of which we can conceive, which is everlasting, and yet agrees with our sense of the

everlasting love of God. We have an analogy in human life. 'Take the case of a man who has been a culpable spendthrift in his youth, and so reduced himself to penury for the remainder of his life. His poverty is his punishment, and as long as he resents it he is in misery. But no sooner does he recognize its justice than he can bear it with cheerful acquiescence as God's will. Yet the punishment remains; he has all the incapacities of poverty, and he can never now do the good that he might have done with his wealth.'

Can we not conceive a similar process in the life to come? May not men awaken there to recognize that, by their earthly conduct, they have brought themselves for ever to a lower state than might have been, and are they not to that extent everlastingly punished, even though they accept their position as divinely just and be at peace?

The Logos in the Chaldaean Story of the Creation.

By Professor Fritz Hommel, Ph.D., Munich.

In The Expository Times of May 1900 (pp. 341–345) I have already dealt with the Chaldæan list of the patriarchs, as reported by Berosus and as underlying the duplicate accounts in Gn 4 and 5. My reason for returning to the subject is that I am now in a position to prove that in the *Adapa* [fuller form *Adapad*, Berosus *Alaparos*], which stands second in the Chaldæan list, we have an intermediate form betwixt God and man, which signified originally 'Word of the Father.'

In the first place, I would once more remind my readers that, in the list of ten patriarchs (Berosus and Gn 5), *before* 'man' proper (called in Gn 5 *'ĕnōsh*, not *'ādām*) there are *two divine forms*, namely, *'ādām* = Alorus (= Bab. *Arûru*, the consort of the creator god Ea, who, like Ea, kneaded man from clay and blood), and שֵׁת = Alaparos (Bab. *Adapada*). It is only then that we encounter the first man, who is called in Gn 5 *'Ĕnōsh*, but in Gn 4 *hā-'ādām*, 'the man' (Berosus *Amelon*, i.e. *amêlu*, 'man'). Now follow in Gn 5 the first seven descendants of Enosh-Adam, who, together with *'Ādām*, *Shêth*, and *Ĕnōsh*, make up the so-called ten primeval kings. A comparison with Gn 4 exhibits the following arrangement:—

Gn 5.	*Gn* 4.
Ḳênān.	Ḳain.
Mahalal'el.	Enoch.
Jared (ירד).	'Irad (עירד).
Enoch.	Meḥuja'el.
Methû-shalaḥ.	Methû-sha'el.
Lamekh.	Lamekh.
Nôaḥ.	[Nôaḥ].

In Berosus these last seven are called—

Ἀμμένων, Ammenon,	cf. Gn 5	Ḳênān.
Μεγάλαρος, Amegalarus,[1]	,,	,,	Mahalal'el.
Δάωνος, Davonus,	,,	,,	Jared.
Εὐεδώραχος, Edoranchus,	,,	,,	Enoch.
Ἀμέμψινος, Amempsinus,	,,	,,	Methû-shalaḥ.
Ὠπάρτης, Opartes,[2]	,,	,,	Lamekh.
Ξίσουθρος, Xisuthrus,	,,	,,	Nôaḥ.

As long ago as March 1893 (*P.S.B.A.* 'The Ten Patriarchs of Berosus') I pointed out that the *Ammenon* of Berosus must be based upon a cuneiform *ummânu*, 'artificer,' 'master-workman' (exactly the same meaning as קין has in Arabic), and also that the original name of the son of this Ummanu-Ḳain was Amil-Arûru. This furnished the key to the understanding of the whole, and Professor Zimmern afterwards discovered also the original Babylonian form of the patriarch who answers to the biblical Enoch, namely, *En-me-dur-an-ki*, king of Sippar (this last place appearing in Berosus as Παντι-βιβλα, i.e. *Putû-Sippar* or Agadi-Akkad, west of the Euphrates, in Chaldæa). That Ἀμήλων = *amêlu*, 'man,' and Ἀμέμψινος = Amil-Sin, was suggested by Friedrich Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?*, p. 149), but the latter of these identifications is still very questionable.[3]

[1] These forms must go back to an original Ἀμηλ-άλαρος (cf. No 1 Ἄλωρος = Bab. *Arûru*), *i.e.* Bab. *Amil-Arûru*.

[2] So corrected by Lenormant, instead of the meaningless *Otiartes* (Ὠτιάρτης); the name is preserved in Babylonian in the Deluge story as *Ubara-tutu*. The by-form Ἀρδάτης will go back to a Bab. variant *Arad-tutu*.

[3] It is more likely that AMEMIICINOC was written by mistake for AMELNICINOC (='man of Nisin').

The patriarchal list of Berosus, which emanated from Chaldæan (not Babylonian) priestly circles, may accordingly be restored as follows:—

Arûru (the earth) . .	10 *sars*	= 13 *sars*.
Adapad . . .	3 ,,	
Amêlu (man). . .	13 ,,	
Ummânu (= Ḳain) .	12 ,,	
Amil-Aruru . . .	18 ,,	
Dawinu[1] . . .	10 ,,	
En-me-dur-an-ki . .	18 ,,	
Amil-Nisin . . .	10 ,,	= 18 *sars*.
Ubara-tutu . .	8 ,,	
Pir-napišti . . .	18 ,,	

These ten primeval kings are followed, according to Berosus, by Eue-choos (Bab. *En-me-kua* or the like, the biblical *Ḥam*), to whom are assigned 2400 years; Chomas-belos (Bab. probably *Kimaš-bêlu*, the *Cush* of Gn 10[6-8]), with 2700 years; and other 84 kings, the first of whom must have been Gilgamos (= Nimrod), which is confirmed also by Aelian's statement that Gilgamos (Bab. *Gibilgalgamiš*, with by-forms *Gišdubar* and *Nârûdu*) was the grandson of Sevechorus (cf. the above *Eue-choos*). Then follows the so-called Hammurabi dynasty (of Arab origin), from the commencement of which down to the time of Alexander the Great there is said by Berosus to have been a period of 1909 years.[2]

It may here be remarked that the biblical figures, both those of the ten (or seven) patriarchs and those of the period from the Deluge to Teraḥ, must be increased, just as the Chaldæan ones must be reduced. In this connexion the circumstance discovered by Julius Oppert deserves attention, namely, that the biblical number 1656 (from the Creation to the Deluge), if divided by 72, gives 23 years (*i.e.* 8400 days or 1200 weeks), while the corresponding Babylonian number, 120 *sars*, or 432,000 years, divided by 72 gives 6000, *i.e.* 1200 *lustra* or Babylonian year-weeks. Both numbers are also divisible by 60; namely, 1656 ÷ 60 = 27·6 (length of the moon's period), and 432,000 ÷ 60 = 7200, which, again, will be no fortuitous result. Let us assume, for instance, that the 34,000 years from Shem to Teraḥ were in reality 3400 (*c.* 5600–2200 B.C.), the years from the Creation to the Deluge would correspondingly amount to 43,200. A smaller reduction would probably be scarcely safe, since the 86 kings between the Deluge and Hammurabi must be taken into account. An interesting allusion to the 120 *sars* of the patriarchs may be discovered, further, in the hitherto unintelligible *crux interpretum*, Gn 6[3]. Here הוא בשר must be a gloss (cf. the glosses in Gn 14, which are regularly introduced by הוא) to בשגם, and the whole passage will read: 'My spirit shall not always (as hitherto) rule in man for great spaces of time (cf. Aram. שגא, סגא, "to be numerous"), but his days shall be (henceforward) only 120 years' [*i.e.* The maximum life of any one man shall henceforward be only 120 years or 2 *sosses*, instead of the 120 *sars* of the ten patriarchs combined]. בשר collectively = 'in *sars*' (Bab. *šâru* = 3600, σάρος) is thus a gloss to בשגם, an antiquated expression which needed explanation. Further, the year of their life (the 35th, 34th, 32nd, 29th) in which their first son was born to those mentioned in Gn 11 (cf. my *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, p. 222, n. 1) points rather to a life of about 120 years than to one of several centuries. This implies, to be sure, that in the additional years (403, 430, 207, 119) assigned to their life we have an arbitrary exaggeration. I should prefer to restore the list thus—

Shem, 100 (+500; cf. Noaḥ 500+100 before the Deluge).
Ḳainan [LXX], 35.
Shelaḥ, 34.
Reʿû, 32.
Naḥor, 29.
Teraḥ, 70.
Abram, 100 (cf. above, Shem?).

Besides these, there should be three times 30 unnamed patriarchs from Arpakshad (Chaldæa), ʿEber-Peleg, and Serug. For, as it is manifest on the one hand that Shem (shortened from Shemu'el), Ḳainan, Shelaḥ (cf. Methû-shalaḥ), Reʿû (cf. Reʿû'el), Naḥor,[3] Teraḥ, and Abram are personal names, on the other hand Arpakshad, ʿEber-Peleg, and Serug are names of districts; and the series

[1] *Daōnos* (*Davonus*) can answer only to a cuneiform *Dapinu* (to be pronounced *Dawinu*?), the usual appellation of Mercury (Nebo, Nusku, fire-god). This is confirmed by the fact that 10 (see above) is the sacred number of Gibil the fire-god.

[2] That is, from Eue-choos to Alexander the Great 10 *sars*, or 36,000 years, which would allow the 86 kings between the Deluge and the accession of Hammurabi, 34,091 (or in round numbers, 34,100) years. In the Bible the period between the Deluge and Teraḥ is about 200 years.

[3] Cf. *Nakhar*, the name of a priest of Ningirsu, found on a seal-cylinder from Telloh, in the Louvre.

100, 35, *30*, 34, *30*, 32, *30*, 29, shows clearly enough that the thrice interrupting 30 demands another explanation. We have thus originally from Shem to Teraḥ 96 patriarchs (namely, 6 and three times 30), which now agrees remarkably with Berosus' 86 kings (between the Deluge and Hammurabi); if we might venture to correct one of the thirties to twenty, the coincidence would be even complete.[1]

Before turning to the two divine predecessors of the patriarchs, the special theme of this article, I should wish merely to note briefly that the last seven patriarchs, Ḳain—Noaḥ, or Ummânu—Xisuthros (Pir-napišti or Chasis-atra), are brought by the Chaldæans into relation with the *seven planets*, and then apportioned by the Babylonians among the ten months of the so-called *world-year*. This also explains surprisingly how in Gn 4 Enoch comes immediately after Ḳain, but in Gn 5 stands three places after him. In Gn 5 we have the ancient Chaldæan order: the moon, Venus, Mercury,[2] the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn; but in Gn 4 the specially Babylonian order: the moon, the sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn (cf., further, my *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, p. 446). For the same reason, the sun stands in the fourth place also in Gn 1, where the order of creation is as follows:—

1. Light	The moon.
2. Firmament	Mercury.[3]
3. Earth and vegetation	Venus.[4]
4. Sun, moon, and stars	The sun.
5. Fishes and birds	Mars (eagle).
6. Animals and man	Jupiter (bull).
7. The Sabbath	Saturn.

We should have expected the heavenly bodies to make their appearance immediately after the firmament (as is the case in the Babylonian Story of the Creation, which is not arranged upon the principle of various days' work). Gn 1 is thus derived from a Chaldæan (W. Semitic), not from a Babylonian source. The above-mentioned Babylonian *world-year* will now stand thus—

12th month,	Adar	} The first three patriarchs.[5]	
1st ,,	Nisan		
2nd ,,	Iyyar		
3rd ,,	Sivan (moon), 'brick month'	Ḳain.	
4th ,,	Tammuz (sun)	Enoch (365 !).	
5th ,,	Ab, month of 'the descent of fire' (Mercury)	'Irad.	
6th ,,	Elul (Venus, Istar)	Mehuja'el.	
7th ,,	Tishri	Methû-sha'el.	
8th ,,	Arakh-samna (Jupiter)	Lamekh.	
9th ,,	Kislev (Saturn)	[Noaḥ ('rest')].	
10th ,,	Tebet	} The Deluge (commencing 1st Tebet = 21st Dec.).	
11th ,,	Shebat		

Here, as in Gn 4, it is only the order of the planets that is Babylonian,[6] whereas there are many other clear indications that a Chaldæan source has been utilized. [On the testimony of the inscriptions to the apportioning of the seven planets to the months Sivan—Kislev, see H. Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.* ii. 367 f., and also the further details in my *Aufs. u. Abhandl.* p. 447 f.]

By way of commentary on the above list I would note also the following points, from which it will be evident at the same time that the element of chance is quite excluded here. (*a*) The 'brick month,' Sivan, corresponds to the building of the first city by Ḳain (Gn 4^{17}); the zodiacal sign Gemini, again, answers to Ḳain and Abel; moreover, F. Lenormant (*Origines*, i.) has shown how the founding of the first city is always connected with the murder of a brother (cf., *e.g.*, the story of Romulus and Remus). That the moon is sacred to Ḳain the 'artificer,' finds its explanation in the circumstance that Ea, too, who was identified with

[1] This course, however, is not necessary, since the kings of Berosus are *Ham* and his successors, whereas in place of those the Bible enumerates *Shem* and his successors. There might thus be quite well 86 members of the one series answering to 70–100 of the other, but in no case to 7–10.

[2] We should expect, properly speaking, the order Mercury—Venus (instead of Venus—Mercury), but see my *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, p. 458. On the interchange of the same two planets, cf. also *ib.* p. 448, n. 5.

[3] Bab. *an-pa* is the ideogram alike for Mercury (the heavenly messenger) and for *elat shamê*, 'height of heaven,' 'midday.'

[4] Ištar is admittedly derived from the root שׁחר 'to be luxuriant' (*Aufs. u. Abhandl.* p. 156); cf. also ♁ = the earth, and ♀ = Venus; and note, further, Amil-Arûru ('servant of the earth'), the patriarch to whom the planet Venus is sacred.

[5] Creation proper falls upon 1st Nisan (see, more fully, below). As to Adar, which stands at the head of our list, there was at the time of the kings of Ur a calendar which commenced with Adar (cf. Radau, *Early Bab. History*, p. 299).

[6] It is worthy of note that as late as about 2500 B.C. (the time of the kings of Ur) the 4th month did not yet bear the name Tammuz. On the contrary, the 6th month (Elul) was then sacred to Tammuz (the sun) and was called 'Tammuz' month.'

Sin, was the patron deity of the goldsmith's art and in general of all kinds of skilled labour.—(*b*) Tammuz or Adonis is the sun, and Enoch with his 365 years, as also En-me-dur-an-ki, king of Sippar (the city of the sun), are brought into relation with the sun.[1] The sun-god and Rammân (or Hadad) impart to En-me-dur-an-ki the secrets of heaven and earth, *i.e.* astrology and magic (Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, 117 f.); and all astrologers and enchanters (*barû*) trace their genealogy back to this patriarch.—(*c*) The god of the month Ab is Nin-giš-zidda, a manifestation-form of Nabu-Nusku (Mercury), who is also called Gibil (fire-god). But in Sargon (Cylinder, l. 61) the month Ab is called the 'month of the descent (*arad*, ירד) of the fire-god (Gibil).' Now the full form of the name of the patriarch Jared, as found in Gn 4, is עִירָד. This name is made up of עִי 'fire' (cf. יָעִים 'fire shovels,' perh. also Is 11[15] בְּעִי מַרְחוֹ; further, Eth. *we'eya* 'burn'; and the proper names עִירָא, עִירָם, עִינֵר [MT wrongly עָנֵר]) and יָרַד 'descend.' In harmony with this is the circumstance that the corresponding name in Berosus is Daōnos = *Dapinu* (an appellation of Mercury).—(*d*) The month Elul or 'Istar's month' (zodiacal sign Ear of corn of Istar) corresponds to the patriarch Mehuja'el or (in older form, Gn 5) Mahalal'el (Chald. *Amil-Arûru* 'servant of the earth-goddess Arûru'; cf. what has been said above on the earth and Venus).—(*e*) Next comes Methû-sha'el, older form Methû-shalaḥ, in Berosus *Amempsinos*. Since we expect here an allusion to Ninib (Mars) or the god of war, *shalaḥ* = 'javelin' (esp. one that brings death) would suit better than the שלח = *Sarrakhu*, an appellation of the moon-god, the explanation formerly assumed by me. In that case also Amempsinos is of course not Amil-Sin, but in *-psin* there is some as yet unknown reference to the planet Mars.[2]—(*f*) The month Arakh-samna (Marcheswan) was sacred to Marduk-Jupiter. The name of the corresponding patriarch is Ubara-tutu, *i.e.* 'protected of Marduk.' It may accordingly be supposed that in *Lamekh* we have a mutilated form of *Marduk*, perhaps לְ-מַךְ 'belonging to Makk.'—(*g*) The month Kislev had for its patron deity the seventh and last planet, Nergal-Saturn, and, as the Noaḥ of Gn 5 must be placed here, with his name (= 'rest') reminiscent at once of the seventh week-day, the Sabbath, no doubt Berosus' *Xisuthros* ('the very wise,' *Chasis-atra* or *Atra-chasis*), who is called in Babylonian Pir-napišti ('sun of the soul'),[3] also stands in some reference to Nergal-Saturn. As a matter of fact, Tammuz, whose death dirge was performed on 21st June, and whose proper dominion lasted from 21st March to 21st June (Nisan to Sivan), must have, corresponding to him, before the beginning of winter, Nergal, whose death fell on 1st Tebet, and who exhibited his chief power from Tishri to Kislev. Hence also the Sakkut festival was celebrated in Tishri or in Marcheswan,[4] and the last month of the god's life was Kislev. That Noaḥ stood not only for Saturn but also for the sun is plain also from the circumstance that, like the sun in his bark, so Noaḥ in his ship sails for exactly 365 days (from the 17th day of the second month to the 27th of that month in the following year, Gn 7[11] 8[14]).[5] This representation contradicts the other, which supposes a two months' duration of the Flood, namely, during Tebet (*abba-uddu* 'proceeding from the sea,' cf. Gn 6[17] מַיִם) and Shebat ('curse of the rain,' and month of Bel-Rammân or the weather-god), but it attaches itself to the sun nature of Noaḥ, which he shares with Enoch, being also at last, like him, translated to Paradise to the gods (Nimrod epos, close of the Deluge episode).

It is only now, after we have made acquaintance with the whole context of the list of patriarchs, that it will be fitting to look more closely at the

[1] *Dur-an-ki*, 'band of heaven and earth,' also points to the sun, for various ancient Babylonian temples bear this name.

[2] I suggest Amel-Nisinos, for Nisin was the sacred city of Ninib-Mars.

[3] Cf. the proper name Sin-napišti ('moon of the soul'). Nergal is also the underworld or night sun, or the autumnal (in contrast with Tammuz, the vernal) sun.

[4] Moses transformed this into a feast of booths (*sukkôth*), in order to destroy its astral character.

[5] The sun's bark appears, by the way, to be a specially Egyptian conception, a circumstance which is of extreme importance in its bearing on the date and the composition of the so-called P, which certainly preserves in Gn 5 older forms of names than Gn 4 (so-called J). In harmony with this is the further circumstance that the number 365 here and in the case of Enoch likewise points to Egypt, for the Babylonian year had 360 days, the Chaldæan 354, the Egyptian alone 365 (namely 360, with an annual intercalation of the 5 *epagomena*). Moreover, the above-mentioned transformation of 1200 year-weeks into 23 years (which then, multiplied by 72, give 1656) presupposes the year = 365·2 days.

two divine forms which in Berosus and in Gn 5 precede the first man. The first three (Arûru, Adapad, and the 'man') form a special group in relation to the other seven. This is owing to the circumstance that the oldest Chaldæan tradition, to which the whole list goes back, meant by these three names to set the whole story of the Creation symbolically before the eye or to indicate it to the ear.

First of all, as to *Arûru*, there was undoubtedly a Chaldæan word *arûru* ('the accursed,' the very idea expressed in Gn 3^{17}) for the earth, and indeed such a common term for the latter that the etymology was no longer thought of. Otherwise the name Arûru could hardly have been given also to the consort of Ea, who elsewhere is called Damgal-nunna or Dam-kina. It is very remarkable now that, in place of this name, Gn 5 has not, as might have been expected, אֱלֹהִים but אדם. The latter cannot of course be אָדָם 'man,' for man appears only third in this list under the title אֱנוֹשׁ; the word must also have the signification 'earth' (אֲדָמָה, only without the fem. ending, which is wanting also in *Arûru*). But in that case it is very probable that it should be vocalized אֱדֹם, and that the bĕnê-Edom, who were descended from Esau, called themselves *Edomites* on account of their origin from mother earth (Gn 5^{3}).[1] In like manner the Edomite king and seer, Balaam, calls (Nu 24^{17}) the Ammonites 'the children of Seth,' which shows that Edomites and Ammonites must have had quite similar patriarchal lists, namely 'Edom, Seth,' etc., or 'Ammon (*i.e.* the moon-god Amm), Seth,' etc. Further, the Egyptian inscriptions of the so-called New Empire were acquainted with a Palestinian goddess *'Atum*, in whom W. Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 316) has rightly recognized Edom. Why is it now that the Chaldæans and, following them, the Hebrews (Edomites, etc.), place at the head of the patriarchs not the moon-god but 'mother earth'? That originally the moon, the ancient father god, occupied the first place in this list, is clear from the fact that *Adapad*, to whom we shall turn presently, is always called elsewhere the son of Ea (not of Arûru). The reason is to be found simply in the reverent, almost superstitious, fear of pronouncing the name of God, a fear which we may clearly observe already in the name-system of the W. Semites. In these names we encounter such circumlocutions for the moon-god as 'my father,' 'my god,' 'my uncle,' 'my fear,' 'my righteousness,' etc. etc. (see ch. 3 of my *Anc. Heb. Trad.*). So, too, among the Chaldæans the 'sacred name of Ea' (*i.e.* once more, the name of the moon-god)[2] dissolved every spell. It may be noted, further, that, according to Babylonian notions, Bel or Bel-Marduk (*i.e.* the ancient sun-god of Nippur or Babel) created the world and men; whereas, according to the Chaldæan notion, it was Ea (who on that account is also called 'the potter') that formed men, fashioning them from clay mixed with the blood of a god. Very frequently, however, where in the Chaldæan records we should expect the name of Ea as creator, it is the name of his consort Arûru that appears. Arûru (the earth) bears also the name *Mami* ('mother'), so that we have here the notion of the mother earth which recurs so frequently among other peoples. She, too, is called 'the potter goddess,' and in the Sumerian story of the creation of the world is mentioned side by side with Gilimma (= Marduk?) as creatrix of men. In the Nimrod epos she forms Nimrod's friend, Ea-bani, from clay, and, in an ancient Babylonian text (Zimmern, *ZA* xiv. 280 ff.) is said to have made men from clay and the blood of a god. It is no wonder, then, that in Gn 5 also 'the earth' (אדם) stands for the creator god.

We come now to the second divine form, which occupies the second place in the patriarchal list both of Berosus and of Gn 5. If 'the earth' (Arûru, Edom) stands for the creator God, and No. 3 (Amelu, Enosh, the *ha-'ādām* of Gn 4) is the first man, it is clear at the outset that here in No. 2 (Alaparos = Adapad, the Seth of Gn 5) we must see a species of intermediary between God and man. I have already fully discussed and illustrated this point in my article on 'The Apoca-

[1] That there was a word *'ĕdōm* = 'earth' is proved also by the proper name *Obed-edom* = 'tiller of the earth,' a name similar to the Arab. *al-Harith* (Aretas) or the German name *Bauer*.

[2] Among the Sumerians the deity who in the genealogy of the gods answers to Ea, was called *Eu-ki* 'lord of the earth'; Ea ('house,' *i.e.* 'moon-station'), on the other hand, was an appellation of the supreme god of the Chaldæans, Ai or the moon, which was only by a secondary process (certainly, indeed, prior to 2000 B.C.) transferred to the ancient 'lord of the earth.' Then the earth (Arûru), conceived of in Semitic fashion as feminine, was made the consort of Ea.

lyptical origin of the expression "Son of Man" ' (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, *l.c.*), but I am now able to contribute further material regarding this remarkable Chaldæan prototype of Christ, which will place it beyond doubt that Adapad is at the same time the archetype of the Johannine λόγος, the 'Word of the Father,' who was at work at the beginning of the world. For—and this is above all important—*Adapad* (*var.* Adapa) means in fact nothing else than 'father's announcement,' 'father's word.' It is a word formed according to the analogy of the ancient sacred Sumerian language, a so-called composite, whose second element *can* mean nothing different from *nabû*, 'proclaim,' or *zikru*, 'word,' and whose first element is simply the well-known Sumerian word *adda* or *ad-da*, 'father,' written phonetically, because there is absolutely no other Sumerian word sounding *ad* which would yield sense in this context. Moreover, the father of Adapa, Ea-Sin, was actually the 'father' κατ' ἐξοχήν with the ancient W. Semites. There is at most only one other rendering of *Adapad* whose possibility can be taken account of, namely 'announcement of the (divine) decree,' or 'word of the (divine) decree' (cf. *ad-gi*, 'take counsel,' *malâku*), but, seeing that also the synonym of Adapa, namely, *mirri* (sign 'dwelling-place,' with inscribed sign *ši* or *lim*), includes the name of the father god Ea, namely, *Lim* (='ram'),[1] everything is in favour of our not seeing in *ada* such a sense as 'decree,' but simply the more usual word *ad*, 'father.'[2] But, be this as it may, this 'word' or this 'proclaimer' (whether directly of the 'father' or of the 'decree' of the divine father) corresponds in any case to the Logos or the Memrā of later tradition, for Adapad too played the part of an intermediary in the work of creation, although the creator proper was always considered to have been Ea or his wife Arûru. Additional support is given to this by the fact that Adapad (as Zimmern has shown), like Xisuthros, bears the epithet 'the wise' (*Atrachasis*); for in the same way, *e.g.* in the Book of Sirach, the 'word of God' is called 'the well of wisdom' (cf. Sir 1^5 24^4). It is most remarkable that Gn 5^3, in speaking of the birth of Seth, *i.e.* Adapa, lays special emphasis upon his being begotten in the likeness of his father (cf. the image of God in 1^{27}), and that the Bab. *zikru* (ideogr. *pad*) means both 'likeness'[3] and 'word' or 'name' (finally even 'man'; in this sense, indeed, for the more usual *zikaru*). 'Likeness' and 'word' (λόγος) were thus synonymous notions with the Babylonians.

Viewed in this new light, much of what is related in the Adapa legend becomes doubly interesting. I shall first recapitulate what I said in May 1900, and then add some important points by way of completing our view of the subject. We there saw Adapa dwelling in the garden of Paradise, namely, in Eridu, with his father Ea, who had bestowed upon him the highest wisdom indeed, but not yet everlasting life; in company with an angel he there baked the sacred loaves,[4] and fetched daily the holy water. The most realistic trait of the Babylonian idea of him is his daily embarking on the sea, to catch fish (which were sacred to Ea). While thus occupied, he was one day assailed by the south-wind demon, but by his 'word' he broke her wings, so that for seven days she was unable to blow. Then comes the familiar story of Adapa's being cited before the god of heaven, Anu. The latter offers bread and water of life to Adapa, who, however, in obedience to the command of Ea, declines them.

Unfortunately, at this point there is a considerable *lacuna*; where the legend resumes, Anu is, indeed, still conversing with Adapa, but the situation appears to be quite a different one. There it is said that Ea 'made his (Adapa's) breach,'[5] but that he fixed it as his destiny to

[1] Meaning thus, perhaps, 'dwelling-place (=manifestation) of the ram-god.' Since the son of the latter would naturally be symbolized by a lamb, this is perhaps the origin of the Messianic title 'Lamb of God.' It is this god Mirri (Girri, A-sa-ri, *i.e.* Agirri), the son of Ea (also 'son of Eridu'), so often named in the Sumerian texts as mediator between Ea and men, that is uniformly represented in the Semitic interlinear translation by Amar-uduk (Marduk); a fuller form is 'Mirri, the good man' (in distinction from Ea, 'the good God').

[2] When one considers that at the time of the kings of Ur the form *atu* as well as *ada* occurs, and that at the same period a masc. proper name *A-tu-kal-la* ('the father is guardian angel') has a fem. proper name *Ama-kal-la* ('the mother is guardian angel') corresponding to it, and that we meet there also with the proper names *A-da-ṭâbu*, and *Aiṭâbu* (written *A-da-lal* and *Ai-lal*), both=*Abî-ṭâbu*, it may be safely held that the only sense to be attached to the *Ada* in *Adapad* is that of 'father.'

[3] Cf. Jensen, *Keilschr. Bibl.* vi. p. 401 f.

[4] As the mention of the table shows, what is meant is the 'shewbread' (*akalpani*).

[5] *Šu-ba-ra-šu-iš-kun*, with evident allusion to the beforementioned 'breaking' (*išbir*) of the wings of the south wind.

glorify his rule 'for the future of the days,' *i.e.* for ever (Fragm. iii. l. 11, cf. K.I.B. vi. 100f.). What now had happened meanwhile that Adapa should after all obtain everlasting life, and what kind of 'breach' must he have suffered with a view to this end? The only possible answer is that the Adapa legend, in which (Fragm. iii. l. 12) Adapa is expressly called *zir avilûti* ('seed of mankind' = the apocalyptical 'son of man'), must have related how he came by this title. Now it can be no accident that alike in Berosus and in an ancient Bab. text recognized by Zimmern as belonging to the Hammurabi dynasty (*Z.A.* xiv. 280 ff.; cited also by Jensen in *K.I.B.* vi. 274f., note), Bel (originally, however, according to the Chaldæan account, probably Ea) or Arûru, wishing to people with men the still vacant earth, caused the head of 'one of the gods' to be cut off, mingled the flowing blood with earth (or clay), and formed the first man from the mixture. The whole context shows that this sacrificed god, whose slaughter is portrayed also on ancient Bab. seal-cylinders, can be no other than Adapa. Only now that he has given his life to bring men into being can his apotheosis take place, and now it at once becomes clear why Ea did not *from the first* bestow everlasting life upon his only well-beloved son, the Word of the Father, the Divine wisdom. Because it was from the first in his Divine counsel to form from Adapa's blood mixed with earth a new being between whom and himself Adapa should be the mediator, therefore he forbade Adapa to accept of Anu's food of life. Now it is clear also why in the world-year (see above) it is Nisan that is Adapa's month, for it was in it that the creation of the world and of the first man took place. We can explain in the same way the sacrifice of a lamb in the spring-time among the W. Semites (cf. above, on the 'Lamb of God'), as a memorial of the sacrificial death of the λόγος at the beginning of the world. The fact also that the Gnostic sect[1] of Sethites saw in Seth (= Adapa) the Messiah, and in Jesus a reincarnation of Seth, is now set in its proper light.

In conclusion, I would once more note with emphasis that it is no fortuitous circumstance that it was not in Babylonia, for instance, with its cult of the sun (Bel-Samas), that these ancient anticipations of the Christ were current, but in Ur of the Chaldees, with its cult of the moon (Ea-Sin)—Ur of the Chaldees, the home of Abraham the friend of God.

Jensen, indeed, takes the word to be *šubârâ*, 'abundant care' (from *barû*, 'to be satiated'), which, however, appears to be less suitable here.—It is also to be noted that, according to the close of Fragm. 2, Adapa is again brought back to earth, but in Fragm. 3 he appears once more in heaven.

[1] Gnosticism in general has preserved much ancient Chaldæan material, although often in a bizarre and confused form, a point which is always emerging with greater clearness. It is a pity that the author of the interesting *Fragmente eines verschollenen Glaubens*, Mr. G. R. S. Mead, had not the opportunity of making acquaintance with the contents of the present article when he was writing his book on Gnosticism.

At the Literary Table.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

The late Professor C. C. Everett of Harvard published a book on the *Theology of St. Paul.* It was richly stimulating and even largely original. Other theological books were looked for, but they did not come. When he died, all his pupils cried out that the Lectures were there. They at least could be published, and they were worthy.

Alas, the Lectures were not there. Professor Everett had delighted and enlightened thirty different classes of students with his lectures on theology, but he had never written them down. He had never, apparently, had even notes of them. For his memory was good and his mind full, and he loved to drop when he pleased into a less formal speech than the manuscript permits, a speech that suited 'a certain playfulness of thought which was habitual with him even in his more serious moods.'

But there were the students' notebooks. Many admirably kept notebooks were offered,—Professor Horne and Professor Ropes were among those who offered,—and Professor Edward Hale was chosen to make up the lectures out of them. His work is published. It goes by the title of

The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith (Macmillan, 5s. net). For that was the title by which Professor Everett latterly announced his lectures. This volume contains the first of Professor Everett's two courses.

It is really an inquiry into the meaning of religion, an attempt to answer the question, What is Religion? The volume suffers from the notebooks. Professor Everett offered cooked food, but the notebooks have reduced it to pemmican. Nevertheless it is a notable book. And it comes in time. The interest in Comparative Religion and Comparative Theology is increasing.

What is Religion? Professor Everett gives three answers. First, Religion is feeling. Second, Religion is feeling toward the supernatural. Third, Religion is a feeling toward a supernatural presence manifesting itself in truth, goodness, and beauty. Nor is that the final answer. In the course that is to follow, the word 'supernatural' is to give way to the word 'spiritual,' and then the definition will be complete. The other course of lectures is larger than this: it cannot be more stimulating, but it may be more satisfying.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT TEUTONS.

The most recent addition to that extremely valuable series of monographs which is entitled 'Handbooks on the History of Religions,' of which Professor Morris Jastrow, jun., is the editor, and Messrs. Ginn the publishers, is *The Religion of the Ancient Teutons*, by Professor P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. It was a clever stroke of the editor to secure Dr. Chantepie de la Saussaye for one of his volumes, for he possesses the two supreme qualifications, thorough knowledge of his subject and thorough skill in writing.

The book is irresistible. Without the slightest effort being made to catch the attention, the attention is arrested at once and held spellbound to the very end. Nor does it matter whether the reader is familiar with the subject or not. If he is not, he treads a new world on every page; if he is, every page offers him an expert's judgment on problems that have exercised his thought. For Professor de la Saussaye has his opinions: they do not always coincide with the opinions of the great in Teutonic mythology, but he states them without shrinking.

Let us notice some of Professor de la Saussaye's judgments. But first understand that he uses the term 'Teuton' in the larger sense, to cover Germans, Goths, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians; while the term 'German' is restricted to the tribes and peoples inhabiting Germany. He does not believe that remains have yet been found of a race earlier and distinct from the present inhabitants of these lands in the north of Europe. He holds, in spite of Lindenschmit, to the working theory of three periods in the development of man—the ages of stone, of bronze, and of iron. In the bronze period he counts it established that the north of Europe carried on a steady trade with Greece and even Egypt, and that not by sea alone, but by trade routes which passed right through the heart of Europe. The northern product was chiefly amber, which has been found in Egypt in graves of the sixth Dynasty. He points out that by the time of the iron age few weapons are found in the graves, but much that was to serve in eating and drinking—'a clear indication that at this time the chief occupation hereafter was held to be not fighting but feasting.'

In spite of all criticism, the unity of the Indo-European family still stands. Where their home was, he cannot tell; nor can he tell when the Teutons left the common ancestral home. He finds them in the Baltic, whence they spread mainly westward. They were not cultured, they were not even shepherds. They had no totems. The centre of a tribe was the tribal god, round whom gathered the tribal legends. It is these tribal legends, together with the names and genealogies, and what the Roman writers say, that are the sources for our knowledge of the religion of the Teutons.

Touching on the Kelts for a moment as he passes Ireland, Professor de la Saussaye remarks, that 'in the early Middle Ages Ireland was the seat of the highest civilisation in Europe.'

The Teutons, as pagans, were not theologians. In marked contrast to their Christian descendants, they evolved no theories concerning the nature of their gods—they had no other theology than that involved in their rites and myths. Finally, the Teutonic deities had little interest in morality. Their concern was to see that things were done decently and in order, but that referred to matters of ritual or of war rather than to clean

ness of life. Nevertheless the old Norse vikings had their ideals of bravery and magnanimity, did seek to preserve the chastity of their women, and had for the most part a decided aversion towards the luxuries and refinements of life. More than that, truthfulness was held in high esteem—at least the open lie was wholly condemned, though the shrewd trick by which an inconvenient situation might be escaped from was as universally applauded.

These are matters to taste the book withal. But it must be read. It is an education, and easily acquired. Fitly it closes with an exhaustive bibliography and a useful index.

TWO BOOKS ON MISSIONS.

Messrs. Revell, who have opened branches of their publishing house at 21 Paternoster Square, London, and at 30 St. Mary Street, Edinburgh, have at once issued a number of volumes in popular theology, two of which deal with missions. The one is general, *Missionary Principles and Practice* (5s. net). It is written by Robert E. Speer, Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The other is special. It is a colporteur's account of his experiences while distributing the Bible in Brazil. The author is Hugh C. Tucker of the American Bible Society.

Under Mr. Speer's comprehensive title come most of the matters that agitate missionaries—the demand for missions, the arguments against them, the ways of conducting them, their rights, the hopes that are set upon them. And these subjects are handled as they occur to Mr. Speer's mind or lie in his cabinet: no apology is made for passing from the degradation of women in India to 'some missionary aspects of Paul's first itineration.' But Mr. Speer is a shrewd, penetrating observer, and whatever he touches he makes alive.

On the whole, however, we like Mr. Tucker's book best. We have a feeling that we have seen the most of Mr. Speer elsewhere, or at least that it can be seen elsewhere. But Mr. Tucker has confined himself to a single field, and told us what his own eyes have seen there. We should go to Mr. Speer for the official (wonderfully independent official) bird's-eye view of modern Protestant missions; we should go to Mr. Tucker for knowledge of Brazil, its soil, its people, its history, and its religion.

Mr. Tucker's work was often thwarted by the Jesuits. And he has no opinion of Jesuit religion. Is it any great advance on the fetichism it supplanted? Take two examples. 'Looking out, I saw what was known as the procession of the Holy Spirit. The old priest and his assistants, accompanied with a band of music and quite a multitude, composed principally of the lower classes and street urchins, all with bare heads, were carrying the rod with the silver image of a dove, and something like a banner, on which was painted a dove. They were constantly sending up great quantities of rockets; the boys, especially, seemed to be having a grand time; and there was not the slightest evidence of serious thought or conviction with anyone in the crowd as to the real meaning of the Holy Spirit.'

The other case is more curious. 'While resting on this Sabbath I witnessed what I have never seen in any other place nor heard tell of before, the worshipping of the ass upon which Jesus rode triumphantly into Jerusalem. We were quietly resting and reading under the shade of a great tree by the riverside, when suddenly we heard the noise and crude music of a crowd that was marching out of the town along the road leading to the river. I soon saw in the midst of the crowd a small donkey, all decorated, and upon inquiry was told that they were worshipping the animal in commemoration of the fact that Jesus rode into Jerusalem upon an ass. They told me that that animal was never used for ordinary purposes, but was kept as a sacred animal and object of worship.'

This volume is well illustrated.

SUPERNATURAL RELIGION.

You thought *Supernatural Religion* was dead? It certainly got a great shake. When Lightfoot did a thing, he did it thoroughly. And there is no doubt that he demolished the book as it first appeared. But the author of *Supernatural Religion* showed a wonderful tenacity of purpose and a wonderful skill in adaptation. He made blunders innumerable at first—his first book was one gigantic blunder; but he accepted correction, never mind where it came from; produced his own edition of the 'Gospel of Peter' to show that he had something to say for himself even yet; and then,

when everybody thought his book was dead, and he himself probably dead also, issued a new edition of *Supernatural Religion* in one volume, thoroughly altered and amended, and claimed to be right after all.

It is the book before us (Watts, 6s. net). It is a bulky book, and the type is small. There is too much in it for one volume. But it is worth reading right through. The same way of looking at things is here. The doubtful are all read the one way; even the assured are given a twist;—for if the wind persistently keeps in one direction, even the oaks will take on a set to one side. Yet it is well to have a standard of heterodoxy at one's hand, that one may see what is admitted and what denied, and may know where the Christian argument needs strengthening, or even where it has to be given up. It must be admitted that the tendency of advanced New Testament scholarship is scarcely with this author to-day. In spite of his persistent activity, he represents rather a past generation. But he is none the less valuable as a standard on that account. Let us take his book and mark it as we go—this is settled now, this is set in another relation, this is still to be considered, this is probably correct. It would be an excellent discipline if we did it in faith and prayer.

SUNDAY.

There has been no great book on the Sabbath since Hessey's *Sunday*, the Bampton Lecture for 1860. There has not even till now been a convenient manual. Dr. Salmond's *Sabbath* served its purpose as a 'primer' admirably, but something fuller was required. The editors of the 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology' did well to include 'Sunday' in their list; and we must hasten to add, they did well to select the vicar of St. Matthew's, Westminster, to write it (*Sunday*, by the Rev. W. B. Trevelyan, M.A. Longmans, 5s.).

There is no subject of Christian consideration on which Christian theory and Christian practice are so divergent, unless it may be baptism. The writer of a handbook on this subject has the curious difficulty staring him in the face that he does not know what his subject is to be called. 'Sabbath' is the Old Testament term, but we are not living in the Old Testament; 'Lord's Day' is the New Testament title, if the 'Lord's Day' of the New Testament really has this meaning; 'Sunday' is no Testament at all, but a survival of pagan mythology. Mr. Trevelyan believes that the 'Lord's Day' of the New Testament means the first day of the week; yet he calls his book *Sunday*, a concession, no doubt, to custom.

Here are Mr. Trevelyan's positions—

(1) The Lord's Day is a Christian institution, dating from apostolic times, of very high authority indeed: we only may not say the highest, because we have no express command of God ordaining the observance of the first day of the week.

(2) The Lord's Day was not in the earliest times of Christian history considered the successor of, or substitute for, the Mosaic Sabbath, which was regarded as abrogated with the other 'beggarly elements' of the Law; though Sunday, of course (and it is important to notice this), preserved a principle identical with that which the Sabbath embodied, namely, the special consecration of a part of our time to God by the sanctification of one day in seven, and has so far succeeded to the sacred position of the Sabbath.

(3) The Jewish Sabbath had a fulfilment in Christ, as had the whole Jewish Law; but this fulfilment the Church found, not in the Lord's Day, but in the rest from sin of the regenerate life, and in the sabbath-rest of heaven.

The style is not so masterfully pellucid as Hessey's, yet all is manageable and clear enough. Without difficulty one can lay one's hand on any point, and agree with or contradict it. The appendixes could have been omitted. They are too vague and unauthoritative to serve much good purpose—you can so easily contradict one quotation from a newspaper by a quotation from another. Of actual mistakes there seem to be very few. On page 135 the article on the SABBATH in the *Dictionary of the Bible* is attributed to Dr. Sanday instead of to Dr. Driver. Very properly Mr. Trevelyan makes his book practical. For, after all, it is not 'what should we' that the great mass of people ask, but 'what conveniently can we?'

Books of the Month.

BOOKS FOR THE HEART. THE DIARY AND JOURNAL OF DAVID BRAINERD (*Melrose*, 2 vols., 5s.).—Because his selection is

good and his work successful, Mr. Smellie must not make his series of 'Books for the Heart' unwieldy. Let him add to it if he must, but let him be very jealous of the honour of admission.

Brainerd could not be kept out. If the authors of the other volumes, like the members of a club, had had to vote upon him, not one of them would have cast a black ball. No saint in all the Calendar is worthier of that name; yet we do not call him St. Brainerd, for he was one of those for whom Christ prayed and said, 'I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil.' He was a saint in the world, doing his work there.

And he could write. To this type of saint—in the world, but undefiled—the gift of expression is often given. The contact with the evil that is in the world causes struggle of soul that must find outlet; and its reality makes its language real, its intensity makes its language rise often into passionate poetry. Words, single words, that are commonplace elsewhere, are apt to acquire something like a halo (a halo within, if that is possible). Such are the words 'transaction,' 'exercise,' 'affection,' 'fervency.' It is a wonderful combination of endowment in one man to live so near God, to bring so many out of darkness into light, and to send the story both of his life (in the *Diary*) and of his work (in the *Journal*) down through all the generations.

The third edition has been published by Mr. Melrose of Morris Stewart's *Crown of Science*. It has not yet reached its desert. It has not yet caught hold of the great religious reading public. It is only the expert that has discovered it yet, and sent it into three editions. Its time is at hand.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. MISCELLANIES. Book VII. By F. J. A. Hort and J. B. Mayor (*Macmillan*, 15s. net).—Dr. Mayor in the first chapter of his introduction gives his reasons for translating *Stromateis* 'Miscellanies.' In the second chapter he discusses the influence of Greek Philosophy on the theology and ethics of Clement, which he shows is not just the same as on Christianity, and in any case is by no means so great as Hatch and Harnack would persuade us to: the philosophers became Christian much more than Christianity became philosophical. The third chapter takes up separately Clement and the Mysteries. The fourth gives some estimates of Clement,—Maurice, Westcott, and the like,—and could have been omitted. The fifth and sixth give a discussion of the text of the Stromateis and an analysis of the Seventh Book.

Then comes the Greek Text of the book, with an English translation on the opposite page,—a careful critical text, an idiomatic free-flowing translation,—and after that 160 pages of explanatory notes.

It is in the explanatory notes that Hort's hand is seen. He lectured on this book, and wrote his notes, partly in pencil and partly in ink, on an interleaved copy of Dindorf's text. These notes Dr. Mayor had to transcribe, and sift, and edit, and add to; and he has done it all with excellent judgment. We are delighted to have Hort's notes. There is not a scrap of his writing that we are content to drop. But it is Dr. Mayor that has made this a commentary. After the style of his *Epistle of James*, he has done everything for his text that can be done at present, and made this the one indispensable edition of the book.

After the explanatory notes come three appendixes—the third, on the relation of the Agape to the Eucharist in Clement; and the volume ends with three indexes—one of quotations, one of Greek words, one of subjects in English.

PEPLOGRAPHIA DVBLINENSIS (*Macmillan*, 3s. 6d. net).—It is only a volume of sermons. But they are select and severely academic, and the title is in admirable keeping. 'For some years past a Festival Service has been held in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, on the evening of Trinity Monday, and a sermon has been preached in memory of some eminent member of the College.' Here are eight of the sermons. Their subjects are Ussher, Wilson, Berkeley, Streane, King, Burke, Grattan, Falkland. Their names are worth giving, that you may see whom the dignitaries of T.C.D. delight to honour. The preachers are Dowden, Gwynn, Bernard, Mahaffy, Lawlor, Chadwick, Sherlock, Roberts—known names most of them also, and to be preached upon, no doubt, by future preachers. Dr. Bernard is the editor. His graceful preface introduces a graceful volume.

BIBLE CHARACTERS. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. (*Oliphant*, 3s. 6d.).—Dr. Whyte's

series of *Bible Characters* is a library and a name. This is the sixth volume in direct succession. It is an apostolic succession, the most verifiable we know. For if Dr. Whyte's hands had not been laid on these Bible characters, they would have been different. No other man could have sent them to bless us as he has done. They are his own mental and spiritual offspring, and they cannot be mistaken. Even this volume—who would have thought of lecturing and publishing a book on 'Our Lord's Characters' but Dr. Whyte? The Sower, the Wedding Guest, the Labourer with the Evil Eye—who ever thought of them as *characters*? As to that, Dr. Whyte is not particular. If the man will not separate and be seen, the story will, and the character becomes a parable. Yet it is Dr. Whyte always, and the new volume is in the succession.

Besides our Lord's characters, the Angels of the Seven Churches are in this volume. Who are these angels? The matter is much debated just at present. Dr. Whyte has his own idea, and it is a definite one: 'You are not to think of an angel with six wings. This is neither a Michael nor a Gabriel. I cannot give you this man's name, but you may safely take it that he was simply one of the oldest of the office-bearers of Ephesus.'

To go back to the body of the book for a moment, there is one omission, unexplained and inexplicable. The Prodigal Son is here, but where is the Elder Brother? The story was told for the Elder Brother's sake,—to show us what *he* is and how *he* behaves,—and yet we have a way, which, to our great astonishment, even Dr. Whyte has followed, of dropping the Elder Brother out of the story altogether.

TALKS ON FAVOURITE TEXTS. Edited by the Rev. Harry Smith, M.A. (*Oliphant*, 1s. 6d.).—When Mr. Smith gathered some sixteen children's sermons out of the little magazine called *Morning Rays*, which he edits so well, he turned to find a publisher. Who but Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier? Are they not *the* publishers of children's sermons? And so the little book comes out in the familiar form, and is sure to do well. There are varieties of gifts, and not every one of these preachers can preach to children. But some of them can do so supremely.

SOO THAH. By Alonzo Bunker, D.D. (*Oliphant*, 3s. 6d.).—Soo Thah—what is that? 'They named the new baby Soo Thah, which means "Pure Fruit." He was a little brown boy with bright black eyes and black hair, like the other babies in the village. He was put in an oblong bamboo basket, swung from the rafters of the house by ropes made from the bark of a tree. This house was in a village in far-away Burma. The rude village was perched on a mountain-top overlooking a distant plain; and as far as the eye could reach in every direction were unbroken forests of luxuriant foliage.'

So Soo Thah began by being a baby, but he grew; and as he grew, he developed powers of thought and action which gave him a place among the Karens of his native village, and became a serious problem to them when the religion of the Christ got footing in their midst, and Soo Thah came to love the Lord Jesus. Do you happen to know anything of the Karens of Burma and the way God's Spirit has worked among them? It is one of the most romantic and yet most real of all the achievements of the wonderful nineteenth century. You surely know what the Karens *were*? Well, Dr. Mabie, who introduces this thrilling and true tale, says: 'There is in Burma to-day, among the Karens alone, a community of at least one hundred thousand souls pervaded by Christian sentiment. It is the best appreciated and most loyal element of the native citizenship in British India.' This is one of the best books on missions which Messrs. Oliphant have published. Anthropologists and others should take note of the illustrations.

Mr. Jerdan's *For the Lord's Table* (5s.) has reached a second edition, and so distinguished itself among sermons. Its subject, its brevity, its spirituality, all are in its favour.

REDEEMING JUDGMENT AND OTHER SERMONS. By John Kelman, M.A. (*Oliphant*, 3s. 6d. net).—The first note that strikes one on reading these sermons is their assurance. The Word of God by the mouth of Mr. Kelman has not been yea and nay. And the explanation of this assurance is at hand. Mr. Kelman has preached the Bible—the Word of God; and he has verified it in his daily experience. For over four and forty years he has been a messenger of God's grace; through two revivals he has witnessed its working with marvellous power; in the steady

work of the ministry he has seen it operating less conspicuously but with no less blessed results. He is therefore able to say without hesitation that this is the power of God unto salvation. His method is worth observing. He chooses great texts and handles them as if they were living things. In a sense there *is* life in a grand promise or a deep experience. He 'opens' the text, that the life that is in it may be liberated for our use. There are sermons of a past generation which we at once pronounce old-fashioned, their formal divisions have no vitality in them. These sermons are not old-fashioned. They are the sermons that bridge the generations, and show that the Word of God liveth and abideth for ever.

CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT (*Murray*, 6s. net).—This volume contains six popular lectures which were delivered in St. Margaret's, Westminster, this summer. The lecturers are Sanday, Kenyon, Burkitt, Chase, Headlam, Bernard (J. H.); their subjects, 'The Criticism of the New Testament,' 'Manuscripts,' 'the Ancient Versions,' 'the Canon,' 'Dates of the Books,' 'the Historical Value of the Acts.' As Canon Henson says, 'Without exception these men speak on these subjects with the authority of recognized experts.' Canon Henson's purpose in arranging for the lectures was to let the St. Margaret's congregation understand that critical study of the New Testament is a necessity and a friend. The lectures should be repeated (with variations); this has to be done often to tell well.

Note one thing. Dr. Sanday frankly accepts the statement that the New Testament must be approached 'like any other book.' 'Sometimes,' he says, 'English critics are taunted with not doing this. But the taunt is not well founded. From a rather wide acquaintance with those who are employed in this work, I can take it upon myself to say that they have an absolutely sincere and honest intention to look the facts in the face as they are. If they can be shown to depart from this principle, they would be the first to acknowledge their fault.' But there are two reservations. The first is, that they proceed with the more caution, testing each step, on account of the importance of the subject. The other is, that if they refuse to make any assumptions in favour of the Christian tradition, they also refuse to make any assumptions against it. 'In other words, they refuse to put a document out of court simply because it contains the miraculous.' That is right. No other method is strictly scientific.

THE FREE CHURCH MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND. By David Heath (*Stockwell*, 2s. 6d.).—Since the formation of the National Evangelical Free Church Council the question has been forced on public attention, Have the 'Free Churches' anything to unite upon except hostility to the State Church? Is there a principle of Church Government or Life upon which they are agreed, and upon which, therefore, they can unite, in spite of their manifest differences? Mr. Heath seeks to show that there is such a principle, and to show it so plainly that any intelligent person may understand. There are two principles of Church life,—the one represented by the State Church, the other by the Free Churches,—and they are irreconcilable. Mr. Heath begins with Christ and works through the history of the Church. Then he comes to the present conflict. And he says to the young Nonconformist, It is not for the sake of protesting that you live: you live to maintain the freedom of the Church in its own life and action; you are a Protestant or Nonconformist only through the accident of the other principle, the principle of Cæsarism (and Leviticism), gaining the political ascendency.

LIFE'S ASIDES. By the Rev. F. J. Laverack (*Stockwell*, 1s. 6d.).—Give it time, and the grace of God in a man's heart will produce grace in his daily life and conduct. Still the apostles were wont to inculcate the graces, the sweet reasonablenesses of life, and Mr. Laverack did wisely enough when he wrote letters to his flock bidding them be not only Christians but Christian gentlemen. He does wisely enough now when he publishes his letters in a book. 'When Jacob sent his sons down into Egypt to buy corn, he exhorted them to "take . . . a little honey" with them. There is profound philosophy here. In every mission of life take a little honey, in the shape of gentleness, kindness, good nature, if you desire to succeed.'

GOD'S LOOKING-GLASS. By the Rev. W. Hay, B.D. (*Stockwell*, 2s.).—These are stronger sermons to children than we are accustomed to. There is more in them. They cost the preacher

more in preparation; they cost the children more in attention. They approach nearer to the adult sermon, bridging quite easily the unnatural and sometimes yawning abyss that separates the children's anecdotes, strung on nursery monosyllables, from the sermon, with its historical circumstances, its logical divisions, and its fervent application. These are strong informing children's sermons, yet we reckon it certain that never a child went to sleep.

Mr. Stockwell has published a number of books, in stiff paper and gold, which only need their titles recorded:—*Outline Addresses for Children*, by the Rev. John Mitchell (1s. 6d.); *Another King, One Jesus*, by Frederic Todd (1s. net); *Brief Talks with Busy People*, by C. H. Perry (1s. net); *Shall we Know our Friends in Heaven?* by the Rev. Charles Leach, D.D. (1s. net); *You, but not Yours*, by M. H. Vinson (1s. net).

THE TEMPLE BIBLE (*Dent*, 1s. net each).—The last five volumes of the Temple Bible have been published. They are: *Joshua and Judges*, by Professor A. R. S. Kennedy; *Job and Ruth*, by W. E. Addis, M.A.; *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon*, by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A.; *The Later Pauline Epistles*, by Bishop Moule; and *An Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures*, by Bishop Boyd Carpenter.

The last is a very interesting little book, and was a happy conception. All those who know anything of the subject should give themselves to this work. For the Bible is more credible than ever it was, as well as more natural and invigorating. Criticism, whose greatest blunder is its own name, has been a scavenger for the Bible, clearing rubbish away, leaving sweetness and light. It is mere ignorance that *fears* what recent criticism has done to the Bible, it is ignorance become sin that cries out and frightens others. The Bishop of Ripon is no expert, he tells us. He does not need to be. He examines the Bible for himself, taking account of everything that criticism has done to the Bible (and it is all perfectly accessible now), and he concludes that the Bible is easier to read, easier to believe, easier to enjoy, easier to find Christ in, than ever it was before. Surely our teachers who have gone in long garments with ashes on their heads will be ashamed of their sorrow now. To think that they were filling the land with their cries, and all the while God was giving the people the Bible in surer possession. This little book will work untold good. Circulate it as widely as possible.

SPEAKERS FOR GOD. By the Rev. T. M'William, M.A. (*Allenson*, 5s.).—The further title is, 'Plain Lectures on the Minor Prophets.' Two of the lectures have already appeared in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, so that we know the grip Mr. M'William takes of his subject, and his skill in presenting it lucidly. They are hard nuts to crack, these Minor Prophets, and yet men will take them up in the pulpit and the Bible Class. Well, they must not be neglected. But we need all the aids at hand. Mr. M'William is one of the best and readiest. His book may be read with ease from beginning to end, and very likely will be read, for pure enjoyment, by those who light upon it. But the student of the Minor Prophets will know that the difficulties have been seen, wrestled with, and overcome before the smoothness was gained. One thing beyond others we have learned from the book, that the *historical* study of the Prophets is the study that makes them most available for the uses of modern life.

Under the title of the 'Red Letter Library,' Messrs. Blackie have begun to publish some favourite English classics in very attractive bindings. The printing too is attractive, the red headline being particularly effective. Each volume has a portrait of the author. Selections have already appeared from Tennyson and Mrs. Browning.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A LONG LIFE (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—This is Dr. Cuyler's Autobiography. And you never read a racier autobiography, a humbler, happier, wittier, worthier. Every page is a remembrance to be recalled or a revelation to be thankful for. He knew all the men worth knowing, all the men you ever heard called good, both in America and in Britain. And what he has to say of them is more than a remembrance—it is a revelation, and it is always new. Has not Dr. Cuyler been writing all his life—how did he succeed in keeping these good things from the hungry printer? He was invited by Samuel Minton to one of the breakfasts he gave to Churchmen and Dissenters, and met

Donald Frazer, Newman Hall, Joseph Parker, Dean Stanley, and Bishop Wilkinson of Truro. Stanley was the most delightful. But then, also, he went to hear him in the Abbey: 'I felt so pained by what he did not say that I ventured to write him a most frank and loving note.' In Edinburgh there was Guthrie. 'My good wife made a run to Edinburgh while I was stopping behind in England, and on her return to me almost her first word was, "I have heard Guthrie; I am spoiled for everyone else as long as I live."' 'Guthrie used to say that in preaching he aimed at three P's: Prove, Paint, Persuade,' but it was his painting that arrested Dr. Cuyler.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published Dr. Watson's *The Life of the Master* (6s.), uniformly with his other works. Even those who possess the illustrated edition may be encouraged to add this one, both to make their 'Ian Maclaren Library' complete, and also because this is the best form for study and reference.

The seventh volume of Dr. Parker's *City Temple Pulpit* (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 3s. 6d. net) has been published. It is a volume that stands alone—alone among Dr. Parker's writings, for there is no repetition; alone in sermon literature, for there is no volume of sermons that gathers within its boards so much surprise and joy of exegesis.

THE GOSPEL AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS. By Ambrose Shepherd (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 2s. 6d.).—Here are eight sermons on one subject. It is great enough for so many sermons. It is pressing enough to make all other subjects wait. It is, What is the Church to do with the working men in the land? Mr. Shepherd has made that subject his own. And it is the kind of subject that costs a man something before he makes it his own. He has a title to speak about it, and he speaks openly and unreservedly. He shakes you, rouses you, makes you turn on him and say to him, Man and brother, what am I to do?

The great difficulty is that modern churches everywhere are 'run,' as the Americans say, and they can be run without the working man. There must be a 'mission' attached to every church, of course. But the working man is no more at the mission than at the church. The church and the mission go on, and the working man is left out.

Does Mr. Shepherd blame the ministers? He does not. The ministers have enough to do. Yet the working man must be compelled to come in. Mr. Shepherd suggests that two or more ministers be attached to every church, and that one of them have nothing else to do but bring in the working man. Again, he suggests that one minister should be 'sent round.' 'I am inclined to think that if instead of one, some three or four great cities had been privileged to have the massive and profoundly spiritual ministry of Dr. Dale, the gain to the religious life of the nation would have been enhanced.'

But will the working man come in? What keeps him out? It is indifference, says Mr. Shepherd. Other things are not worth mentioning. Now if it had been unbelief or poverty, it might have been past remedy, but indifference may be removed. We have to get him interested in the church, and he will come in.

SCIENTIA CHRISTI. By Henry Varley, B.A. (*Stock*, 2s. 6d.).—Thoroughly simple and thoroughly sound, the three chapters which make up this volume are a working pastor's direct address to working people on the greatest of all human concerns, the knowledge of Christ. There are three sources of our knowledge of Christ: the writings of the New Testament, the story of the Christian centuries, and Christian experience. Each source is presented reasonably. There is no vapouring, as there is no fear. Mr. Varley proves himself well equipped for his proper business, and he has the sense not to step beyond his equipment. Let this volume be recommended heartily as a popular argument for the Faith.

Mr. Elliot Stock has issued a third and enlarged edition of Mr. J. W. Farquhar's *Gospel of Divine Humanity* (3s. net).

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

ROBINSON: Burrell, 'The Wonderful Teacher.'

HODDER & STOUGHTON: Denney, 'The Death of Christ.' Stalker, 'The Seven Cardinal Virtues.'

MACMILLAN: King, 'Theology and the Social Consciousness.' Welldon, 'The Consecration of the State.' Welldon, 'I Live.' Austin Dobson, 'Samuel Richardson.'

R.T.S.: Lamb, 'More Talks in the Twilight.' Elvet Lewis, 'The Gates of Life.' Northbrook, 'The Teaching of Jesus Christ.' Langbridge, 'The Distant Lights.' 'Memories of Zenana Mission Life.'

GAY & BIRD: Rosedale, 'The Growth of Religious Ideals.'
FINCH: Herbert, 'Recognition after Death.'
SMITH, ELDER, & Co.: Dickinson, 'Music in the History of the Western Church.'
T. & T. CLARK: Scott Lidgett, 'The Fatherhood of God.' Smith, 'Euclid: His Life and System.' Clark, 'Pascal and the Port Royalists.'
S.P.C.K.: Maspero, 'The Dawn of Civilisation: Egypt, and Chaldæa,' 4th ed.
PARTRIDGE: Fenton, 'The Bible in Modern English,' vol. iii.
KEGAN PAUL: Bacci, 'The Life of St. Philip Neri.' Juliana, 'Revelations of Divine Love.'
CHAPMAN & HALL: Mallock, 'Religion as a Credible Doctrine.'
ELLIOT STOCK: Mylne, 'The True Ground of Faith.' Girdlestone, 'The Way, the Truth, the Life.'
STOCKWELL: Ritson, 'John Carville.'
ALLENSON: Jowett, 'Thirsting for the Springs.' Scott, 'The Making of a Christian.' Ellis, 'By Way of Illustration.'
NUTT: Zimmer, 'The Celtic Church.'
PEARSON: Peters, 'The Eldorado of the Ancients.'
OLIPHANT: Duncan, 'The City of Springs.'
LONGMANS: Carpenter and Harford, 'The Composition of the Hexateuch.' Sanday, 'Divisions in the Church.' Carson, 'An Eucharistic Eirenicon.' Pullan, 'The Christian Tradition.'
PASSMORE & ALABASTER: Spurgeon, 'Twelve Sermons on Precious Promises.'
MARLBOROUGH: Stuart, 'The Book of Praises.'
MORGAN & SCOTT: Morgan, 'In School and Playground.'
MARSHALL BROS.: Marsh, 'Gospel Messages for the People.' Telfer, 'The Coming Kingdom of God.'
NISBET: Drummond and Upton, 'Life and Letters of James Martineau.'
CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH OFFICE: Butler, 'St. Agnes.'
CLARKE: Henson, 'Preaching to the Times.'
WATTS: Mangasarian, 'A New Catechism.'
CAMBRIDGE PRESS: 'Concise Bible Dictionary.' Carr, 'St. Matthew for Schools.'
WILLIAMS & NORGATE: Cranbrook, 'The Founders of Christianity.'
GRANT RICHARDS: Waller, 'Fuller's Thoughts.'
KELLY: Fletcher, 'Chapters on Preaching.' Workman, 'The Dawn of the Reformation.'
METHUEN: Macculloch, 'Comparative Theology.'
WELLS GARDNER: Clayton, 'Father Dolling.'
FISHER UNWIN: Dieulafoy, 'David the King.'
BLACKWOOD: Seth, 'Man's Place in the Cosmos,' 2nd ed.

Two Notes on the Fourth Gospel.

BY PROFESSOR J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A., MANSFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD.

I.

JOHN II. 13–25.

THE occurrence of a cleansing of the Temple by Jesus on the threshold of His ministry, whereas the synoptic narrative has a similar episode at the very end of it, and there only, is a standing *crux* of the Johannine Gospel. Mr. Garvie has recently (*Expositor* for July) argued, in a way which deserves serious attention, for a fulness of Messianic claim (in act, if not in word) at the very opening of Jesus' public life, as against the view that such a claim belongs only to the closing days of His ministry. This contention led me to study, more closely than before, the latter part of Jn 2, with results that may have some interest for readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. I give my exegesis of vv.[17-25], and then indicate the wider bearings of its salient features.

v.[17] gives what purports to be the actual impression produced at the time on the minds of Jesus' disciples by the expulsion of all traffic from His 'Father's house.' It reminded them of the zeal for God's house of the typical Israelite who speaks in Ps 69^9. This was not apparently a Messianic psalm in the strict sense; and it is not suggested that these disciples took the act to be more than one befitting a prophet. Nor does the challenge of the Jews necessarily mean more, when they ask for Jesus' credentials for acting with so high a hand. But what does Jesus mean by the 'sign' He offers in response to their request? Surely it was not an enigma, such as could not then and there be read even by spiritually sensitive questioners, the only ones whose competence to cross-examine His claims He himself acknowledged. The analogy of another request for a 'sign,' in the synoptic narrative (Mt $12^{38ff.}$ 16^4, Lk $11^{29ff.}$), is suggestive of the kind of thought that was in Jesus' mind. There He appealed to the very quality of His ministry, vouched for by the prophetic note of authority which struck the common people as so unlike the accent of their wonted teachers

(Mt 7^{29}), as being His 'sign,' the sign of a genuine messenger of God. Thus had Jonah been a sign to the Ninevites, and thus was the Son of Man himself a sign to 'this generation.' That sign was originally a purely spiritual fact; but ere the tradition came to be written in our first Gospel, attention had been diverted from this inherent resemblance to a formal and arbitrary one, appealing more to the imagination, the fact that it was during 'three days' that both Jesus and His prototype underwent their unique experiences. The idea of the Resurrection so possessed the Christian mind, that it was most natural for it to read back into Jesus' words, wherever possible, adumbrations of this cardinal 'sign,' as it had become to them. But so unnatural is it that Jesus should appeal to this as yet unforeseeable event, *to convince objectors*, that this reading of His words must with reason be reckoned by those who accept it in Jn 2^{20}, as a water-mark of a date late in the ministry.

But is such a reading correct? Apart from the *à priori* objection already urged against it, we have in the synoptic narrative itself the hint towards another reading, one, too, for which there is an Old Testament basis—a thing we should expect from the nature of the challenge which elicited these words. In Mk 14^{58} 'false witnesses' allege that they had heard Jesus say, 'I will dissolve this Temple *that is made with hands*, and in the space of three days (διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν) I will build another not made with hands.' The idea of this saying, whether it goes back to the episode in Jn 2 or to another occasion, is that of the substitution of a new and true Israel, Messiah's Ecclesia (cf. Mt 16^{18} 'I will build My Church'), for the material shrine to which Judaism then tended to confine God's special presence. It is the idea found later in Paul, in 2 Co 6^{16}, 'For we are the shrine of God, a living God; even as God said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them'; and in 1 P 2^{5}, 'Ye yourselves, as living stones, are being built as a spiritual house.'

When we approach Jn 2^{19} with this thought in mind, we see how appropriate it is to the whole context of the situation, and to Jesus' own words, 'Dissolve (by abuse) this shrine, and in three days I will raise it up' in a new and nobler form. But why should His hearers have been able to recognize in this claim the fulfilment of prophecy, and so a 'sign' that the divine authority was behind the speaker? Was it not because they, as Jesus Himself, were familiar with a prophetic passage in which it is promised that Jehovah shall 'in three days' 'raise up' His people anew? In Hos $6^{1f.}$ we read: 'Come and let us return unto the Lord . . . after two days will He revive us; in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight.' Thus Jesus claims to have with Him the power of God for restoring Israel as God's habitation; and the 'sign' of Jn $2^{18f.}$ accords with that in Lk $11^{29ff.}$; cf. Mt $12^{38f.\ 41}$ 16^{4}.

With the prosaic misunderstanding of this sign on the part of the Jews, in v.[20], we are here less concerned. But one may observe in passing that there is much to be said in favour of Dr. E. A. Abbott's view,[1] that the forty-six years of building refer to Ezra's temple and the traditional time expended on it—Herod's work being rather of the nature of restoration than of the rearing of a fresh temple. It is, however, the possible misunderstanding of the primary import of Jesus' words by the evangelist himself that now concerns us, since it affects the historicity of the whole passage as it stands. The comment runs as follows: 'But He was referring to (ἔλεγεν περί) the shrine of His body. When, then, He was raised from the dead, His disciples called to mind that this was His meaning (ἔλεγεν τοῦτο), and they believed the scripture and the word which Jesus spake on that occasion (εἶπεν).' Here we have the genesis of the meaning with the evangelist, and Jesus' disciples as a body, after the Resurrection and in its light, came to see the 'sign' to which He had pointed His critics in earlier days. The evangelist, indeed, sees in Jesus' specification of 'three days' an allusion to Hos 6^{2}; for this appears to be 'the scripture' to which he himself refers.[2] But, as was most natural, he gives the words a more specific reference than Jesus can have intended at the time. Passing by the conventional use of 'three days' for quite a short period, he treats it as a literal reference to the 'third day' of the Resurrection.[3]

[1] *Classical Review*, viii. 89 ff.

[2] The alternative possibility, that he refers back to the words from Ps 69^{9}, cited in v.[17], is much less natural and appropriate to the argument; for they have little or no bearing on the disciples' intelligent belief in the purport of Jesus' saying in v.[20].

[3] In the light of the foregoing, may not Hos 6^{2} be the special passage which Paul has in mind, when he refers to

Hence the result of our exegesis, so far, has been to remove a difficulty from the way of believing that Jesus did cleanse the Temple, as recorded in Jn 2; since the narrative, truly read, contains nothing psychologically out of keeping with quite an early stage in His ministry.

In v.[23] we are told that many who were in Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, impressed by His signs, 'believed on His name.' This must refer to His Messiahship; 'His name' can hardly denote anything less definite. 'But,' says the evangelist, 'Jesus, for His part, maintained an attitude of reserve towards them (οὐκ ἐπίστευεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς), on account of His faculty of reading all men (διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν γινώσκειν πάντας), and because He had no need for any to testify touching any individual;[1] for Himself was wont to read (ἐγίνωσκεν) what was in the man.' This rendering aims at bringing out the exact force of the passage in two points in particular: (1) that the knowledge in question was not inherent or absolute, but acquired by experience,[2] though by way of immediate intuition; (2) that it did not relate to human nature in general, but rather to the actual thoughts and feelings of individuals with whom Jesus met and had to deal. Thus the whole passage explains that Jesus read the superficial nature of the belief here in question, as it came under His eye in those professing it, and therefore would not commit Himself to them for their co-operation in the working out of His Messianic vocation. The story of Nicodemus is then given as an instance of the rudimentary and external nature of such faith, based as it was on 'signs,' without a radical change of conception as to the essential nature of the Kingdom Jesus came to inaugurate.

If this interpretation of the kind of knowledge here attributed to Jesus be correct, the passage teaches, not that He had an *à priori* knowledge of the conditions and course of His ministry, as determined beforehand by the unfitness of human nature to accept His Messiahship in the form in which He would fain have offered it to Israel from the first; but rather that He learned step by step (though with perfection of insight) the limitations which the actual unreceptiveness of His people imposed on His 'manifestation to Israel.' Here, too, at the very heart of His life, in His Messianic vocation, 'though a Son, yet learned He obedience by the things that He suffered.' That is, His first approaches to His countrymen were more open and unreserved than they later became, as a result of growing experience of 'the hardness of their hearts,' which the Gospels constantly represent as furnishing Him with fresh surprises and disappointments. Accordingly this passage, which at first sight seems to contradict the view recently set forth by Mr. Garvie, — namely, that Jesus began with a more open Messianic claim than marks the synoptic account of the Galilean ministry,—is found rather to support it, or, at least, to be harmonious with it.

II.

John iv. 43–45.

The difficulty and uncertainty of interpretation in Jn 4[43f.] are notorious. The plain sense, on the face of it, seems to be that Jesus passed from Samaria into Galilee, rather than Judæa (the centre of Jewish religion, and so the natural sphere of Messiah's ministry), because He had found it true to His experience that a prophet has not honour in his own country. All would admit that, to our evangelist, Judæa was the proper and natural country, in a religious sense, of the Messiah of 'the Jews'; that he, unlike the Synoptists, says nothing of Jesus' 'native land' in any other sense (in contrast, *e.g.*, to Lk 4[23], where πατρίς has a narrow local sense, in which Nazareth is contrasted with Capernaum); and that, accordingly, if we restrict our thought to the categories of the Fourth Gospel itself (as is most natural in dealing with such a work), there is no inherent reason why the foregoing reading of the passage should not be accepted as final. There are, however, one or two contextual matters which help to obscure this central issue. One is, that in 4[2]

the common apostolic testimony that Jesus 'hath been raised on the third day, according to the Scriptures' (1 Co 15[4], cf. Lk 24[46])? It is worth observing that, if this be so, the appearance on the third day must be primary, and the O.T. warrant secondary, and not *vice versâ*. For Hos 6[2] does not suggest the experience of Messiah Himself; yet the idea of solidarity between Messiah and the Messianic people would naturally suggest such a use of the passage in the light of known fact as to Jesus' Resurrection.

[1] 'The original (τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) may mean also [besides *man* generically] "the man with whom from time to time he had to deal," as it appears to do in the second case. Compare 7[51], Mt 12[43] 15[11].' Westcott, *ad loc.*

[2] On the distinction between γινώσκειν and εἰδέναι, and on its application to this passage, see Westcott, *ad loc.*

Jesus' intention of leaving Judæa for Galilee has already been stated. Why then return to the subject to justify the step by giving a reason, as if it were paradoxical and stood in need of defence? The answer seems to be that our evangelist wishes to emphasize, by reiterated and more explicit reference, the strange and mournful fact that those who were, as regards religious privilege, specially Messiah's 'own' folk (cf. 1^{11}), were just those from whom He met with least honour. And it is the contrast of the Galileans in this respect that the next verse goes on to describe, helping, as it does, to justify the wisdom and justice of Jesus in turning His steps to despised Galilee (cf. 7^{52} 'Search and see, that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet'). For, as a matter of fact, it had been the Galileans in particular who had, on seeing Jesus' signs at Jerusalem during the Paschal Feast, yielded such belief as has already been referred to in 2^{23}. There it is not said that many of 'the Jews' believed, but simply that many present in the city at the time of Passover believed. Probably few typical Judæans, men like Nicodemus (and he secretly), believed; the bulk of those who believed, after their own fashion, represented the less conventional type of Israel's faith, such as the Galilean. Thus all works out harmoniously, down to the very plaint in v.[48], that even such belief as there was in Galilee, comparatively receptive as it might be, was of the inferior order which needs to be stimulated by 'signs and wonders.'

The Great Text Commentary.

THE GREAT TEXTS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

ACTS VI. 15.

'And all that sat in the council, fastening their eyes on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel' (R.V.).

EXPOSITION.

All that sat in the council.—The unwonted sight arrested the eyes of all who were sitting in the council, not only of the judges but also of the officers and disciples. Among them was one on whose memory the sight imprinted itself so as never to be forgotten. Years afterwards he learnt that it was indeed the reflexion of the divine glory which made Stephen's face to shine as the face of an angel (see 7^{55} and 2 Co 3^{18}). He was that Saul the Pharisee, who was then a prime mover in the charge, and to whom we probably owe this report of the scene.—RACKHAM.

Fastening their eyes on him.—The verb translated 'fastening their eyes' (ἀτενίζειν, A.V. 'looking steadfastly'), denotes a fixed, steadfast, protracted gaze, as in 1^{10} 'and while they were looking steadfastly into heaven as He went.'—KNOWLING.

THE Greek word is almost peculiar to St. Luke, and occurs chiefly in Acts. Elsewhere in the New Testament it is used only by Paul in 2 Co $3^{7, 13}$, and it has often seemed to me as if there were more of Lukan feeling and character in 2 Corinthians than in any other of Paul's letters. The word twice occurs in the Third Gospel, once in a passage peculiar to Luke, and once when the servant maid stared at Peter and recognized him, where her fixed gaze is not mentioned by Matthew or Mark. In Lk 4^{20} the stare of the congregation in Nazareth at Jesus, when He first spoke in the synagogue after His baptism, suggests that a new glory and a new consciousness of power in Him were perceived by them. The power which looks from the eyes of an inspired person attracts and compels a corresponding fixed gaze on the part of them that are brought under his influence.—RAMSAY.

Saw his face as it had been the face of an angel.—Whether the shining was a supernatural brightness, a special and divine radiance, or a natural effect of his own divinely inspired peace and joy, is not an important question. In either case it was the direct result of the indwelling of God with him, the fulfilment of the promise of Christ (Jn $14^{23, 21}$).—ABBOTT.

A SUPERHUMAN, angel-like glory became externally visible to them on Stephen's countenance. St. Luke has conceived and represented it with simple definiteness. So the serene calm which astonished even the Sanhedrists, and the holy joyfulness which was reflected from the heart of the martyr in his countenance, have been glorified by the symbolism of Christian legend.—MEYER.

THE SERMON.

The Angel in Man.

By the Rev. John Thomas, M.A., Liverpool.

There is an interesting thought suggested by the description, 'as it had been the face of an angel,' namely, the question of the affinity between man and the angels. But without entering upon that, let us conceive of the angel as a great, free, powerful, glorious spirit, delighting in

the fellowship of God, finding its true life only in God's fellowship and God's service, a spirit of power and of liberty and of glory. And then let us consider the angel in man.

1. *The angel in human life in its universal latency.* In other words, in every human being born into this life there is a possible angel. It is said of Goethe that he never stood in the presence of a child without bearing his head. For in every child there is a latent angel. In every life there is the possibility of yet standing in the presence of God, too glorious for our thought to anticipate. You have seen one in face and form degraded—an angel is being murdered there. It is only a fallen angel that can make a devil.

2. *How is the angel in man to be developed?* Turn to Stephen: 'a man full of faith.' That is the first step. For the angel belongs to the sphere invisible, and it is faith that gives it existence and power in our lives. Then through this faith the Spirit of God comes upon us and develops the angel with His quickening power.

3. *How does the angel manifest itself?* The first characteristic is heavenly-mindedness. The angel is constantly seeking to break free from the earth and soar heavenward.

> Rivers to the ocean run,
> Nor stay in all their course,
> Fire ascending seeks the sun,
> Both speed them to their source.
> So a soul new-born of God
> Pants to view His glorious face,
> Upward tends to His abode,
> To rest in His embrace.

Then the angel-life manifests itself as a life of service. Are they not all ministering spirits? The face does not look like an angel's at death unless the man has had something of the angel in his life.

4. *The ascent of the angel into its liberty and glory.* (1) Death cannot touch the angel in man. 'I see the heavens open'—who saw? Not Stephen's poor eyes, but the angel in Stephen. The heavens are always open above the angel. (2) Death liberates the angel in man. Even when fettered in this body of humiliation, the angel is able to express itself in service and in the face. But when death comes the angel expands its wings of glory and mounts away to its own native heaven, there to understand the fulness of its joy, there to live the fulness of its great life for ever.

The Answer of Stephen's Face.

By the Rev. C. Jerdan, LL.B., Greenock.

The blessed radiance on Stephen's face was the Lord's answer to the slanders of Stephen's enemies, and it was given before the martyr's own reply began. The charges were three, and it answered them all.

1. They accused him of having *spoken against God* (6^{11}). The Lord showed this to be a lie by bathing Stephen's soul and face in His own glory. As with Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration, so now with Stephen, the Lord is 'well pleased' with him.

2. They accused him of having *spoken against Moses*, that is, against the law ($6^{11.\ 13.\ 14}$). The Lord answered by lighting up Stephen's face with glory as He had lighted up the face of Moses when he was with Him on the mount.

3. They charged him with having spoken against the temple ($6^{13.\ 14}$). The temple was the House of God; its most sacred chamber was the Holy of Holies, which contained the ark, the mercy-seat, the two cherubims, and the divine glory, which was called the Shechinah. This was the symbol of God's presence. Now the soul of every good man is a shrine in which God dwells. And God showed that Stephen was no blasphemer of the temple, for He filled his face with the glory of the Shechinah, which had once dwelt there.

Illustrations.

The speech came to an end, and what came next? His judges gnashed upon him with their teeth, and straightway he was dragged out of the city and there stoned. And while this was going on, did his countenance change? The face as of an angel, had it left him? Let us take for an answer the words of the poet—

> 'Looking upward full of grace,
> He prayed, and from a happy place
> God's glory smote him on the face.'—D. Wright.

A great novelist paints boldly the scene of the meeting, for an instant, of one who was wronged, and one who had done the injury, in a story of the sixteenth century in Florence. The scene under that master-hand is vivid, and it is not merely the consciousness of ill-doing in the one that blanches his cheeks in terror, but his sense, in that momentary flash of the face in the crowd, of all his cruel neglect of years, of all the sorrows, and then the hatred, of a withered life, being stored in desperate madness within the soul of the other as seen in the vision of the sufferer's face.—W. J. Knox-Little.

Now and then in our own day something like the angel-face is seen on man. It is sometimes visible during life. It may be seen in those few of God's people who have 'the mind of the Spirit' in every chamber and corner of their hearts. 'The beauty of the Lord our God' is upon them. The lion-like and yet loving face of the great Dr. Chalmers seemed often to be surrounded with a nimbus, or luminous cloud, when he was engaged in preaching, and even sometimes when he was on his way to the pulpit. The countenance of Dr. John Ker, when he rose from his knees after praying at a sickbed, was not seldom seen to shine as with a heavenly radiance. I have read also of a young missionary in China who was called 'Mr. Glory-face,' because he had so much of the light of God shining on his countenance.—C. JERDAN.

THE portrait of a man is generally the portrait of his face; you may have a full-length portrait sometimes, especially if a lord mayor wishes to exhibit his robes, or a master of foxhounds to show his boots; but these accessories can be put in by inferior hands, the great artist concentrates his efforts upon the face. I may throw in a remark which was made to me by one of the chief portrait-painters of our own day. I told him that I had heard a person remark that when his pictures came to be looked at in future centuries, men would say, How handsome our ancestors were! To which the artist replied, 'I assure you honestly that I have never yet succeeded in committing to canvas one-half the beauty which I have seen in any face that I have ever painted.'—HARVEY GOODWIN.

THE human face alone of all faces is capable of increasing in dignity, and even in beauty, with age. The great number of years which belong to human life is in itself a fact to be taken into account in comparing man with beast; but this is not the point upon which I am now dwelling; I am referring to the fact that old men, and old women too, have sometimes a beauty which is quite distinct from that of youth, and which, so far as I know, has no parallel in the lower levels of life.—HARVEY GOODWIN.

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Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, M.A., D.D., OXFORD.

A New Inscription from Sidon.

M. BERGER has lately presented an interesting and important memoir to the French Academy. It deals with some remarkable Phœnician inscriptions which have been found on the foundation stones of the temple of Eshmûn at Sidon. The ruins are a little to the north-east of the northern gate of the town, and not far from the cemeteries in which the tombs of the Sidonian kings, Eshmunazar and Tabnit, have been discovered. The discovery was made accidentally in 1900; since then the site has been systematically worked under the direction of the Turkish Government, and another inscription has been found.

M. Berger shows convincingly that the inscriptions—of which two are now in Paris—are genuine, even though forged copies of them may be in the market. They all repeat the same text, with a few unimportant variations, and, what is most curious, were never intended to be seen, being inscribed on the inner faces of blocks of stone, against which other blocks were laid. We are reminded of the Siloam inscription, which too was similarly concealed from view.

The text has been put together by M. Berger from the various copies of it which have been brought to light. His reading of it is as follows: 'King Bodastart, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Eshmunazar, king of the Sidonians in Sidon of the Sea, [and] of the High Heavens [שמם רמם], the land of the Reshephs, [even] Sidon which governs its children, Sidon the sovereign: he has built what belongs to this temple for his god Eshmûn, the holy sovereign.' I should myself prefer to divide the words a little differently in one place, and translate 'the land of Resheph of Sidon.' 'The High Heavens' is the name of a locality, and corresponds with a similar expression on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar. From the inscription of Eshmunazar we learn that Sidon was divided into two quarters: Sidon of the Sea

and Sidon of the Mountain. With the phrase 'Sidon the sovereign' (שר), M. Berger compares Is 23^8, where the merchants of Tyre are called *sârîm*, while in Ezek 28^{14} Tyre is said to be 'the anointed cherub.'

The temple of Eshmûn, which Bodastart claims to have built, was really founded by Eshmunazar, as we learn from the inscription on his sarcophagus. Bodastart consequently can only have restored or added to it. As he does not give the name of his father, it would seem that the latter could never have been king, and M. Berger is doubtless right in believing that Bodastart was the successor of Eshmunazar II., the son of Tabnit and Ummastoret, and the grandson of Eshmunazar I. This finally disposes of the theory of M. Clermont-Ganneau, according to which the dynasty of Eshmunazar reigned over Tyre in the interval between Abdalonymos, 330 B.C., and Philoklês, 280 B.C., the period being too short for four kings and three generations, more especially as we know that Eshmunazar II. reigned fourteen years. We must, therefore, fall back upon the older view, which refers the dynasty to the Persian epoch. Indeed, as M. Berger remarks, the Egyptianizing influence displayed in the anthropoid form of the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar would not be very intelligible in the Greek period, when Greek fashions had been adopted in Phœnicia. The same conclusion is also indicated by the discovery of the handle of a sistrum with the cartouches of Amasis among the ruins of the temple of Eshmûn.[1]

The Sumerian Origin of the First Account of the Creation in Genesis.

Dr. Radau has published an interesting little book on *The Creation-Story of Genesis I.* (Chicago, 1902), in which he claims to have shown that it was derived, in the first instance, from the Babylonian Epic of the Creation, with its account of the conflict between Merodach and the dragon of chaos, and ultimately from a Sumerian source, in which the Creation was represented as a natural process of generation. The Babylonian derivation of the biblical narrative is indubitable; so also is the elimination from the latter of the polytheistic elements in the Babylonian story, while there is just as little doubt that the Babylonian story itself goes back to a Sumerian origin. What Dr. Radau specially claims to have done is to have disentangled the elements that have gone to the making of each, and to have assigned to each version the characteristics peculiar to it.

Whether such a minute analysis is possible with our present materials may be questioned. Dr. Radau, for instance, believes that the division of the work of Creation into a period of six or seven days is due to the biblical writers; a recent discovery of Mr. King, however, seems to indicate that it already characterized the Babylonian account. There was, moreover, no uniform Sumerian system of cosmology; the Sumerian conception of Creation differed in different parts of the country. As Dr. Radau very rightly observes, the story of it which we possess must have originated at Eridu. There only could the idea have grown up of the watery chaos out of which all things have come, and of a creation of the earth by planting reeds in the water and so forming a bed or island of silt. The cosmological system of an inland city like Nippur would necessarily have been different from that which was taught at Eridu.

In the story current at Eridu Dr. Radau finds the immediate ancestor of that of the first chapter of Genesis. According to his view, the Hebrew writer was not only acquainted with it, but must have deliberately rejected the later Babylonian version in favour of it. Hence the omission in his account of the struggle between the powers of light and darkness. As in the Sumerian story, so too in Genesis, the Creation is a process of evolution rather than the result of the victory of order over anarchy.

Such a view seems to me to presuppose the acquaintance of the biblical author, not only with the cuneiform tablets of Babylonia, but also with the Sumerian language. Personally, I am quite ready to admit the presupposition, but it must be remembered that there are no proofs of it and that the Phœnician cosmologies, of which Dr. Radau has taken no notice, go rather to show that the scriptural account was not derived directly from Babylonian literature, but indirectly

[1] An article upon the inscriptions has also been published by Professor Torrey in the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society, xxiii. 1. pp. 156 sqq. (1902), but the materials at his disposal were more imperfect than those which lay before M. Berger. Professor Torrey has, however, succeeded in making out the greater part of the text, and in anticipating the French scholar in many of his conclusions.

through the domestication of Babylonian cosmological conceptions in Palestine. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the mythological and polytheistic elements in the Babylonian version have been intentionally excluded by the author of the Book of Genesis. Sufficient traces of them have been allowed to remain to show that they were well known to him; but that is all. The biblical Creator is the God of the whole universe, who brooks no rival at His side, and for whom matter is as the clay in the potter's hands. The fact makes strongly for the view that the Babylonian story of the Creation lay before the author in a literary form. But was this the original Babylonian form or a Palestinian version of it? The answer to this question will largely depend upon whether or not we can find evidences in the Hebrew of a translation from a cuneiform text.

Dr. Radau assumes that Merodach was unknown in Babylonia before the age of the dynasty of Khammurabi. Until Babylon, however, is thoroughly excavated, it is unsafe to assume anything of the kind. We still know very little of the earlier history of Babylonia, and practically nothing of the earlier history of Babylon itself. It is quite possible that the story of the conflict between Merodach and the powers of darkness goes back to the days when Sumerians and Semites were struggling for the supremacy, or even to the still older time when the culture of Eridu was being evolved out of the contact of its inhabitants with the sailors and merchants of other lands.

There are several new points and observations in Dr. Radau's book which are worthy of note. The creation of light on the first day, in the biblical narrative, is explained by the fact that the Babylonian demiurge, brought forth by Tiamât at the beginning of the world, was the god of light. Equally noteworthy is the suggestion that the Hebrew Shaddai, in the title El-Shaddai, represents an Assyrian *saduâ*, 'the two mountains,' so that El-Shaddai would be the equivalent of the Babylonian En-lil, 'the god of the upper and lower mountain or heaven and earth.' And a satisfactory explanation is given at last why, in Gn 1^{16}, we read of 'two great lights' instead of the sun and moon. The sun and moon were Babylonian deities, and their names were accordingly avoided by the monotheistic writer of Genesis. For the same reason 'the stars' take the place of Istar, the goddess of the evening and morning stars. Dr. Radau also draws attention to the fact that, whereas in Babylonia the moon-god took precedence of the sun-god, in Genesis the sun is called 'the greater light.' He points out very truly that as chaos preceded the present world of order, according to the Babylonian cosmology, so the night, which was governed by the moon-god, would naturally precede the day. In Canaan, on the other hand, the sun-god stood at the head of the pantheon. It further follows that 'if the day began with the evening or night, the year must have begun with the winter, and the beginning of the year could not have been the 21st of March (the 1st Nisan), but must have been the 21st of September (the 1st Tishri).'

Dr. Radau displays a wide acquaintance with the early Babylonian inscriptions, as well as with the divinities of Sumerian belief. Here and there, however, as is inevitable in researches of this kind, his conclusions would be disputed by other Assyriologists. I cannot, for instance, accept his translation of the fifth line of the Assyrian Epic of Creation: '[Tiamât] their waters in one had joined together.' The verb *ikhiqû* is intransitive, not transitive, as is made clear by other passages in which it occurs (*e.g. W.A.I.* iii. 60. 48), and the correct rendering would be: 'their waters were joined [more literally, embosomed] together in one place.' We thus have a parallel to Gn 1^{9}, though in the biblical account the gathering together of the waters 'unto one place' is the work of the second day. It is probable that a similar idea is contained in the Sumerian Story of the Creation, where it is said (l. 11) that there was a *rada* in 'the sea,' in which the creator planted bundles of reeds that caught the silt and so formed dry land. The exact meaning of *rada* is, however, still unknown.

New Books for Prizes and Gifts.

NELSON.

THE most handsome of Messrs. Nelson's books for the 1903 season is *A Hero of the Highlands* (5s.), and the honour is given to Miss Everett-Green. It is the often-told but never wearying tale of Prince Charles and Flora Macdonald told once again. The historical is blent with the romantic cleverly enough, for Miss Everett-Green has this gift of the greatest artists. The central figure is the Prince, not Flora. And he is well drawn—too great for history, not too moving for successful romance. If Prince Charles Edward had historically been as this, the history of our land would have been other than it has been. But who will grudge that historic truth should be lost in poetic idealism? Let us give our boys a hero—there is no danger of their politics now.

A 'Hero of the Highlands' is for the boys: *Two Little Travellers* (2s. 6d.) is a story for girls. A touching, tender tale, which will be loved no less that it is somewhat sad, and may win its way into the hearts of some mothers thereby. For it can be read by old as well as young, this book. There are parts—the descriptive—which will be skipped by the little ones. For it is not that the little tramp girl was 'bedraggled, unkempt, untidy, with a glimmer of pearly teeth, and great blue eyes gleaming out from a mop of tangled curls that glittered as if they had caught within their burnished strands all the sunbeams which had lighted up that bright October day'—it is not her appearance that will interest children, but what she said and how she conducted herself. Perhaps the most pathetic figure in the book is that of wee Bambo, the dwarf. The author is Mrs. Ray Cunningham.

In Flora's Realm (3s. 6d.) will have to be kept for a prize in spring. It is a most beautiful book about flowers and fruit, illustrated profusely, but always correctly, and quite simple and attractive in its reading matter. Its great feature, however, is its coloured full-page pictures. There are eight of them. They could scarcely be made more lovely.

Fact and fiction are again combined in *Three Scottish Heroines* (1s. 6d.), by Mrs. Traill. The three are Grizel Hume, Grizel Cochrane, and Winefred, Countess of Nithsdale. The old hard times are made to live again, but we have only to sympathize with those who suffer, not suffer with them. And yet we feel that if we could share the glory and the triumph of those three heroines we should take the suffering gladly.

Five books for the wee ones now. First the new volume of the ever-welcome *Children's Treasury* (1s.). Next *Fur-Coats* (6d.), great pictures of great Highland cattle and other shaggy-coated animals. Then *Beaks and Bills* (6d.), a companion book of fluffy birds. After that *Mother Hubbard's Cupboard* (2s.) of nursery rhymes, beautifully printed on thick strong paper. And last of all, and best of all, *The Friend of Little Children* (3s. 6d.), a short life of Christ by M. A. Hoyer, with large illustrations by John Lawson in colour.

SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

The second year of *The Boys of Our Empire* (7s. 6d.) has ended, and the second annual volume has been published. The character of the magazine is now made clear: has it taken a sure and abiding place? The editor's aim is to furnish our boys with sensation that is not too sensational, with the story of deeds done that are done for truth and honour, with humour that has no bitterness. It will not suit every boy. The boys to whom blustering is heroism and cruelty fun will call it molly-coddling. But their number must be few, and the steady success of this very magazine will make it fewer still. For it is so genuinely stirring, so manfully exciting, that the boys who lead in literature as in sport are sure to take it in and spread its fame. 'Our Champion of the Week,' the opening article of each number, is a feature which no boy should miss. He will get to know the doings and the very faces of all the leaders of the day in anything that demands skill and pluck.

A companion volume to *The Boys of Our Empire* is *The Girls' Empire* (5s.). It contains more education and more fiction. The range of subject is less extensive altogether. There is scarcely any fun. For serious girls we conclude it

is written, and no doubt that is wise, since frivolous girls are not likely to read much of anything. The utmost care is taken that nothing offensive should enter into it. No mother need fear to place *The Girls' Empire* in her daughter's hands on Saturday or on Sunday.

The greatest rival to *The Boys of Our Empire* must be *Young England* (5s.). But there is room for both. And *Young England* is an old, well-established favourite. It is certainly quieter in tone than its new comrade. The arts and industries have much attention, and the ways of our fellow-men and boys all over the world are described and illustrated. Even the stories are more historical and the humour less boisterous.

Mr. Melrose of the Sunday School Union has begun the publication of a series of books for boys under the title of 'The King's Own Library.' The first of the series is by a famous author—the prime favourite with some boys we know,—David Ker, and it is an unmixed success. The story literally rushes on, every page keeping the reader breathless with interest. It will take a front place among the prizes and presents of the season. Its title is *Torn from its Foundations* (3s. 6d.).

The Boys of the Red House (1s.) is one of Miss Everett-Green's smaller and characteristic books. There is no uncontrollable excitement in it; there is steady interest and quiet earnest instruction.

The Child's Own Magazine (1s.) has reached its sixty-ninth annual volume. Think of the children who devoured its first volume: where are they now? But it never grows old. And there will always be children ready to devour it as long as it chooses to come to them so full of all-round interest and illustration.

Gabriel Garth, Chartist (5s.), is a handsome volume, likely to be selected at once for a gift, and it appeals to us as the most powerful of Miss Everett-Green's recent historical romances. It is perhaps too pathetic, but novel-readers will have it so. Gabriel is a strong character, and there are others around him who make good contrasts. It is sometimes said that reform legislation has done nothing for the people. Read this faithful history and answer that.

S.P.C.K.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published a large number of Christmas books, and forgotten nobody. Out of their list alone it would be possible to select a gift for every member of the family.

Taking them according to price, the first is *The Boys of Spartan House School* (3s. 6d.), by Frederick Harrison. The school is an experiment not unworthy of the attention of educational reformers. But more than half of the book is taken up with the adventures by sea and land of four of the boys and one of the masters, who are sent off on a cruising expedition as part of the school curriculum. The tone of the book is excellent, and the conversations are free from slang. Nor is it without significance that the hero is one of the under-masters.

The Pick of the Basket (2s. 6d.), by Phoebe Allen, opens on Melody Rew's wedding-night. Very happy is Melody Rew and her bridegroom, Andrew Bennet. And they have every right to be, as the whole village acknowledges. They made a very happy home too. But the day came when Melody said, 'Oh, Andrew, you don't know how wickedly envious I feel sometimes of those happy women who have a houseful of children!' for Melody had none. And then came the trouble. It came first in the shape of little Patty, an adopted child who had a wonderful way of getting into mischief; but worse than that through women's evil tongues, till poor Melody's life became miserable enough. It ended well, but it was a sore discipline. This book is written for servants. A secret which should never have been made a secret is the cause of half the harm.

A Brave Little Cousin (2s. 6d.), by Bessie Marchant, is a delightful Australian story. The heroine is homely and yet heroic; a true girl who goes bravely through experiences that would daunt ordinary men. The rough bush life of Australia is vividly drawn. And we learn that the human heart can grow in tenderness, and even the human form in gracefulness, far enough away from kings' palaces.

Worth While (2s.), by Annette Lyster, is not a book for children to read. It is too inexpressibly sad and disastrous. No doubt life is a vale of tears, but we are not commanded to teach our children to anticipate its ills so vividly as this book does. Clearly, it is not written for children, but for those who are able to look beyond this life for the reward of self-sacrifice and the crown of martyrdom.

The Farm of Aptonga (2s.) is a story of early

Christian persecution by the late Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D. It belongs to the period of St. Cyprian, a period which Dr. Neale could describe faithfully, on both its Roman and its Christian side.

Molly Hesketh (1s. 6d.) is a small orphan with a chequered experience. Brought up at first amongst fashionable relatives who neglected her, she was sent at last to a very good but much plainer family in the country. The plainer life did not suit Miss Molly perfectly, and after some minor explosions she ran away. There is no novelty in the plot, but it is well told; a wholesome story, and interesting from beginning to end.

The Will and the Way (1s. 6d.), by C. E. Mallandaine, is an Irish story with more religious fervour in it than in the others. It is indeed a very beautiful story of a love that waited and was blessed.

The Dauntless Three (1s.), by Beatrice Radford, is a charming tale for children. Mrs. Desmond's three little boys have a rousing effect on the quiet country parish where they spend the summer. They are altogether lovable children, though somewhat self-willed and so often in trouble.

How the Story Ended (1s.), by Catherine Mary Macsorley. This story begins with fraud and ends with repentance. But it is chiefly concerned with the doings of two little motherless children in a London rectory, whose pretty kindly ways make for happiness.

It is enough to name the smaller books. *That Doll* (9d.), by F. C. Fanshawe; *Me, Nos, and the Others* (6d.), by M. E. Bradshaw Isherwood; *Sarah's First Start in Life* (6d.), by Adelaide M. G. Campbell; *A Woodland Choir* (3d.), by L. B. Walford; *The Owl Hunt* (3d.), by R. L. S.; *How Meg redeemed the Family Fortunes* (3d.), by E. M. Smith-Masters.

R. T. S.

The Religious Tract Society has published the annual volume for 1902 of the *Leisure Hour* (7s. 6d.) and of the *Sunday at Home* (7s. 6d.). We have always held that the best possible prize is an annual volume. It is so varied in its contents, it is so superbly illustrated, and there is so much of it for the money. This volume of the *Leisure Hour* is both an entertainment and an education. Its science notes alone are worth the price of the volume. If they were published in a separate volume they would not cost less, and there is little chance that the illustrations would be so fine. There is a serial story, of course, and many delightful short stories; while the 'varieties,' for which this magazine has always been famous, are as fresh as ever.

We have never seen a finer volume of the *Sunday at Home*. Art and literature here prove that instead of being opposed to religion, they are her devoted and delighted servants. And it is the beautiful religion of a cultured Christian home.

Mr. D. Alcock's *Under Calvin's Spell* (3s. 6d.) is a good companion to the same author's historical novel, 'The Friends of Pascal.' The canvas is well filled with persons and incidents, yet the great stand out in historical prominence, as they should. Round them all the interest revolves. Indeed, this great use of the historical novel, to invest great characters with personal interest for us, is conspicuously fulfilled in this book.

Old Miss Audrey (2s. 6d.), by Evelyn Everett-Green, will make a delightful gift-book for girls this Christmas. We have a study of very ordinary village life with its gossip and little jealousies. Then Miss Audrey enters, womanly, sensible, high-toned—a strong character,—and it is wonderful how much healthier society becomes. One young girl especially is moulded by her. Round Queenie the love-interest of the story turns, and you feel she has learned so much from old Miss Audrey that her new life is bound to be a happy one.

Little Maid Marigold (2s.), by E. H. Stooke. Marigold is a little maid of eleven when she is introduced to us. Her mother is a soldier's widow, with straitened means, who is obliged to accept the offer of a home and education for her daughter from two old maiden aunts. Marigold takes with her to her Bristol home her father's motto, and many will be interested to read in this delightful story how she 'fought the good fight of faith.'

REVELL.

Aunt Abby's Neighbours (2s. 6d. net), by Annie Trumbull Slosson. This beautifully printed book —it is printed with brown ink on brown paper— is likely to be one of the season's favourites. Aunt Abby must have been a good neighbour, an unmixed blessing to those who ever came near her, especially to children; and her story is told

with all the natural gift of language, with all the raciness of metaphor, which have become associated with the name of Mrs. Annie Trumbull Slosson on both continents.

The Little Green God (2s. 6d. net), by Caroline Atwater Mason, is a powerful and pathetic story. Titus Fletcher, a returned missionary from India, passes through a most painful experience of the half-hearted Christianity of the home churches. Some of them have been welcoming lecturers who teach that 'the Christ myth is to a large degree borrowed from the Krishna cult.' Our sympathies are so entirely with the missionary that we do not wonder he chooses to return to his hard toil in Haidarabad—the perils by the heathen seeming less than the perils by his own countrymen.

Under the title of *Topsy Turvy Land* (2s. 6d. net), Professor Zwemer and his wife (or daughter?) have written for children a description of Arabia. The book possesses a threefold charm. It is a description of this interesting land by one who knows it intimately. It is also a real children's book, every situation being arranged so that they can appreciate it thoroughly. And, thirdly, the illustrations are themselves enough to give delight to any intelligent boy or girl.

Messrs. Revell have undertaken the issue of a series of booklets for friend to send to friend, under the title of 'Ideal Messages.' The first is *Beyond the Marshes* (1s. net), by Ralph Connor. This message is for the invalid. It is good, and it is beautiful.

NISBET.

Some Boys' Doings (3s. 6d.) is the very modest title which John Habberton, the author of 'Helen's Babies,' has given to this new book. It is surely the boys' book of the season. The ridiculous situations in which the boys of Prairiedom find themselves, chiefly through their own heedlessness or vanity, will be greatly enjoyed by other boys. Each chapter forms a tale of humour distinct in itself. The adventures are likely to be heard for some time by the schoolroom fire, or even whispered in the dormitory.

JARROLD.

Beautiful Joe's Paradise (3s. 6d.), by Marshall Saunders, is a tale of thrilling interest. Sam and his dear dead terrier get carried away in an airship to the island of Brotherly Love, and there they meet 'Beautiful Joe' and many friends, old and new—but not of human kind.

If any child has lost a pet this is a book for him to read, and he will never be quite disconsolate again; and if any of the older folk wish to teach kindness to animals, this is a book that they may safely circulate. The volume is made yet more attractive by the fine illustrations of Charles Livingston Bull.

With Cossack and Convict (3s. 6d.), by W. Murray Graydon, is a stirring story for boys. It breaks new ground, and from cover to cover is sensational enough to hold the interest enchained.

MORGAN & SCOTT.

The annual volume of 'The Herald of Mercy' and 'The Revival' appears this year under the title of *The Trial Trip*. The striking picture on the cover shows us that it is the trial trip of a new engine, and of course it has its evangelical application very pointed and very fervent. Throughout the volume the gospel is preached by pictures that are as effective as sermon or song.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Harnack's New Volume.[1]

STUDENTS of Harnack will recognize in his latest volume all the characteristic excellences of the great Berlin professor,—breadth of treatment, intimate knowledge, a delicate sense of proportion, and a certain humanness which serves to lend interest to all that he touches. The history of the missionary work of the Church in the first three centuries has not before assumed the shape of a monograph, but under Harnack's hand it takes the form of a survey, not only of the methods and

[1] *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christenthums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* By Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Sm. 4to, pp. 561. 10s. 6d.

growth, both extensively and intensively, of the 'old Church,' but also of the content of the message which it had to deliver. It is the chapter—the second out of four—which contains the 'Mission-preaching in word and deed' that will be found the most interesting, both because it deals with factors of perennial interest, and also because its treatment of its subject is at once massive and incomplete. It is massive because no factor of any importance is omitted—unless it is the influence exercised by the allegorical system of interpretation in constructing a bridge from the crudity of the Jewish letter to the refinements of Alexandrian gnosis; and it is incomplete—a magnificent torso—because Professr Harnack does not seem able to make up his mind what it was in Christianity which gave it the victory over its rivals,—some of which, as, *e.g.*, Mithraism and Manichæism (as well as Gnosticism in general), were no despicable competitors for supremacy; Clement Al. and Tertullian are sufficient witnesses to the former, and, much later, Leo the Great for the latter.

Harnack points out in a compact Anhang of two pages to Buch iv. K. 2, that Mithraism failed in the lands where Hellenism was in possession, and established itself in the West only. If the East be mapped out between the two, then between the Adriatic and Taurus, between Pontus and the Cataracts of the Nile, Mithraism never was a serious rival of Christianity. It never captured Greek philosophy, and 'so the Historian recognizes at once that the one must live and the other die.' But this does not tell us why Christianity did, and why Mithraism did not, succeed in assimilating pagan culture.

Moreover, the same difficulty meets us when Harnack comes to describe the content of the Mission-preaching of the first three centuries. This is his description of what Christianity declared itself to be: 'With what a richness, and in what a fulness of relations did the Christian religion, even in its earliest beginnings, present itself on the Gentile-Christian ground. And every point in it seems to be the chief, even to be the Whole. It is the preaching of God the Father Almighty, of His Son Jesus Christ the Lord, and of the Resurrection. It is the Gospel of the Saviour and of Salvation. It is the Gospel of Love and of Help. It is the Religion of Spirit and of Power, of moral Earnestness and Holiness. It is the Religion of Authority and of unconditioned Faith, and again it is the Religion of Reason and of clear Knowledge; but it is also a Mystery-Religion. It is the message of the appearance of a wholly new people, which nevertheless had existed in concealment from the beginning of things. It is the Religion of a holy Book. Whatever at any time can be thought of as religion, that it has, that indeed it is.'

This description of Christianity as a syncretistic religion, a *complexio oppositorum*, recurs several times in these pages, but nowhere do we find any decisive judgment on the cause which gave it its success. If it be said that it was the unexampled conjunction which discloses the secret, we can but reply, as in the case of the collocation of elements in nature, what is it which made Christianity to be this rounded and harmonious whole? What gave it 'the syncretism of a Universal Religion?' If its right to absorb all truth had been called in question, it would have replied, it is suggested: 'I am innocent; I have but brought a seed to maturity.' 'Christianity had first cut away the ground from under all other religions and then substituted its own philosophy for that of antiquity. [But where did it get its philosophy from?] But what gave it its victory then does not guarantee its victory an abiding place in History. This *permanent* rests rather on the preaching of the living God as the Father, and on the Image of Jesus Christ. It rests precisely, therefore, on its adaptability—its power to strip off once more that general syncretism, and to join itself with other Co-efficients. The Reformation has made a beginning with that process.'

This passage reveals at once Professor Harnack's weakness and his strength. He is a scientific historian, and as such he stands, as Gibbon stood—though with what an admirable difference of temper—outside his subject, examining it with a critical eye, as a phenomenon, analysing it, with unrivalled knowledge it is true, and with living sympathy, but not revealing the spring of life, or suggesting even the drawing by his reader of the inevitable conclusion that Christianity triumphed because it was the power of God unto salvation. That the early missionaries were ready to put their whole faith in the formula: 'One God of Heaven and Earth and Jesus the Lord,' and to throw away all else, is a picturesque and true statement, but it does not tell us where they got this faith from. Was Christianity only *felix opportunitate*, or was

Eusebius right when he wrote of it: 'When I view its power and its effects, how many myriads have given assent to it. . . . I am again compelled to recur to the question of its cause and to confess, that they could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise than by a divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them: Go and make disciples of all nations in My name?'

The ecclesiastical historian must, no doubt, as a scientific inquirer, keep close watch over his own 'personal equation' while pursuing his inquiries, equally with any other devotee of the scientific method. But when he has furnished his description of secondary causes and historical sequence, he will do well to remember that the scientific order is Faith first, Reason second; that the origin of the world and of Christianity alike is only brought under one view by religious faith, even though it be reason's work to pursue it into details. Evolution may account for everything in Christianity except for Christianity itself. That is a *life*, and no historical inquiry can be fruitful which fails to presuppose the living power behind phenomena. No one who knows Professor Harnack would doubt for a moment that he is intensely conscious of the living power of religion in the heart, —his *Das Wesen des Christenthums* is witness enough for that,—all that is pointed out now is that he has not told us here where it comes in as a factor in the spread of Christianity. So much of modern critical work is disfigured by its divorce from living religion, that it was all the more necessary to insist on the slight place it seems to occupy in these pages.

For the rest *Die Mission* is a masterly summary of the statistics of place and time so far as they affect early missionary work, and affords a wealth of material, as well as deep inspiration for every preacher and missionary in these days of a recrudescent paganism. The index is the least sufficient feature of the volume. W. F. Cobb.

St. Ethelburga's, London, E.C.

Gregory's Textual Criticism.[1]

There has been little delay in the publication of the second volume of this most important work. It deals with the Versions and Church Fathers, and includes also a history of textual criticism.

Within recent years, the value of the Versions for textual criticism has been increasingly recognized, and they have formed the subject of much patient research. But their origins and history are still surrounded by a haze. This is what might be expected, if we picture to ourselves the conditions under which they arose. Gregory describes the situation vividly. 'One man translated a portion for himself from a literary interest, another, for the sake of his family. A priest took in hand a book on which he intended to give a series of discourses. A church reader and interpreter committed to paper that which he was accustomed to deliver orally in Church before a congregation, and thus without special reflexion or accuracy. An interpreter wrote down his interpretation, that it might be read aloud in neighbouring congregations, where no Christian was to be found who knew Greek. To none of them did it occur that he was helping to introduce a new period of textual tradition, and none recorded the day, the hour, or the manner of his work' (p. 480). Obviously, the only fruitful method of investigation will be a careful analysis of existing texts. When this has been done it will be time enough to indulge in the far more attractive occupation of constructing theories as to recensions and the like.

The chief place in the discussion is, of course, taken by the Syriac and Latin translations of the N.T. In treating of the former, Gregory (with Westcott-Hort, Nestle, etc., as against Scrivener, Gwilliam, and others) assigns the earliest date to the 'Old-Syriac' version, represented by the Cureton fragments and the celebrated palimpsest discovered by Mrs. Lewis. He would place it not far from the time of Tatian, perhaps immediately before his period (p. 493). He considers it probable that this oldest translation bore the name *Peschitta* (apparently = Vulgate); that it was superseded, at an early date, as too rough and unpolished by that revision which is now known as the Peschitta; and that, as soon as the new version was ready, the majority of the older MSS were destroyed by order of the ecclesiastical authorities. As is well known, this theory has been stoutly contested, especially by some English scholars. But it has lately received most important corroboration from Mr. F. C. Burkitt's study of *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels* (Camb. Texts and

[1] *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes.* Von C. R. Gregory. Zweiter Band. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902. Price M.12.

Studies, vii. 2, 1901), which probably appeared too late for Dr. Gregory to refer to. A main argument for the priority of the Peschitta was its supposed use by Ephraim. Mr. Burkitt shows with great cogency that the passages in *Ephraim* regarded as quotations from the Peschitta are not trustworthy. And he suggests that the latter may be identical with the translation (or revision) of Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (411 A. D.), a translation of which Gregory says 'we can affirm nothing definite' (p. 488, note 4). In the section on the Palestinian-Syriac, full references are given to the important evidence recently brought to light by Professor Rendel Harris, Mrs. Lewis, and others. Dr. Gregory emphasizes the remarkable value for textual criticism of the so-called *Philoxenian* version, as revised by Thomas of Heraclea. He omits to note two recent contributions to the literature of the subject, *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle*, by A. Pott (Leipzig, 1900), and Dr. P. Corssen's important article, 'Die Recension der Philoxeniana' (*Zeitschr. f. N.T. Wissensch.* ii. 1, pp. 1–12). On the *Egyptian* versions we miss a reference to Robinson's scholarly article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (vol. i. pp. 668–673). Indeed, none of the articles on Versions in that work are mentioned. Our author discusses with knowledge and caution the Latin translations. In the bibliography on p. 593, mention ought to have been made of Wölfflin's *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*; and Corssen's *Bericht*, which finds a place in that list, should certainly have been named among the works enumerated on p. 595 as dealing with the Old-Latin versions. Gregory suggests that the Latin texts of the N.T. might with advantage be classified as follows: (1) *Old-Latin*, embracing all texts existing before Jerome; (2) *Middle-Latin*, those from Jerome to Alcuin; (3) *New-Latin*, everything of later origin. But it is difficult to see how such a grouping would be preferable for practical purposes to the current subdivision into two classes, *Old Latin* and *Vulgate*. All scholars are aware that these titles are merely a rough approximation to the truth, and anything more seems impossible of attainment. In discussing the Old-Latin, Gregory is inclined to postulate a single African translation as the original. But it is rather confusing to find Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Ambrose classified with Tertullian and Cyprian as authorities for the 'African' text. Hilary is a prominent representative of the so-called 'European' type. The quotations in Ambrose agree with Hort's 'Italian' recension. When Lucifer shows an 'African' text, he is probably quoting directly from Cyprian's *Testimonia*; and the same thing is true of Lactantius, Firmicus Maternus, and Optatus, who also appear in Dr. Gregory's list. There are one or two points in the catalogue of Old-Latin MSS which seem open to criticism. Gregory describes the Vercelli MS. *a* 'after Westcott and Hort' as 'of the European or primitive translation.' It is difficult to understand the expression 'primitive' in this connexion. We should suppose that for Westcott and Hort 'primitive' and 'African' would in all likelihood have been synonymous. He proceeds to state that *a* contains the old version without emendation. But a good deal of the uncouthness of the 'African' translation seems to be already toned down in this text, as may be seen from a comparison with *k*. J. Belsheim's edition of this, as of several other important Old-Latin MSS, is here referred to. But these editions are scientifically untrustworthy (see Corssen, *Bericht*, p. 19). We should have expected fuller notes on the Bobbio MS. *k* and the Verona MS. *b*, the former as exhibiting perhaps the oldest form of the 'African' text, the latter as a specially typical representative of the 'European' family. In the note on the Vienna fragment *v*, Gregory states that it was copied and published by 'der Anonymus I. S.,' and H. J. White. No doubt the mysterious initials (*O.L. Biblical Texts*, iii. p. 161) stand for J. Sarisburiensis, the bishop of Salisbury's official designation. The section on the Vulgate is both full and concise. There is an excellent discussion of the name 'Vulgate' (pp. 615–617). Even as late as the thirteenth century this designation appears to have been used in a very lax sense, and by no means as the regular description of Jerome's translation. Indeed, as Gregory points out, it is evident from the relevant decree of the Council of Trent 'that no account was taken of the actual condition of the old text, and that no one knew how much of Jerome's work was to be found in the ordinary Latin MSS' (p. 616). As in his *Prolegomena*, Gregory first supplies a list of those Vulgate MSS which Tischendorf had cited in his critical apparatus, and then an immense catalogue of all Vulgate MSS known to him, arranged according to the countries and libraries in which they are now to be found. In vol. iii. of Tischen-

dorf's *N.T.* (ed. 8), pp. 993–1108, this catalogue embraced 2228 numbers. It now extends to 2369. The preparation of the list must have involved the most unwearying labour and patience. While much less attractive than the selected list of classified texts in Mr. H. J. White's masterly article on the *Vulgate* (H.D.B. iv. pp. 886–889), it affords the indispensable basis of future research in this department. And in view of the splendid pioneering work done by the late M. Samuel Berger, Mr. White, and Dr. Gregory, rapid progress may surely be expected in the investigation of the Latin N.T.

We have little space to devote to that section of the volume which deals with the evidence of ecclesiastical writers for the text of the N.T. That evidence has to be used with great caution; for, as Gregory observes, nothing was more common than for copyists to adapt the biblical passages in the MSS of these authors to that form of text which was familiar to them (p. 759). In dealing with the Latin Fathers, it would have been well had Gregory singled out more clearly those who are of special value and interest as witnesses to the text. He remarks in passing on the accuracy of Tertullian. We should scarcely select that as a notable characteristic. His method of quoting Scripture has always appeared to us most fickle. And it is often difficult to say whether his words are a paraphrase, or a vague recollection, or a direct quotation from a written document. Above most authors, the evidence of Tertullian requires the most delicate handling (see, *e.g.*, Corssen, *Fragm. d. Weing. Propheten-MS.*, pp. 45–47).

The *History of Criticism* (pp. 848–993) falls into two parts. The first treats of the external form of the text, handling such questions as the order of the books, divisions into chapters and verses, punctuation, aspiration, and accents. On p. 861 Gregory corrects his former designation of the ancient division of the Gospels into sections as *Ammonian*, agreeing with Lloyd, Westcott, and Burgon, that they should be attributed not to Ammonius, but to Eusebius. There is an interesting and valuable summary of opinion on the vexed question of Euthalius (p. 872 ff.). And Gregory concludes his discussion of chapter-division with a short but most luminous account of that which now prevails in the West, and which he ascribes (after O. Schmid, *Über verschiedene Einteilungen d. heilig. Schrift*, Graz, 1892) to Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury († 1228).

The second part of the history describes the researches and theories of textual critics from the beginning of the science up to the present time. It is interesting to find so distinguished an authority as Dr. Gregory pronouncing that Westcott and Hort's presentation of the facts 'remains in a certain sense the working theory for N.T. textual criticism' (p. 917). In this notice we have not been able to give any idea of the wealth of material which Dr. Gregory's volume contains. All students of N.T. textual criticism owe him a lasting debt of gratitude. They will await with the highest expectation the concluding portion of this monumental work.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

Callander.

The New 'Herzog.'[1]

THE articles in the eleventh volume of the new edition of the Hauck-Herzog *Realencyklopädie* range from *Konstantinische Schenkung* to *Luther*—the latter being an article of 36 pages, into which Dr. Julius Köstlin has skilfully compressed a masterly survey of the career of the great Reformer.

Van Manen's articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* have given undue prominence to the extreme hypotheses of a small Dutch school of critics who out-Baur Baur, inasmuch as they deny that Paul wrote the four Epistles which Baur regarded as indisputably the apostle's work. It was in the *Tijdspiegel*, 1889, that Van Manen announced his conversion to the theories of Loman, who then occupied a professor's chair at the University of Amsterdam. In view of the revival in England of the speculations of this radical school of criticism, special interest attaches to the biography of its founder,

LOMAN,

contributed by Van Veen, professor of theology at the University of Utrecht.

Loman was remarkable for the versatility of his talents, and for his capacity for arduous mental toil. His earliest literary work was done in the domain of Church music and the history of music. He wrote the poetry as well as the music of a number of chorales, and intended to publish an oratorio in four parts—words and music—on a theme furnished by the Song of Songs. The

[1] *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* Dritte Auflage. Band xi. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

poem is extant, but the music never appeared. In the domain of theology his work covered a wide range of subjects; at different times he was professor of the exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, natural and biblical theology, encyclopädie, history of the canon, history of dogma, history of Lutheranism, and, to crown all, pastoral theology. A pathetic picture of Professor Loman in the later years of his life is drawn by his biographer. Before he was fifty years old he began to suffer from ophthalmia, in 1874 he became totally blind. Nevertheless, he continued his work with undiminished enthusiasm, did not resign his professorate until compelled to do so, because he was threescore years and ten,—the age fixed for compulsory retirement. Loman's most important studies were published after he lost his eyesight; he died in 1897.

Loman published a few Old Testament studies, but occupied himself chiefly with New Testament problems. Between the years 1865 and 1879 he wrote on the Fourth Gospel, denying its Johannine authorship, and on the Synoptic question, defending the priority of Matthew against those who advocated an earlier date for Mark. In the light of his own later theories it is interesting to read his description of an opponent's views as 'subjective and arbitrary' and, again, as 'a caricature, which *stans pede in uno* he must have put on paper.' In 1881 Loman delivered a lecture in Amsterdam, in the course of which he proclaimed his new hypothesis of the person of Christ and of the origin of Christianity. It will be instructive to present an outline of this attempt at reconstruction; readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES will not need to have their attention called to the arbitrary nature of the suppositions upon which it rests.

Christianity is boldly defined as being in its origin '*nothing but* a Messianic movement among the Jews.' Jesus of Nazareth is not a historical person, but the embodiment of a number of ideas, the symbolization and personification of thoughts and principles, which were not fully developed until the second century. He is the ideal son of the Jewish nation with its patient endurance, its inflexible faith, its prophetic enthusiasm,—the Jewish nation, which had borne its cross, and risen again crowned with glory after its holy city and temple had been desolated by the Romans. Israel κατὰ σάρκα perished, but rose again from the dead and was baptized with a new name—Christendom. In the course of the controversy provoked by the publication of these views, the expression 'nothing but,' printed in italics above, gave great offence. Loman said it was not to be taken literally; he was willing to grant that 'some attributes and special qualities which the evangelists had ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth were united in a person living at that time in Palestine,' but he maintained that our historical knowledge of this person is insufficient to warrant our describing him as the founder of a new religion. Herein is involved an important modification of the original hypothesis, for it is conceded that Jesus of Nazareth was a historic person, though he was not the founder of Christianity. Van Veen justly calls attention to this concession as being inconsistent with Loman's theory that the Gospels are symbolic narratives. The resurrection of Jesus is interpreted as a symbolization of the metamorphosis of the Jewish Messianic society into the cosmopolitan Christian Church, but some features of the evangelists' portrait of Jesus are arbitrarily selected as historical. Indeed, a further modification of Loman's original theory is implied, for to say that Jesus of Nazareth appeared during a religious awakening in Galilee and was distinguished by greater intensity and more geniality than John the Baptist, that he had a 'life-plan' which was inseparable from the ideals of the Jewish nation, is to admit that in some sense he was the founder of Christianity.

It should be borne in mind by readers of Van Manen's article on Paul, that Loman, having founded his theory on the symbolic interpretation of the Gospels, was compelled to explain away the testimony of Paul. Reasonable men will judge as to the scientific or unscientific nature of the criticism which treats the evangelic narratives in the way just described, and then in sheer desperation is driven to deny the genuineness of all the Pauline Epistles.

In his *Quæstiones Paulinæ*, published between 1882 and 1886, Loman distinguished between *Paulus historicus and Paulus canonicus*. The former is almost identical with Paul as we meet him in the 'we-narratives' of the Acts; outside Palestine he promulgated Jewish ideas of the Messiah, but this (*sic!*) is all that we know of his history. The latter (*Paulus canonicus*) is a legendary creation; anti-Jewish Gnosticism in the second century transformed Paul of Tarsus into a

preacher of universalistic Christianity, and to this tendency of thought we owe the Pauline Epistles.

Van Veen's article is written in a most kindly spirit, and does full justice to Loman's sincerity and piety, but the only possible judgment on his speculations is that although he was a seeker after truth, 'instead of truth he found only hypotheses in which many fail to find any of the distinguishing marks of truth.' In 1899 Dr. Van Manen and Dr. Meyboom edited and published Loman's *Epistle to the Galatians*, intending it to be the first volume of a series which should include all his works. The second volume was not issued; in England as in Holland, it is probable that the supply of ingenious but baseless hypotheses is far in excess of the demand. J. G. TASKER.

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Buddhism and the Gospels.

THE alleged dependence of early Christian literature on Buddhism is the theme of some interesting paragraphs in Otto Schmiedel's pamphlet on *Principal Problems in the Life of Jesus*, which is noticed elsewhere. Herr Schmiedel's remarks carry all the more weight on account of his association with Japan.

The assertion of Schopenhauer, which has been repeated by unscientific people, that Jesus Himself was dependent on Buddha, is dismissed as untenable. The oldest Gospels also, Mark and Matthew, exhibit hardly a trace of Buddhistic influence. On the other hand, it may have affected the Third and Fourth Gospels.

However that was, the Apocryphal Gospels, written perhaps between 150 and 700 A.D., unquestionably contain resemblances to the Buddhist gospels which cannot be accidental. Three illustrations are given in support of this position: (1) When the boy Buddha visited a temple, the brazen idols descended from their thrones and threw themselves at his feet. This is reproduced in the Gospel of the Infancy in the well-known legend of the Egyptian idol which collapsed in the presence of the infant Jesus. (2) The new-born Buddha is said to have looked all round him, and when he saw none like himself, to have taken seven steps to the north, saying: 'I am the highest in this world.' So the new-born Jesus is reported in the same apocryphal source to have said to His mother: 'I . . . am Jesus, the Son of God, the Logos, as the angel Gabriel announced me unto thee.' (3) When the Buddha first went to school, he put all his teachers in the shade. If the scholars said *a*, he uttered the philosophic dictum: *a*-nityah saravasamkarah—'Every impression is transient.' When they said *i*, he remarked: *i*ti bahulam jagat—'The world is full of torments.' The Apocryphal Gospels represent Jesus as saying to His teacher, Zacchæus: 'Explain to me what Aleph means and I will say Beth.' The correspondence in numbers 2 and 3 is hardly close enough to be conclusive, but it is undoubtedly noteworthy, and in the first parallel it almost amounts to identity.

It may be added that the three most important of the so-called Buddhist gospels date in Herr Schmiedel's opinion, in their present form, from the first century A.D., but rest on sources from and before the first century B.C.

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Sevenoaks.

'Christian Freedom.'[1]

PROFESSOR J. WEISS of Marburg has published a suggestive lecture on *Christian Freedom*, as taught by the Apostle Paul. The subject is one of which much has been made of late by Ritschl, but Ritschl drew his sense of its importance from Luther, and Luther from Paul. The Reformer showed the insight of religious genius in seizing upon freedom as the keynote of the Pauline Gospel, and every one knows with what resistless and leonine force he gave expression to the new idea—old, indeed, but lost for centuries—in his tract, *Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*. How now, asks Weiss, is Paul's conception, with all its essentially paradoxical features, to be interpreted historically? Where did he find it? Not in the O.T., says Weiss truly enough; and the longing for *political* freedom, so common in his day, is not one which interests Paul's mind. So far good, but we wish that Weiss had at this point discussed more adequately the possibility that the idea of spiritual liberty may have been one of the common possessions of Christian thought in the earliest

[1] *Die Christliche Freiheit nach der Verkündigung des Apostels Paulus.* Ein Vortrag von Johannes Weiss, Professor der Theologie zu Marburg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. 39. Price M.1.

Apostolic Age, simply because derived from the teaching of Jesus. Such a passage as Jn 8^{31-36}, whatever one's theories about the Fourth Gospel, seems to point in this direction; and there are other indications of the same kind in the Epistle of James.

Weiss prefers to find the origin of the Pauline conception of freedom in Greek philosophy, especially, of course, in Stoicism, to which the apostle owed other elements in his system. In Tarsus he must have attended a Greek school, and there, as his letters prove, the style he acquired was that of the Diatribe. He must have been familiar, consequently, with the Stoic maxim that only the wise man is free, and with similar ideas in a multitude of forms.

But what did Paul make of the idea thus supplied, when he came to place it in the new light of Christ and redemption? In his letters it appeared under three aspects: (1) freedom from the law, (2) freedom from sin, (3) freedom from the world, its joys, and its sorrows. In each of these relations the difference between Christianity and Stoicism is made most manifest. Thus both have in common the upward struggle, the aspiration to make man free from the fetters of bondage; but in Stoicism this ideal tendency finds its goal in the personality of the perfect sage; in Christianity it is met by the divine compassion, and thereby turned into a new direction. Again, Paul conceives freedom from sin as a wonderful work of God, as something altogether transcending the natural capacity of man: the Stoics explain it psychologically, through practice, habit, and moral direction. For the one it is a grace, for the others a product of education. Once more, give up the world, says the Stoic, and you will enjoy composure and peace of mind; give up the world, says Paul, and you will get fellowship with God. Stoicism can despise suffering, because at any moment the gate of suicide stands ajar: Christianity can accept suffering, because through the fact of Christ it has become assured that all things work together for good to them that love God. Thus an idea which came to him originally with all the traditions of ancient philosophy clinging about it, Paul utterly transformed by filling it completely with a *religious* meaning. For this reason it has lived in history, with a power which no merely philosophical doctrine ever could have had. It shares in the creative energy which has made Christianity what it is, a religion not merely of ideas, but of victorious life.

Whether we may think of the close affinity thus asserted between Stoicism and Paulinism, this is a lecture worth reading and pondering. It contains some fine analysis of Paul's religious experience, and the vital connexion between his life and doctrine as exhibited in his Epistles is illuminated now and then in a very fresh and convincing way. The tone of the little book is inspiringly strong and positive. In these days of scientific determinism and 'incurable' cases of hereditary moral weakness, we never can hear too much of 'the liberty with which Christ makes His people free.' Weiss knows how to turn the light of the New Testament full upon the freedom of the soul. There is an appendix, too, full of valuable notes, that the needs of the scholar be not forgotten.

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The Discourse of the Marcan Source in St. Luke ix. 51–xviii. 14.

By the Rev. Canon Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., M.A., Oxford.

IV.

3. Luke xiii. 18, 19.

There remains a passage which is much briefer in itself, and can be treated very much more briefly, than the 'defensive discourse,' but which supplies evidence pointing in the same direction. It is the Parable of the Mustard Seed, which Matthew ($13^{31f.}$) and Mark ($4^{30ff.}$) place in their collections of seven and three parables respectively, as spoken by the sea of Galilee somewhat early in the ministry, but which Luke places much later, subjoining it to, and seeming by ἔλεγεν οὖν to connect it with, the deep impression made in a synagogue by the healing of a woman 'which had a spirit of infirmity.' On the other hand, Luke agrees with Matthew in annexing to it the companion parable of the Leaven—the only parable recorded by those two evangelists but not by Mark, unless we take the Talents and the Pounds, and the Marriage Feast and the Great Supper, as versions of the same two parables respectively.

Here again, as in the last case, it will be observed—

i. That Matthew's language has much in common with Mark only, viz. μικρότερον πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων, ὅταν, μεῖζον τῶν λαχάνων, ὥστε with infinitives instead of finite verbs following καί, besides the unimportant because natural use of forms of the verb σπείρειν instead of Luke's verb βάλλειν, which is much less usual in this particular sense.

ii. That on the other hand Matthew has also not a little in common with Luke only, viz. λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος, αὐτοῦ or ἑαυτοῦ with the same meaning, forms of αὐξάνειν, δένδρον, ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ (cf., however, κλάδους in Mk 4^{32}), similarities which, though not being very distinctive in themselves severally, are too numerous to have occurred accidentally in this short passage.

iii. That there remains nothing peculiar to Matthew himself except some quite unimportant words of connexion and his usual substitution of τῶν οὐρανῶν for τοῦ Θεοῦ after βασιλεία.

These three observations show very distinctly that the various forms of the parable are best accounted for by assuming that Matthew combined the two sources which are substantially preserved for us in our Mark and Luke. But we cannot add so confidently as in the preceding case, that these two sources were quite independent of one another. For in the introduction to the parable there is a rather remarkable correspondence in which Mark and Luke stand alone. While Matthew has the simple statement, ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν (cf. Mark's θῶμεν) αὐτοῖς, λέγων ὁμοία κ.τ.λ., the others record a doubly interrogative sentence with which the parable was prefaced—

Mk 4^{30} καὶ ἔλεγεν, πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐν τίνι αὐτὴν παραβολῇ θῶμεν ;	Lk 13^{18} ἔλεγεν οὖν, τίνι ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τίνι ὁμοιώσω αὐτήν ;	Is 40^{18} τίνι ὡμοιώσατε Κύριον καὶ τι τίνι ὁμοιώματι ὡμοιώσατε αὐτόν ;

I have placed by the side of the Marcan and Lucan verses that verse of 2 Isaiah,—a part of the O.T. very familiar to the N.T. writers,—because of its remarkable similarity to them in structure and expression, and because there is therefore a possibility that its double interrogation may have become a kind of formula in the introduction of parabolic teaching, and thus may have affected the language of Mark and Luke independently. We find the single question τίνι ὁμοιώσω just below in Lk 13^{20} and again in Mt 11^{16} = Lk 7^{31}, and there is no doubt that the corresponding query למה הדבר דומה, as quoted by Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Mt 13^{3}, or sometimes למה הוא דומה, as found in *Pirqe Aboth* 3^{27} $4^{27.\,28}$, was both ancient and usual as a Jewish preface to parables. But there seems to be no evidence for such a use of the double interrogation, so it must be owned that some sort of derivation from one Gospel or another is a more natural explanation of the coincidence.

We ought, then, in fairness to reckon this introduction to the Parable of the Mustard Seed as forming, together with καλὸν τὸ ἅλας and the use of forms of ἀρτύω in Mk 9^{50}, Lk 14^{34}, περικεῖται in

Mk 9^{42}, Lk 17^{2}, and the addition of ἰσχύς in Mk 12^{30}, Lk 10^{27}, a group of five intimations that there had been some kind of bridge of communication between the Marcan and Lucan Gospels as we have them in those parts of the latter Gospel which have now been examined. I have noted in passing ten other similarities or identities between those two Gospels exclusively,[1] but it has seemed to me that all these are expressions which might have suggested themselves, and indeed are likely to have suggested themselves, to the two writers independently as obvious and suitable to the matters which they both had in hand. That however, as I have admitted, cannot be said of the five similarities which have just been recapitulated. But it does not therefore follow that those coincidences—even if reinforced by any significance that may be thought by any one to attach to the other ten or to some of them—are sufficient to prove any *direct use* of one of these Gospels by the other. Their evidence is much more in favour of there having been some more indirect and casual means by which the words or phrases came across from the one document or line of tradition to the other, for it is most unlikely that the venerated Marcan source, the vehicle of Peter's teaching, would have been put into requisition so seldom and so scantily, if it had been in use at all.

Now if we turn to the very large portions of the Synoptic Gospels in which the three stand side by side, and in which Mark is by general consent the chief source used by the other two, we find a constantly recurring phenomenon, well known to all students, which is so curiously parallel in its nature to that which has been before us here, that the one can hardly fail to throw some light upon the other. I refer to the rare and brief, yet occasionally most impressive, resemblances between Matthew and Luke against Mark which have given rise to so much discussion. Some of those correspondences, like the five in the great interpolation, must be admitted to be too distinct and specific to have occurred independently to those two writers. So there, too, it seems there must have been some bridge of communication between the two documents. But what kind of bridge? Did the one writer—and if so, Luke was doubtless the one, as has been urged by Simons and others—have access to the other's Gospel? Surely it is most improbable that, if he had thus been able to use it at all, he would have limited himself to such very rare and slight use of it, and would have left without either reconciliation or self-defensive explanation such glaring discrepancies as exist between it and his own work. It seems to me, as to many others, far more reasonable to suppose, as I have elsewhere said after an examination of these small verbal similarities between Matthew and Luke only, and a tabulation of the most striking of them, that 'these supplements and modifications, so far as they imply a common source, were made first in one of these two later Gospels, and then were carried across (whether intentionally or unconsciously) to the other, either by copyists to whom they were familiar, or . . . in the course of . . . oral transmission' (*Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 175). And if that is accepted as the most reasonable account of the comparatively few sporadic Matthæo-Lucan peculiarities in the sections of which Mark supplies the groundwork, there seems to be even better ground for accepting it as the account of the still fewer and more sporadic Marco-Lucan peculiarities which we have found here in Luke's great interpolation.

There seems then, on the whole, very good reason for assuming that Luke's disuse here of his customary Marcan authority was not only comparative but entire, and that even in the 35 verses, which are more or less parallel in substance with what we read in our Second Gospel, he was drawing upon a non-Marcan source or sources.

Less positive and more tentative words must be used in any attempt to answer the question which now naturally arises—Can we go any farther than that negative conclusion? Can we indicate with any tolerable amount of likelihood the sources which Luke did use here, as well as the one source which, whether through inability or unwillingness, he did not use? In particular, can we, if we dislike the multiplication of unknown entities, simply attribute a Logian origin to this whole division of his Gospel as it stands, or (if we except certain references to a journey which will be mentioned presently) nearly as it stands? Can Luke have

[1] These smaller similarities, as well as the five more important ones, have been marked throughout all three parts of this article with Greek letters (α, β, γ, etc.), which have been reserved for this purpose only. So there would be no difficulty in referring back to the places where they are entered.

here done nothing more, or very little more, than insert a large block of the Matthæan Logia, because he had been unable to find elsewhere appropriate places in which to insert its component parts, and yet he could not bring himself to omit such highly attested materials? Such a view cannot be dismissed as absolutely impossible. And it is a possible view, not only if with Bishop Lightfoot we take the name *Logia* as denoting sacred writings generally (*Ess. on Supern. Rel.* pp. 170–177; and cf. the *Reply* to him, pp. 124–127; also Sanday and Headlam on Romans 3^2), but also if, as seems to me more probable, we regard it as meant by Papias to express 'sayings of the Lord, together with notices of the occasions which led to their being delivered, when such notices were needed for the full understanding of them' (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, xiii. 22). For there is no part of the great interpolation which does not either consist of, or else lead up to, sayings of Jesus, with the single exception of the record of the inhospitable Samaritan village in 9^{51-56}, where the shorter and far better attested text ends by only stating that a rebuke was spoken, and without giving any of the words of it. I do not add $11^{53f.}$ as another exception, because that description of Pharisaic hostility evidently leads up to the warning against Pharisaic leaven in 12^1, as we may see by disregarding the modern division into chapters and by giving to ἐν οἷς the more simple and natural rendering of 'during which' instead of 'in the meantime.' It must be admitted, however, that the circumstances of the three miracles recorded in 13^{10-17} 14^{1-6} (cf. Mt 12^{9-14}) and 17^{12-19} (though in a less degree than the other two) are described more fully than was altogether necessary in order to bring out the force of the sayings for which those miracles respectively supply the occasions.

But there are more serious objections than that to the theory of the use of the *Logia* thus *en bloc* and exclusively of all other authorities. (1) We know that Luke was aware of the existence of 'many' attempts to write Gospels, and that these attempts, like his own, were grounded upon original traditions—whether written or oral—which came down from eye-witnesses. From this it seems almost certain that several good sources must have been available for his work; and, if so, it seems very unlikely that he would have confined himself to one of them through nearly one-third of his Gospel. (2) Again, the eight references ($9^{52.56}$ $10^{1.38}$ 13^{22} 14^{25} 17^{11}) to a journey or journeys, during which the recorded events are said to have occurred and the recorded discourses to have been spoken, imply more of a connected history that would come under that definition of 'logia' which was above accepted as the most probable, and to which modern opinion seems on the whole to incline (see, *e.g.*, Hastings' *D.B.* ii. 242b, iii. 296b; *Enc. Bibl.* ii. 1810–1811). Lk 9^{51} was not entered as a ninth such reference, because it should perhaps be regarded as parallel in substance, though so different in wording, to Mk 10^1 = Mt 19^1, and therefore as forming a means of introducing the interpolation into the general triple narrative rather than as being part of the interpolated matter.

It would seem, then, that Luke continued here to refer to one or more sources known to him, but completely unknown to us, as well as to the *Logia*, or great *Spruchsammlung*, upon which both he and Matthew so often drew, and that his only change of procedure at chap. 9^{51} lay in his ceasing to use the Marcan document as the framework into which his various extracts were inserted.

What caused that important change of procedure, it is of course impossible for us to say. Only conjectures can now be offered, and perhaps they are hardly worth offering. Yet two of them have some plausibility, and the second of them suggests some interesting thoughts.

1. Luke may have drawn up this 'travel-document' with some special purpose, before he knew of, or at least before he began to found a Gospel upon, the Marcan *Grundschrift*, and he may thus have had it ready to his hand for incorporation here. The intention so to incorporate it would probably have affected the arrangement of the previous part of his Gospel in no more than two points: (*a*) it would have caused him to refrain from inserting (or to strike out if he had already inserted) the defensive discourse in a position parallel to that in which Mark places it; and (*b*) he would have had to make a consequent change in the position of the incident of the coming of the mother and brethren, which Mark (3^{31}; and cf. Mt 12^{46}) attaches to that discourse, but for which Luke finds a place by subjoining it to the group of parables which forms the body of discourse that comes next in Mark's order (Lk $8^{19ff.}$; the matter, however, is complicated

by the occurrence of a very similar incident in Lk $11^{27f.}$, immediately after the 'defensive discourse'). In favour of this supposition that Luke may here have utilized a previously arranged document, it may be suggested that a writer whose *Sparsamkeit* often (though less consistently than some have thought, see Bebb in Hastings' *D.B.* iii. 172b) makes him careful to avoid repetitions of identical or similar matter, would hardly have given so fully the closely parallel charges to the Twelve and to the Seventy in chaps. 9 and 10, if he had drawn up the records of those two missions at or about the same time.

2 Or again, even if Luke was already in possession of the Marcan document upon which he elsewhere places his main reliance as to order, and as to events as distinguished from discourse, he may have deliberately decided to lay it aside here, because for this one portion of his work he may have had other guidance at first-hand towards writing in order (καθεξῆς) as he wished to do, whereas Peter's account only came to him at second-hand, and through a writer who is described to us by Papias (Eus. *H.E.* iii. 39) as not extending his carefulness and accuracy to the order in which the words and deeds of Christ had occurred. It may be that, at Cæsarea or Jerusalem (Ac 21 $^{8ff.\ 15ff.}$) or elsewhere, a more exact and chronological account of this final journey had been supplied to him by one who had at the time of the commencement of that journey become an 'eye-witness and minister of the Word.' And when that suggestion is made, the thought at once arises of that large body of seventy such 'eye-witnesses and ministers' (ὑπηρέται, a word not used of the ministry of the Twelve) who appear for the first time very soon after the beginning of this division of the Gospel (10^{1}, and it may be that the preceding verses, 9^{57-62}, refer to a sifting of disciples preparatory to this appointment of so many of them to 'preach the kingdom of God'). One would like to think, if one might, that according to the tradition which we first hear from Epiphanius, Luke himself was one of these Seventy, and that therefore he himself was the eye-witness through this journey which he describes so minutely, thus supplying to us what would be, in effect though not in form, the most precious of all 'we-sections.' But the distinction which he himself expressly draws between the narrators of whom he was one, and those who were their informants as having been 'from the beginning, eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word,' has made the acceptance of that tradition all but impossible for us. We need not, however, put out of court so decidedly the conjecture that some other disciple, who had been one of the Seventy, subsequently supplied Luke with many or most of the materials for his description of this journey, and especially with the order in which events occurred during it. That supposition is at least opposed by none, if it is directly supported by none, of our data. In particular it may be observed that there is no internal evidence of any weight against all the sayings and doings here recorded having belonged originally to this late period of the ministry, which according to Luke followed the mission of the Seventy. The only plausible objection is that drawn from one scene (13^{10-17}) being laid in a synagogue; for it would seem that the use of synagogues for teaching was not now open to Jesus as it had been at first (cf., however, Jn 18^{20}). But even if they were by this time closed to Him in Galilee or parts of it, this need not necessarily have been the case in every outlying place that was visited in the course of this circuitous journey to Jerusalem. So this conjecture as to Luke's informant may at least be borne in mind as giving some interest—though not the interest originally intended—to the appointment of passages referring to the Seventy as the Gospels for St. Luke's Day both in the Western (Lk 10^{1-7} or $^{1-9}$) and in the Eastern (Lk 10^{16-21}) Church.

But, indeed, all such conjectures and speculations as have been admitted into these last few paragraphs are easily made too much of, and when that is the case they bring discredit upon the serious study of the Synoptic Problem. They are only harmless if they are clearly and constantly and emphatically distinguished from such conclusions or working hypotheses as are supported by a preponderating, or at least a very substantial, amount of evidence. And that may be safely said of the view that Mark's Gospel was entirely disused as a direct authority by Luke in 9^{51}–18^{14}, whatever source or sources he may have rested upon in its absence.

Contributions and Comments.

The Name Moses.

Mr. B. T. A. Evetts, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1888, p. 328, says: 'Many Assyriologists often give us no account of the method by which they arrive at their results, and in consequence of this their work is useless to others.'

There was a very good reason for this. There was then no journal or magazine where one could set out the reasons for a conclusion, which might often be of a technical nature, not easily followed by a reader unacquainted with cuneiform, and not to be expressed without special type. There are always small points arising, in which the inscriptions enable us to reach conclusions more or less probable. It is of the highest value that these should be stated clearly, with the evidence as far as available, so that others might estimate their value and add additional reasons or produce counter arguments. Such a tentative suggestion is one which has no title to a separate article, still less to be padded out into a book. The Expository Times allows such suggestions to be made in its pages, in the hope that they may lead to further light.

In the fourth volume of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* (a review of the third volume appeared in the July number, p. 466), Father V. Scheil has published the Code Ḫammurabi, a code of laws, or legal decisions, promulgated in Babylonia by the great king in whom so many scholars see the prototype of the Amraphel of Gn 14. The Code is of supreme interest for its bearing on the laws in the O.T., and well deserves a full discussion. Some of its expressions, however, are still obscure, and to the elucidation of one of them this provisional suggestion may be of service.

The Code, in §§ 185–193, deals with cases of adoption. A man might wish to adopt a young child and bring him up as his own son, but of course could not do this in defiance of the wish of its real parents. But there were children on whom no parent had a legal claim; such as the offspring of a Šamaš votary, or a palace warder, or bodyguard. The first section reads thus: 'If a man adopt a child *ina mêšu* and bring him up, no one has any claim upon him (against his adopted father).' What can the phrase *ina mêšu* mean? At the first sight one would say that, as *mê* is the plural of *mû*, 'water,' it means 'from his waters.' But what could that signify?

Father Scheil, evidently thinking of the other *mû*, meaning a name, *šumu*, renders 'avec son propre nom.' But that would surely be the purpose of every adoption, while here must be the only phrase in the section which denotes the class of child who is adopted. Any rendering like that which Father Scheil suggests would give the whole section the meaning, 'If a man adopts a child (at all), no one can object.' But the very next section shows that people could object. It is obvious to suppose that the very first child a man would wish to adopt, would be a natural son born out of wedlock. The persons likely to object would be the heirs of the otherwise childless man, scarcely the child's mother. This section then would give a man full power to adopt his natural son.

Can the words *ina mêšu* mean that? I think they can. The sign, whose vocalic value is *A*, is the ideogram for both 'water' and 'son.' Hence, as the signs *A-MEŠ* can be read in one connexion *mê*, 'waters,' and in another *aplê*, or *mârê*, 'sons,' 'children,' it is clear that *ina mêšu* could well be a euphemism for 'natural sons.' Now the phrase is clearly one which would lead to fanciful interpretations. Even if illegitimate children were not actually drowned or exposed in arks upon the waters, the idea would soon arise that any child taken from these foundlings was 'drawn from the waters.' The children whom a man had begotten outside wedlock, were 'his waters,' by a desire to avoid calling them 'his sons,' which they were not in the eye of the law.

How this would be worked up into a story of an infant exposed to the waters we learn from the story of the infancy of Sargon I., king of Agade. The curious will find the story in Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i. p. 362, or in King's *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. 223 f. Sargon claims not to have known his father, his mother was a votary of Šamaš, or perhaps Iśtar. As the Code shows, one of the usual titles of the votary was *ênitu*, 'the lady,' or perhaps 'the poor one.'

Hence Sargon I. was 'drawn from the waters,' *i.e.* was an illegitimate child. The Code shows that a votary had no right to have a child. Romulus and Remus, it will be remembered, were the children also of a vestal, who had no right to have children. They also were drawn from the waters.

In Babylonia, then, natural sons were called *mêšu*. Whether a singular, formed from this, *mušu*, meant 'a natural son,' or whether *mû*, originally meaning the same as *šumu*, 'a name,' came to be used for 'son'; there can be little doubt that the word is singularly like Moses. The word *šumu*, especially in proper names, means 'a son' as well as 'a name.' If, then, the writer of Exodus adapted the story of Sargon I. of Akkad to the infancy of his hero, and had before him a version of that story in which Sargon was taken from the waters *ina mêšu*, what more likely than that he mistook *mêšu* for a proper name, especially as the sign for *ina* is often represented by the single vertical wedge, which is also the indication of a proper name. Even if he had *mûšu*, and not *mêšu*, in his text, which is less likely, the same mistake would easily arise; especially as this phrase seems to have gone out of use after a time. Whether scholars will regard this conjectural derivation of Moses, 'one drawn out of the water,' as more satisfactory than the other conjectural etymologies or not, this remains probable; unless we are to imagine a country like Babylonia, where, as the Code shows, children were so much in demand, as sanctioning infanticide, we may regard the use of *mêšu* to denote 'natural sons,' as distinguished from legal offspring, as giving rise to the legend that Sargon I. was actually saved from a watery grave by the peasant Akki, who, in words identical with those of the Code, 'adopted him and brought him up.'

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Psalm lxviii. 18 (19) in the Syriac Bible.

It has long been remarked that the quotation of St. Paul in Eph 4^8 agrees *with the Targum and the Syriac Version* and not with the Hebrew text or the Septuagint. Andrew Oliver in his *Translation of the Syriac Peshito Version of the Psalms of David* (Boston, 1861), remarked: 'The fact that St. Paul (Eph 4^8) quotes apparently from the Syriac, and not from the Hebrew or the Septuagint, has led to much curious conjecture.' J. Frederic Berg (*The Influence of the Septuagint upon the Pᵉšiṭta Psalter*, New York, 1895, p. 145) repeats this statement and adds: 'It has been suggested that the Hebrew לקחת is transposed from חלקת, which is ingenious but improbable (cf. Toy, *Quotations in the N.T.*, p. 198). Another suggestion is that both are following the Targum, which here agrees with S[yriac]. The only other possibility seems to be *that Paul is quoting the Pᵉšiṭtâ*.'

Verifying the passage of the Syriac Psalter in various editions, I came upon the astonishing fact that no less than four different editions give נסבת, *taken*, instead of יהבת, *given*, namely—

1. The famous edition of the Old Testament in old and modern Syriac, published by the American Missionaries at Urumia, 1852.

2. An edition of the N.T. from New York, with the Psalter at the end; perhaps taken from the Urumia edition.

3. Psalterium Syriacum ad fidem plurium optimorum codicum, habita ratione potissimum *hebraici* textus nunc accuratissime exactum a Josepho *David* Chorepiscopo Syro Mausiliensi. Cui accedunt X Cantica Sacra. Mausili, typis patrum Praedicatorum. 1877.

4. Liber Psalmorum, Horarum Diurnarum, Ordinis Officii Divini et Homiliarum Rogationum ad usum Scholarum. Parisiis, 1886 (edited by P. Bedjan).

How is it with the documentary attestation of this reading? Bar-Hebraeus does not mention it, as far as I am aware. The Arabic Preface of the Mosul edition states that 'given' is to-day read in *some* MSS of the *Jacobites*, and explains it as an intentional alteration from the N.T., while the old MSS and all copies of the Chaldæans (*i.e.* the Nestorians united with Rome) are said to have '*received*.' Is this statement to be trusted, or is the reading merely taken from the Hebrew (or Latin)? It would greatly diminish the critical value of the Urumia edition if its editors were to have introduced such a change with no sufficient authority. On the other hand, it would greatly enhance its value if it were to turn out that this is the original reading. In that case all statements that Paul was in agreement with the Syriac text must be corrected. In the 9th vol. of the

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, p. 561, W. E. Barnes declared: 'The best part of U[rumia] is no doubt the Psalter. The text is full of readings which are to be found in Nestorian and in early West-Syrian MSS but are absent from the late West-Syrian codices. Indeed, my own collation of MSS leads me to think that for the Psalter at least U[rumia] leaves little to be done except by conjectural emendation.'

He has since had the kindness to tell me that he collated for this passage 17 MSS, 11 Jacobite, 5 Nestorian, and 1 Melkite.

ויהבת, 'given' (Lee) = 10 Jacobite, 1 Nestorian (sup. ras.).

ונסבת, 'taken' (Urumia) = 4 Nestorian, 1 Jacobite (Laurent. Orient. 58) (*hiat* Melkite).

Laur. Or. 58, he says, agrees in some other interesting places with the Nestorian reading. The Eastern and Western Traditions of the Syriac Church are, therefore, in this passage as sharply divided as possible, and it is no longer allowed to say that the quotation of Paul agrees with *the* Syriac.

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Did Elijah cut himself for the Dead?

IN the curious and interesting story of the restoration of the widow's son by Elijah (1 K 17^{17-24}) the prophet is said, according to the usually accepted translation of וַיִּתְמֹדֵד (v.^{21}), to have '*stretched himself* upon the child three times.' Some difficulties beset this translation. There is no thoroughly satisfactory parallel to this assumed meaning of the Hithpo. of מדד, though the use of the Piel in Job 7^{4} (וּמִדַּד־עֶרֶב) of the evening stretching itself out, shows that such a meaning is by no means impossible. At any rate the literal rendering would be 'he measured himself' over the child, and the precise implications of the word are fully intelligible only in the light of the more elaborate description in the corresponding Elisha story (2 K 4^{34}). Further, the Hebrew is not supported by the Septuagint, which reads *καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν τῷ ταιδαρίῳ τρίς* (he breathed upon the child three times). So far as the sense goes, this may find some support in the parallel 2 K 4^{34}, where Elisha places his mouth on the child's mouth. But unless a corruption be assumed in the Greek text it does not translate the Hebrew original, nor even suggest a word at all like it. It is used to translate נפח (cf. Gn 2^{7}) and the Hiph. of פוח (cf. Ezek 21^{31} (36)), but both these words are too remote from the Hebrew text to be probable originals. Hatch and Redpath query the connexion of *ἐνεφύσησεν* with יתמדד.

Klostermann's conjecture, that an original וַיִּתְנַדֵּד has been intentionally altered to ויתמדד, is a highly probably one. In favour of it several considerations might be adduced. The scene would then be, as practically all the scenes in the Elijah group are, dramatic in the highest degree. Stung, as it would seem, by the woman's insinuation that the uncanny presence of the man of God has been disastrous to her house, and is in some sense responsible for the condition of her son (it is not *expressly* said that the child was dead), he carried the child to his own room in the upper storey, and pled with Jehovah in words of swift and passionate remonstrance: 'Oh Jahweh, my God! hast Thou brought evil upon the widow also (*i.e.* as well as upon the people who are distressed by the drought), the widow whose guest I am, to slay her son?' (There would be a still deeper passion in the remonstrance if we could translate with Klostermann, 'Thou hast done evil in that Thou didst slay her son.' But this is too impetuous even for Elijah. As Benzinger says, 'Not even in his most despondent mood (19^{4}) does the prophet allow himself to speak thus with his God.') Then, in his excitement and grief, he *cut himself* three times for the (dead?) child: after which he entreated (וַיִּקְרָא) his God to restore the soul of the child. 'Stretching himself' over the child, especially if performed with the deliberateness and elaboration described in 2 K 4^{34}, would not be nearly so natural or impressive after the passionate outburst, as 'cutting himself' would be. It is strange, though possibly no more than an accident, that a word so similar to the suggested emendation (מתבורר) should occur in the previous verse.

The whole scene, as thus interpreted, quivers with the most intense religious feeling—the remonstrance, the gashes, the prayer. Through it we see how tremendously real ancient religion could be, and how passionate a soul dwelt in the great prophet, whose deeds were swift and whose words were few.

Very different, however, is the corresponding scene (vv.$^{33-35}$) in the Elisha story (2 K 4^{18-37}).

The passion has gone. The tone is subdued. There is no remonstrance, nor anything that could be construed as such. No sooner is the door shut on prophet and child than the prophet prays. 'Then he lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands: and he bent over him; and the flesh of the child grew warm. Then he walked again in the house to and fro and went up and bent over him: and the child sneezed seven times, and the child opened his eyes.' This is somewhat mechanical, not to say superstitious, in comparison with the grand simplicity of the Elijah story. Notice that the child sneezes seven times, as Naaman is bidden to bathe seven times (5^{10}). And again we have to remember that this scene is preceded by one in which Elisha's staff is prominent, the natural implication of that story being that the staff was expected to work a miraculous cure by being laid upon the face of the child. As the staff had failed, Elisha, after prayer, stretched himself over the child, and gradually the desired result was secured—a result the more remarkable as this child, unlike the other (1 K 17^{17}), is distinctly said to have been dead (v.^{32}). The religious dignity of this story is not nearly so high as that of the other.

It is not necessary to assume that these verses (2 K $4^{34.35}$) are an expansion of the hint supposed to be contained in the dubious word of 1 K 17^{21}. The Elisha group, despite its obvious dependence, on the main, on the Elijah group, yet contains many independent and fantastic traits of its own. In this story the magic staff (cf. Moses' rod in the Elohistic document) is particularly noticeable.

One question remains: Is it probable that so decided a champion of Jahweh worship would have cut himself for the dead? We know that this custom was proscribed by Deuteronomy (14^{1}), and was probably therefore common in the 7th century B.C. Indeed there is evidence for the practice of making incisions on the body in time of grief more than a century before this, *i.e.* about midway between Elijah and Deuteronomy; cf. Hos 7^{14}, where יתגודדו is practically certain (LXX *κατετέμνοντο*), instead of the Received text יתגוררו. The custom must have been very tenacious, as it lasted down to the time of Jeremiah (cf. 16^{6} 41^{5}). A practice so deeply rooted, though proscribed by Deuteronomy as inconsistent with the Jehovah religion, need not have been so felt to be inconsistent by Elijah, any more than were the various altars throughout the land (1 K $19^{10.14}$) which, more than two centuries after, were the centre of the Deuteronomic attack. Opinion as to what the Jehovah religion demanded and proscribed had to grow. It is much to the point here to notice that the conduct of which Elisha was guilty, in recommending the destruction of the fruit trees (2 K 3^{19}), is also specially condemned by the legislation of Deuteronomy ($20^{19.20}$). Clearly the ideals of the time of Elijah and Elisha fell considerably behind those of Deuteronomy.

If we may assume ויתגדד as the original reading, the motive for altering it to the comparatively innocuous ויתמרד is obvious. Such a leader as Elijah must not be allowed to contravene the law. Precisely the same motive is at work in the curious interpolation of 1 K 18^{31-32a}, which owes its origin simply to the desire to bring the situation within the requirements of the law of the one exclusive sanctuary. There can be no doubt that these verses are a post-exilic interpolation. The LXX felt the impossibility of the verses in their present position, and tried to harmonize by transposition. They contain a quotation from the priestly codex (Gn 35^{10}), and are themselves not only superfluous but impossible. The offence raised by the old Carmel altar, illegitimate from P's point of view, is removed by transforming the reparation of that altar into the erection of a new and special one. Similarly, the alteration of יתגדד, assuming it to be original, is part of the familiar tendency of the later age to eliminate heathen and idolatrous elements, to tone down anthropomorphisms, etc. Our present Hebrew text removes the offence in one way: the Greek text removes it in another. It seems more probable to assume such a liberty on the part of the Greek translators than that they had another Hebrew text before them. Their choice of the word may have been more or less consciously influenced by the description of the creation of man in the Jahwistic document, *ἐνέφυσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν Ζωῆς* (Gn 2^{7}). Elijah is thus made to act like Jahweh, whose prophet he was, and whose name he bore. This idea seems to gain some confirmation from the more detailed account in the Elisha story.

Undoubtedly the cutting, apart from its being intrinsically probable, and a common practice of the time, is very much in keeping not only with the dramatic situation, but also with the stern and impetuous character of Elijah (cf. 1 K 18^{40} וישחטם). It would also offer an interesting point of contact between his religion and the Baal religion (1 K 18^{28}), against which his life was a struggle—a contact which only serves to heighten the essential contrast between them.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

FOURTEEN years ago Professor Sayce published his Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians. He has published much since then. But nothing has approached that book, either in matter or in style, until this month, when there has appeared his Gifford Lectures on *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.*

Fourteen years is a long time in the study of the Religions of the Ancient East. But Professor Sayce has been alive all the time. If progress has been made, he is aware of it. Nor has he ever been accused of the worship of his own past self. He can read his Hibbert Lectures over again and acknowledge the ignorance and immaturity that are in them. If progress has been made, he can describe the Religions of Egypt and Babylonia in the light of the knowledge we now possess.

In the study of the Religion of Babylonia Professor Sayce does not think that much progress has been made. With Egypt it may be otherwise. He thinks that with the Religion of Egypt it *is* otherwise. And he thinks the difference is chiefly due to the genius of one man, Professor Maspero. His words are: 'Thanks more especially to Professor Maspero's unrivalled combination of learning and genius, we are beginning to learn what the old Egyptian faith actually was.'

But of the Religion of Babylonia, he says, it is not yet possible to write a systematic description. The materials are too scanty. There are too many gaps in the inscriptions and in our knowledge of them. We must wait until the buried libraries of Chaldæa have been excavated, and all their contents studied. And we must wait for the man of genius. For Professor Sayce does not seem to see that his own unrivalled combination of learning and imagination is doing for Babylonia what Professor Maspero has done for Egypt.

Professor Sayce writes on the Religion of both Egypt and Babylonia. Nowhere at this moment can we find so compact and so clear a description of either. But there is a difference. Professor Sayce tells us that it is only of the Religion of Egypt that a satisfactory account can be given. Yet it is where the materials are most scanty and the conclusions drawn from them most precarious that Professor Sayce is most at home. It is to his brief but brilliant description of the Religion of Babylonia that we wish to turn for a moment.

When Professor Sayce wrote his Hibbert Lectures he had discovered the necessity of distinguishing between the Semitic and the non-Semitic elements in the Babylonian Religion. He insists on that necessity still. But now he has discovered another. Not only must we distinguish between

the earlier Sumerian and the later Semitic elements, which in their combination make up what we call the Babylonian Religion, but in the Babylonian Religion itself we must distinguish between what is ancient and what is comparatively modern. There are texts which show themselves to be a combination of Sumerian and Semitic ideas, but still belong to the old crude mythological stage of Babylonian Religion; and there are texts which are as manifestly the product of a late reflective and theological era.

The best example is the Babylonian account of the Creation. The narrative with which we are most familiar, since its discovery by Mr. George Smith in 1872, is a poem of late date. It has been called the 'Epic of Creation,' but the title is ill applied. For 'it belongs to an age of religious syncretism and materialistic philosophy; the mythological beings of popular belief are resolved into cosmological principles, and the mythological dress in which they appear has a theatrical effect. The whole poem,' continues Professor Sayce, 'reminds us of the stilted and soulless productions of the eighteenth century. It is only here and there, as in the description of the contest with Tiamât, or in the concluding lines (if, indeed, they belong to the poem at all), that it rises above the level of dull mediocrity.'

But there is another version of the story of the the Creation. It carries its antiquity on its face, for it is written in the ancient Sumerian language. Its author dwelt, not in inland Babylon, but in ancient Eridu, on the shores of the Persian Gulf. His land was marshy land, where reeds and rushes grew—

> All the earth was sea,
> While in the midst of the sea was a water-course.
> Moss and seed-plant of the marsh, reed and rush he created,—
> He created the green herb of the field.

And his conception of Creation was the formation of land out of the deep, just as he had often seen it formed at home. When the early inhabitant of Eridu sought a homestead on the shore, he gathered the reeds together, made them up in bundles, and built the bundles into a weir across the waters. The sea was restrained, the dry land appeared; by and by he could sow his seed and build his house. It was so in the beginning of the world. All was a chaos of waters. Ea tied his reeds together and formed the habitable earth—

> Merodach tied [reeds] together to form a weir in the water,
> He made dust and mixed it with the reeds of the weir,
> That the gods might dwell in the seat of their well-being.

But although this poem is written in the language of Sumer, it is not purely Sumerian theology. The priests of Babylon have had it through their hands. They have appropriated it for the honour of their own god Merodach. Everywhere they have removed the name of Ea, the old sea-god of Eridu on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and have inserted in its place the name of Bel-Merodach, the sun-god of the inland city of Babylon.

They have also made interpolations here and there—

> In those days was Eridu built and the temple of Ê-Saggil founded,
> Ê-Saggil wherein dwells the divine king of the holy mound in the midst of the deep.
> Babylon was built, Ê-Saggil completed;
> The spirits of the earth were created together,
> They called it by the mighty name of the holy city, the seat of their well-being.

Professor Sayce has no hesitation in saying that the last three lines have been interpolated. And with the interpolation the priests have introduced confusion. The Ê-Saggil of the first two lines is the temple of Ea in Eridu. The Ê-Saggil of the next three is the temple of Bel-Merodach in Babylon.

The revision of this early poem was plainly the work of the priests of the patron god of Babylon. Even before their deliberate revision, however,

the poem may have gathered together primitive Sumerian and Semitic ideas of the creation of the world, and formed them into one, to make the religion Babylonian. The doctrine of the Trinity is in it, and cannot be so easily separated from it. Yet the trinity is formed of gods and their sanctuaries that were partly Sumerian and partly Semitic. But this combination of primitive elements, and even the revision by the priests of Babylon, must be distinguished from the far later theological or philosophical writing to which the 'Epic of the Creation' belongs.

The difference between the earlier and the later stories of the Creation of the World is very great. But it is as nothing to the difference between both these stories and the narrative which we have in Genesis. And yet the narrative as we have it in Genesis is almost certainly derived from the Babylonian. Whence the difference then? Professor Sayce calls it 'an impassable gulf,' and he says: 'For the explanation of this gulf I can find only one explanation, unfashionable and antiquated though it be. In the language of a former generation, it marks the dividing-line between revelation and unrevealed religion. It is like that "something," hard to define, which separates man from the ape, even though on the physiological side the ape may be the ancestor of the man.'

If a man reaches communion with God, does it matter how he reaches it? It does not greatly matter. If he gains it apart from Christ, will Christ grudge him his glorious gain? Christ will not grudge it. The most resolute endeavour in modern times to show that a man may attain to communion with God apart from Christ was made by Dr. James Martineau, and may be read in his recently published *Life and Letters*.

Dr. Martineau believed that man is both natural and supernatural. He is natural in so far as he is within the range of the laws of nature. He is supernatural in so far as he is endowed with spiritual capacities, open to the appeal of the Spirit of God, and capable of responding to that appeal. For God is a Spirit, personal, moral; and man is a spirit, personal, moral. The Spirit of God is ever making advances to the spirit of man, and it is open to man at any time to receive those advances, to enter into communication with God, and then pass into the joy of communion.

It is open to every man. 'From this immediate communion of Spirit with spirit, in which the initiative is with Him and the answer with us, no soul is shut out.' For in his early years Dr. Martineau had a remarkable experience. Born a Determinist, born to inherit a philosophy which denied every vestige of human responsibility, which boldly said that as *nothing goes wrong* no man can ever accuse himself of having *done wrong*, Dr. Martineau accepted his paralysing inheritance, embodied it in his lectures, and for ten dreary years taught it to the students of Manchester New College. But then his conscience revolted. And in its revolt Dr. Martineau cast away more than the philosophical doctrine of Necessity. He cast away also the theological doctrine of the depravity of the human will. It was in 1839 that he preached the sermon on 'The Christian View of Moral Evil,' and insisted upon the 'personal origin and personal identity' of sin. In 1841 he wrote and published an essay on 'The Five Points of Christian Faith,' and the first of the five was 'The truth of the moral perceptions in man,—not as the degenerate Churches of our day teach, their pravity and blindness.' Then in 1852, in 'The Ethics of Christendom,' one of the best known of his magazine articles, he laid it down that the fundamental idea of Christendom is 'the ascent through Conscience into communion with God,' and declared, 'Neither do we believe with Luther, that human nature is a mere devilish anarchy, reducible only by supernatural irruption.'

It is open to every man to hear the voice of God within and to obey it. In 1885, it is true, in a letter to Mr. R. H. Hutton, Dr. Martineau says:

'There is a Revealing Presence of God in every soul *that is not sunk in slavery to the mere natural man.*' But that sentence seems a momentary aberration. Elsewhere, so far as we have seen, Dr. Martineau consistently maintains that there is no soul of man but may, and there is no soul of man but sooner or later does, listen to the voice of God and live. The last of the 'Five Points of Christianity' is this: 'A universal Immortality, after the model of Christ's heavenly life; an immortality not of capricious and select salvation, with unimaginable torment as the general lot, but, *for all*, a life of spiritual development, of retribution, of restoration.'

Now, it is in the Conscience that the Spirit of God and the spirit of man come together. This simple statement is the key to all Dr. Martineau's philosophy, all his ethics, and all his theology. We need not wonder at it. The great discovery of his life was the discovery of his Conscience. There had been reserves and misgivings for a time. He went to his sister Harriet with them. She felt them not; and her stronger faith that whatever is is right gave him assurance for a time. But Conscience would not go to sleep again. And the moment that it asserted itself, saying, 'Thou shalt not,' he believed that he came into direct contact as a moral responsible person with the moral personality of God. Spirit had answered Spirit. And he never wavered from that belief.

It is in the Conscience that the spirit of man answers to the Spirit of God. 'In the struggles of Conscience . . . as well as in the awful warnings of shame and remorse'—these are his words. And so Dr. Martineau never had any hesitation in saying that Ethics precedes Religion. It was no accident that produced and published *Types of Ethical Theory* before *A Study of Religion*. He held by the priority of Ethics with all its consequences. When pressed to say *why* Ethics must come first, he answered, because the ethical consciousness reveals the presence of an authority that is in us but not of us, and which we spontaneously feel has a right to govern us. And then he added that a man may rise from that spontaneous feeling into recognition of its divine source and pass on to the worship of God, when his Ethics becomes his Religion; or he may explain it all away, call the sense of obligation an illusion, a disguised form of self-interest, or the reflection upon him of the sentiments of society around him, and never know God or Religion.

It seems then that when the Spirit of God touches the spirit of a man in Conscience, the man may deny that it is the Spirit of God. This compels the question, How does a man know that the sting of Conscience or the stab of Remorse is the voice of the Spirit of God?

To that question Dr. Martineau gives two contradictory answers. His biographer admits that they are contradictory. For the most part he answers that a man simply feels it. He even says that, 'finding a Holy of Holies within us, we need not curiously ask whether its secret voices are of ourselves or of the Father.' But on the other hand, throughout his two great philosophical works, *Types of Ethical Theory* and *A Study of Religion*, as Professor Upton confesses, he 'does not recognize in our moral consciousness a direct apprehension of God's presence and character, but, on the contrary, by a *process of inference* reaches the idea of God.' And we have already seen that he allows this process of inference or reasoning to go so far with some men *in the wrong direction* that the Spirit of God is reasoned away altogether.

This is more than inconsistency. It is weakness. It is the first time that we have found Dr. Martineau's theology open to serious objection. If a man rises from Morality to Religion directly, what assurance has he, or what guarantee have we, that his intuition is the actual voice of God? Dr. Martineau answers that 'anyone who feels himself possessed spontaneously of ideas of whose truth he is unable to doubt, which he is

unable to do otherwise than obey, is entitled to feel himself under the influence of a divine mission.' It is an extraordinary answer. How many cranks and blasphemers have believed themselves possessed spontaneously of ideas which they thought they could not do otherwise than obey!

Nor is Dr. Martineau free from misfortune when he says that the knowledge of God is a reflection, a process of inference from the pangs of Conscience. The actual recognition of God steals slowly into the soul, he says, as the ideas of the beautiful in poetry and art steal gradually into the mind. But how many ever attain to the ideas of the beautiful in poetry and in art? 'Lord, are there few that be saved?' His answer was, 'Strive ye to enter in.' Dr. Martineau seems compelled, against all his instincts and all his beliefs, to answer very plainly, that they are few indeed.

This inconsistency is not an accident. It is of the essence of the belief that Conscience leads to God. And there are other contradictions and consequences.

Since morality comes first, it is not surprising to find Dr. Martineau suspicious of the ancient and modern method in missions. 'I will not say that undeveloped races, if evangelized, are no better for their baptism. But I do say that Christendom—nay, Christianity—is the worse for it; even if the recipient and the gift meet halfway, the religion of Christ becomes a shrivelled caricature, and loses its true grandeur and tender power.' So he would no longer have 'religious conversion' kept to the front as the *first* aggression to be made upon barbarism, but he would have 'a certain preparation of intelligence and conscience *before* the "heavens are opened" and the "Dove descends."' This in a letter to Mr. Bosworth Smith in 1887.

But if the end of Ethics is Religion, if the use of Conscience is to lead to God, and as speedily as possible, what is there in 'barbarism' to make this delay and preparation necessary? Dr. Martineau is anxious about the grandeur of Christianity. He would keep back the conversion of the heathen lest its 'tender power' be diminished. Paul was willing that he himself should be a castaway that others might be saved. And there is no evidence that he compelled the Corinthians (who had very little concern for the grandeur and tender power of Christianity) to wait until intelligence and conscience had made them a little more fit for the company of himself and the other apostles.

A deeper defect in Dr. Martineau's system is its helplessness in the presence of sin. It is a double helplessness. It neither rouses the Conscience nor knows what to do with it when it is roused. 'The Sense of Sin,' says Dr. Martineau, 'is the inevitable sorrow of an *imperfect* nature feeling the authority of a Perfect law planted in the Conscience.' And the italics are his own. Yet Dr. Martineau knows that there is such a thing as a 'Sense of Sin.' He calls it 'the sad weight whose burden oppresses every serious soul.' And he knows that he has no relief for it. 'The great strength,' he says, 'of the orthodox doctrine lies, no doubt, in the appeal it makes to the inward Sense of Sin; and the great weakness of Unitarianism has been its insensibility to this abiding sorrow of the human consciousness.' He cannot receive the 'orthodox' remedy. 'Better,' as he mildly puts it, 'to go to any Hell than to enter Heaven on its terms.' But for himself he can only offer 'penitence for the past purifying and improving the future.'

But the most singular result of Dr. Martineau's theology is that it shuts out Christ.

Dr. Martineau has the profoundest veneration for Jesus Christ. He never wavers, certainly, in reckoning Him 'a mere man.' He does not deny that in all intellectual matters He shared the defective knowledge of His day. He even admits that some day a 'higher human being' may appear on earth; for when Jesus said, 'Why callest

thou Me good? none is good save One, that is God,' did He not point to moral possibilities which He Himself did not exhaust? Nevertheless throughout the whole of his life Dr. Martineau held tenaciously to Christ's moral perfection. 'I receive Him and reverence Him,' he said when he was ordained, 'not merely for that sinless excellence which renders Him a perfect pattern to our race, but as the commissioned delegate of heaven, on whom the Spirit was poured without measure.' When he preached his farewell sermon to the Liverpool congregation, he said, 'In Christ alone is the reconciliation perfect between the human and the divine.' And as late as 1885 he wrote to Mr. R. H. Hutton, 'Identical in filial will with the Infinite Father's Perfection, is Jesus Christ, the moral incarnation of the Love of God.'

But if Jesus Christ was thus morally perfect, and if the ascent into communion with God is only through the conscience, surely Jesus Christ was shut out from that communion.

It might be supposed that Dr. Martineau's answer would be that it is in the temptation to sin, not in the sting of Conscience after sin has been committed, that God reveals Himself. And there are sentences in his letters which seem to point that way. But Dr. Martineau's biographer is perfectly clear, that that is not the answer which Dr. Martineau's theology affords us. Says Professor Upton, 'Though the Divine Ideal is ever more or less vividly present in our consciousness, and is that which gives to our life all its highest features, and all its truest charms and blessedness, yet it first distinctly reveals itself and its authority when it *resists* and *condemns* our personal desires and aims.' The italics are Professor Upton's. Jesus Christ could not have attained to communion with God through condemnation.

'Who then is this?' Two answers to the question have been considered. The first was the answer of the people among whom Jesus had been brought up, and who surely ought to have known Him. 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' they said. They claimed Him as theirs. They could count Him as one of themselves, as they could count His brothers and His sisters.

The second was the answer of the Father. 'This is My beloved Son.' It contradicted the householders of Nazareth. He is mine, it said; He is not yours. Do not count Him among your sons, He is Mine, My only-begotten and well-beloved.

But we remember that He gave Him up. He gave Him up, we say, to the people of Nazareth, to do whatever they pleased with Him. Let us not be premature. He did not give Him up to be the carpenter's son. He did not give Him up to be counted one of a family, to add to the population of a village. If they have no higher use for Him than that He is not theirs at all. 'This is *My* beloved Son.' He gave Him up, not to keep His life in Nazareth, but to give it up on Calvary. He gave Him up to die and only to die, because it is only if a corn of wheat fall into the earth and die that it brings forth fruit. He gave Him up to die, that He might receive Him back again, together with those whom He had given Him.

The third answer is, 'This is the Saviour of the World.' The first answer was the answer of the Jews, the third is the answer of the Samaritans. The Jews had Him. Jealous of their privilege, though not appreciating it, they would keep Him to themselves. The Samaritans had no privilege. They had no right in Him. They had only the sense of need, the sense of sin. But because He forgave their sin and satisfied their need, they called Him Saviour, and claimed Him at last as their own.

It may be that He stirred the sense of sin. 'Thou hast well said that thou hast no husband.'

And the woman went into the city: 'Come, see a man who stirred the sense of sin in me, who told me all that ever I did.' They thanked Him for calling them sinners and making them feel it. But most of all they thanked Him that when the sense of sin was roused He said, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee; go in peace.'

And then came their great leap of logic. 'If He is our Saviour He is the Saviour of the World.' The Jews could not have said that. 'If He is a Saviour He is our Saviour, and ours only,' the Jews would have said. But the Samaritans could say, 'If He saves the outcast Samaritans, there is no one in the wide world whom He cannot save.' 'This is the Saviour of the World.'

'This is the Saviour of the World.' Perhaps, we say; but a good half of the world is not worth saving. 'No dogs or Hottentots!' And it is strange to think that the portion of the world that is counted least worth saving now is the very portion that thought it needed no salvation then. When Dreyfus was standing his trial, the Pope said, 'Only a Jew charged with treason.' And we? We say the conversion of a Jew costs money; we count it up in pounds, shillings, and pence, and say, 'Not worth it.'

But 'This is the Saviour of the World.' It is the answer to every enumeration and every argument. Now, 'the carpenter's son' could not do it. And 'My beloved Son' could not do it. But when 'My beloved Son' has become the carpenter's son, and, looking forward to the decease that He is to accomplish at Jerusalem, is 'My beloved Son' still, then it can be done. Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift.

The Best Bible Commentaries.

By Henry Bond, Borough Librarian, Woolwich.

In pursuing the vocation of a librarian it has been my lot and privilege to organize three public libraries during the last decade, and in attempting to stock them with the 'best books,' in no particular branch of literature have I found the problem a more difficult one than in the matter of commentaries on the books of the Bible. Difficult because we are in some respects overburdened with an *embarras de richesse* in our exegetical literature, and the difficulty of selection is aggravated rather than otherwise by the fact that many of the said 'riches' happen to be very 'poor.' In particular, one has long since been led to the conclusion, through hearing it much stated and by the voice of authority, that our well-known collected or general commentaries, dealing with the whole of the Bible, and each book by a different author, fail, without exception, to keep a high standard of excellence throughout. As well as the collected commentaries themselves being of vastly unequal merit, the quality of each volume in its own series differs greatly, in some cases being lamentably weak, if not even disgracefully done. Still, each of the great general commentaries contains, we are told, at least one or two volumes of conspicuous merit, and even, as a whole, have their own saving qualities. For example, the 'Speaker's Commentary' served, to not a small extent, the primary purpose for which it was intended; but, largely because it had a definite object, it is, on the whole, a failure, and especially on some of the books of the Old Testament. It contains little homiletic matter, is not very highly esteemed, and only a very few of the books are done well enough to be of especial value to the Bible student. The 'Pulpit Commentary,' on the other hand, is so overweighted with homiletics that it is only rarely worth while to purchase even individual volumes. On the contrary, most of the volumes of the new little 'Century Bible' are worth having, because, if for no other reason, they give very recent results in popular form.

Such criticisms as these, advanced in regard to

all our general commentaries, led me to seek the help of the leading theologians of all Churches in arriving at an opinion as to which are the best commentaries on each book of the Bible. This I did, not only because I have other libraries to form, but because I felt that the result of my inquiries would be of value to other librarians and book-buyers, and also to the ever-increasing number of Bible students, especially if the answers I received were adequate and sufficiently unanimous to form a satisfactory list. The tabulated list appended hereto proves, I think, emphatically enough that my labour has not been in vain. I sent out forms asking for them to be filled in with the best commentaries on each book, pointing out, as I have often been told in return, that in the well-known commentaries the various books are of unequal value, and that in not a few cases the best exposition of an individual book is issued separately as a monograph. I asked for both a 'students'' and a 'popular' commentary, the two columns also affording an opportunity for placing two commentaries on the same book when they were considered equally good. This opportunity was taken advantage of, and indeed on some few of the forms, owing to the difficulty felt in naming one commentary as 'best,' three or four expositions of the same book were set down. Very frequently, however, only one was given in each column, and this fact enhances the value of the 'votes' in the table. As I had in view the needs more especially of public library readers, and also to reduce the possible scope of the answers to my inquiry, I asked for commentaries in English only, though they could be translations from the German, etc., or based on the Greek or Hebrew text. About sixty of the forms were returned, generally fully filled up, and from, *inter alia*, such recognized theologians as the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Durham and Worcester, Drs. T. K. Cheyne, H. B. Swete, S. R. Driver, G. Salmon, A. F. Kirkpatrick, A. Plummer, and A. Robertson, of the Church of England; Drs. G. G. Findlay, Marshall Randles, J. A. Beet, R. Waddy Moss, and J. H. Moulton, and the Revs. T. F. Lockyer and J. Shaw Banks, of the Wesleyan Church; Drs. P. T. Forsyth and A. M. Fairbairn, of the Congregational Church; Drs. Salmond and Marcus Dods, of the Presbyterian Church; as well as from recognized representatives of the smaller Churches. Not only have the forms been adequately filled up, but in many cases personal interest in my inquiry has been expressed, and quite a number have asked to be supplied with the tabulated result. They write thus: 'I congratulate you on your willingness to undertake so much trouble to procure a reliable list;' 'You may render very great service to the public in this way;' 'I have had great pleasure in being thus allowed to contribute towards an undertaking which has in it so much promise of good,' etc. As I anticipated, it was pointed out that my limitation to books in English sometimes increased the difficulty of selecting the one commentary of first importance, as in many cases the best work is in German, especially on the books of the Old Testament. Thanks, however, to recent publications by Messrs. T. & T. Clark and others, this fact is constantly growing less evident. I was also told, of course, as it is not always easy to name one commentary to the exclusion of others, that the question did not really admit of a categorical answer in each case, and that as one commentary was best for one reader's purpose and another for that of another, it was quite impossible to say dogmatically which is best. Others of the theologians asked me to understand gaps opposite certain books of the Bible as expressing the belief that there are no trustworthy commentaries on the books concerned. These are shown up in the table by the relatively small number of votes given to some books. One authority writes: 'Your request has demonstrated afresh how unsatisfactory is the provision for students of the Bible who are limited to exegetical works in English.' Though in this connexion, those who say that, in the case of some books, no really good and up-to-date commentary is yet published in English, also express the confident hope, which is indeed pretty general, that the 'International Critical Commentary,' designed to supply this desideratum, will supersede nearly all earlier works, especially on the Old Testament, which, as far as already issued, are, speaking generally, better than those of the New Testament and much more needed. That this commentary is already considered, on the whole, the standard one for students is evident from the votes given below to the volumes so far published. Not a few have even stated that the best commentary on certain books will probably be the forthcoming one in the

'I.C.C.' The table is also very eloquent on the 'popular' side concerning the great value of the 'Expositor's Bible' and the 'Cambridge Bible.' Then, again, others say that their recommendation of older writers, such as Meyer and Lightfoot, is only given for the moment, pending the issue of later works, and under the reserve that their date of publication necessarily renders them deficient in regard to newer results of biblical criticism.

Only one correspondent called attention to the line of demarcation between 'students'' and 'popular' commentaries being not always easy to draw exactly. But in not a few cases the same commentary on a particular book was entered as the best in both these columns by different authorities; especially was this the case with the 'Cambridge Bible.' In the table, however, to avoid confusion the same work does not appear in both columns, and so the total votes received for one work are put together, but always on the side which received the majority of votes. It ought also to be pointed out that occasionally the 'Cambridge Greek Testament' was preferred to the 'Cambridge Bible,' especially the later volumes on some of the Epistles; but in all these cases the 'Greek' got, by many, the minority of votes, and so they are included in the general vote for the 'Cambridge Bible.' Despite, however, the aforesaid disabilities, which for the most part are unavoidable, it is expected that the consensus of opinion set forth in the following table, based on a plebiscite of leading theologians, will be found sufficiently emphatic to be considered valuable by many.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Commentaries for Students.

Votes.	Authors.	Names of Comms.	Publishers and Prices.
	GENESIS—		
24	Dillmann	—	T. & T. Clark, 2 vols. 21s.
20	Delitzsch	—	T. & T. Clark, 2 vols. 12s. net.
7	Browne	S.C.	Murray, 30s.
	EXODUS—		
9	Kalisch	—	Longmans, 15s.
8	Keil	—	T. & T. Clark, 3 vols. 18s. net.
7	Cook	S.C.	Murray.
	LEVITICUS—		
12	Kalisch	—	Longmans, 2 vols. 30s.
7	Driver and White	P.B.	J. Clarke, 6s. net.
6	Clark	S.C.	Murray.
	NUMBERS—		
9	Espin and Thrupp	S.C.	Murray.
8	Keil	—	T. & T. Clark.
	DEUTERONOMY—		
40	Driver	I.C.C.	T. & T. Clark, 12s.
8	Espin	S.C.	Murray.
	JOSHUA—		
6	Keil	—	T. & T. Clark, 6s. net.
6	Bennett	P.B.	J. Clarke, 6s. net.
	JUDGES—		
37	Moore	I.C.C.	T. & T. Clark, 12s.
	RUTH—		
8	Keil	—	T. & T. Clark.
8	Hervey	S.C.	Murray, 20s.

Popular Commentaries.

Votes.	Authors.	Names of Comms.	Publishers and Prices.
	GENESIS—		
27	Dods	E.B.	Hodder, 7s 6d.
8	Payne Smith	E.C.	Cassell, 6s.
	EXODUS—		
19	Chadwick	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
9	Rawlinson	E.C.	Cassell.
	LEVITICUS—		
11	Ginsburg	E.C.	Cassell.
10	Kellogg	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
	NUMBERS—		
11	Watson	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d
8	Elliott	E.C.	Cassell.
	DEUTERONOMY—		
17	Harper	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
7	Waller	E.C.	Cassell, 6s.
	JOSHUA—		
15	Maclear	C.B.	Cambridge Press, 2s. net.
8	Black	S.C.B.	Cambridge Press, 1s.
7	Blaikie	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
	JUDGES—		
12	Lias	C.B.	Cambridge Press, 2s. net.
10	Watson	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
8	Black	S.C.B.	Cambridge Press, 1s.
	RUTH—		
10	Watson	E.B.	Hodder.
7	Sinker	E.C.	Cassell.
7	Cox	—	R.T.S., 2s.

Commentaries for Students.

Votes.	Authors.	Names of Comms.	Publishers and Prices.
	SAMUEL—		
28	Smith	I.C.C.	T. & T. Clark, 12s.
9	Driver	—	Clarendon Press, 14s.
	KINGS—		
10	Keil	—	T. & T. Clark, 6s. net.
	CHRONICLES—		
7	Keil	—	T. & T. Clark, 6s. net.
	EZRA AND NEHEMIAH—		
6	Lange	—	T. & T. Clark, 15s. net.
	ESTHER—		
7	Lange	—	T. & T. Clark.
6	Rawlinson . .	S.C.	Murray, 16s.
	JOB—		
11	Gibson . . .	O.C.	Methuen, 6s.
	PSALMS—		
30	Delitzsch . . .	—	T. & T. Clark, 3 vols. 18s. net.
27	Perowne . . .	—	G. Bell, 2 vols, 34s.
12	Cheyne . . .	—	Paul, 16s.
	PROVERBS—		
33	Toy	I.C.C.	T. & T. Clark, 12s.
	ECCLESIASTES—		
11	Wright . . .	—	Hodder, 12s.
8	Delitzsch . . .	—	T. & T. Clark, 6s. net.
	SONG OF SOLOMON—		
10	Ginsburg . . .	—	Longmans, 10s.
8	Delitzsch . . .	—	T. & T. Clark, 6s. net.
	ISAIAH—		
27	Delitzsch . . .	—	T. & T. Clark, 2 vols. 18s.
18	Cheyne . . .	—	Paul, 2 vols. 25s.
	JEREMIAH—		
9	Orelli	—	T. & T. Clark, 6s.
8	Cheyne . . .	P.C.	Paul, 2 vols. 12s.
7	Payne Smith . .	S.C.	Murray, 20s.
	LAMENTATIONS—		
8	Cheyne . . .	P.C.	Paul.
7	Payne Smith . .	S.C.	Murray.
	EZEKIEL—		

Popular Commentaries.

Votes.	Authors.	Names of Comms.	Publishers and Prices.
	SAMUEL—		
37	Kirkpatrick . .	C.B.	Cambridge Press, 2s. net.
8	Blaikie . . .	E.B.	Hodder, 2 vols. 15s.
	KINGS—		
28	Lumby . . .	C.B.	Camb. Press, 3s. 6d. net.
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(*To be concluded.*)

James Martineau.

MESSRS. NISBET have published the *Life and Letters of James Martineau* in two Books and in two volumes. The first Book, which occupies the whole of the first volume and half of the second, contains the 'Life and Letters' properly speaking. It is written by James Drummond, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. The second Book is confined to the second half of the second volume. It contains an exposition of Dr. Martineau's philosophy, and is written by C. B. Upton, B.A., B.Sc., Professor of Philosophy in the same college.

The division of labour is commendable, and the result satisfactory. But Professor Upton's work is not promised on the title-page, and although no one will regret to find that the volumes contain this their most valuable part, it is earnestly to be hoped that the publishers will issue the 'Philosophy' alone. Meantime let those who have not yet read the *Life and Letters*, especially if they are not well acquainted with Dr. Martineau's works, begin with Professor Upton. His exposition is a surprise of lucid philosophical writing. Nowhere else can Dr. Martineau's philosophy in particular,

or the tendency of present philosophical thought in general, be more easily read and mastered.

Why are biographies written? They are written in order that the present and future generations may know something of the men and women whose work is not 'interred with their bones.' Will James Martineau's work survive? Professor Upton has no doubt of it. 'The three philosophical systems,' he says, 'which appear most likely to contribute important factors to that philosophy of religion which is now taking shape, and which will dominate the theological thought of the next hundred years, are the systems of Hegel, of Lotze, and of James Martineau.' More than that, Professor Upton believes that Hegelianism will be the first of the three to go. Its influence is past in Germany; it is well shaken in England; it will not long rule America. For the Determinism which belongs to its very essence is incompatible with the ideas of sin, repentance, and true moral responsibility. 'If I mistake not, the philosophy of religion of the twentieth century will combine and harmonize eternal truths which are enshrined in Martineau's *Study of Religion* and Lotze's *Microcosmus*.'

It is as a philosopher, thinks Professor Upton, that Martineau's name will go down to posterity. It will rest upon two great works which he published after he had passed his eightieth year—*Types of Ethical Theory* and *A Study of Religion*. The late editor of the *Spectator*, Mr. R. H. Hutton, who was Dr. Martineau's pupil and life-long friend, does not agree with Professor Upton in this. He says: 'Important as are such of his later works as the *Types of Ethical Theory*, or the *Seat of Authority in Religion*, we have no hesitation in saying that in his wonderful sermons, known collectively as *Hours of Thought on Sacred Things*, and in his *Endeavours after the Christian Life*, the real Martineau, the spiritual teacher who will endure, has accomplished his greatest and finest work.' The reader will agree with Professor Upton. The sermons are great. They have touched with emotion and aspiration many a candid inquiring spirit. We can understand how special circumstances made them specially dear to Mr. Hutton. But unless this biography has been written in vain, it is certain that Dr. Martineau's fame will rest upon the work he accomplished in philosophy. It is even possible that he will be recognized by the generations that are to come as the greatest moral philosopher of the nineteenth century.

Moral philosopher, we say. Professor Upton tells us that Dr. Martineau had three great courses of lectures. Two of these courses were published, as has already been stated, after Dr. Martineau had passed his eightieth year. They were, however, written much earlier than that. It is quite a mistake to speak of them as the work of an octogenarian. Even the *Seat of Authority*, which was published still later, incorporates much earlier material, and 'presents ideas which had been gradually accumulating for many years.' The first of the three courses has not been published.

Now it is the second of these courses, the Ethical, published as *Types of Ethical Theory*, that is most characteristic of Dr. Martineau, and contains his most original thinking. 'The ethical,' says Professor Upton, 'was certainly the predominant interest with him, and sometimes, I think, his writings betray the defects of excessive Ethicalism.' It was in Ethics, that is to say, in the conscience, that Dr. Martineau's religion, and even, it might be said, his philosophy, began. His first thought of God was of one who made Himself known in 'Thou shalt not.' 'I believe,' says Mr. Stopford Brooke, 'that Dr. Martineau arrived at the close-fibred convictions he had concerning the predominance of the things of the spirit by passing first through the things of the intellect and the conscience in their relation to God; but that is not the path the man takes to whom the things of the spirit are natural, and therefore expressed with ease and passion. Such a man, like the writer of the Gospel of St. John, first lives in the spirit, and then, from the spirit, realizes God in the conscience and the intellect. Martineau, on the other hand, was led to the spiritual life by discovering where the conscience and the intellect failed in finding the last and highest truths of God and man. It is for that reason, I think, that he had not, in his work, the spiritual world under his command as fully as he had the intellectual and moral worlds. In fact, he was not born with a large and piercing imagination, nor with the deep emotions of a mystic.'

The outward incidents of Dr. Martineau's life are found in the biographical part of this work, written by Principal Drummond. They are not

of great value to the student of his writings. With two exceptions, they seem to have had little influence on the development of his thought. Dr. Martineau was a reader of books. He had many friends and they were very faithful, yet even his friends touched him but superficially. He read his books and thought his thoughts. His life was full of change and activity. He engaged in many controversies, wrote to many periodicals, attended many club meetings. 'Our life,' writes his wife in 1869, 'becomes more and more complicated and intense, till I feel the thread *must* snap or tangle soon. My husband's wonderful calm and arrangement and grasp and power of work carry him through all, while *I* quiver and gasp and suffer the more the less I really do.' Yet, in spite of it all, his religion, as Mr. Armstrong asserts, was essentially a lonely and not a social religion, and so was his own intellectual life. With two exceptions, as we have said, the outward events of his life had no effect upon his philosophy.

One of the two events was his birth, in 1805, into a Unitarian family; the other was a year spent in Berlin, between 1848 and 1849.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in all this biography is Martineau's relation to Christ. That was greatly influenced by his birth into a Unitarian family. But his philosophy was influenced also. For he found himself, when he began to think, the heir to the necessarian doctrine of the will, which Dr. Priestley had taken from Hartley and impressed upon the Unitarians of his day. Dr. Martineau accepted the necessarian philosophy, and taught it for ten years of his professorial lfie.

Dr. Martineau's biographers cannot trace with certainty the steps which led him to abandon the Hartleyan doctrine of the bondage of the will. But it is clear that the revolt began in his conscience. He had never been able to find complete satisfaction in Dr. Priestley's candid acknowledgment that 'a Necessarian who, as such, believes that *nothing goes wrong*, but that everything is under the best direction possible, himself and his conduct, as part of an immense and perfect whole, included, cannot accuse himself of having done wrong in the ultimate sense of the words. He has therefore, in this strict sense, nothing to do with repentance, confession, or pardon, which are all adapted to a different imperfect and fallacious view of things.' His conscience revolted against this doctrine. He himself says also that at this time his mind began to assume a 'new attitude towards the early Christian modes of conception, especially those of the Apostle Paul, whose writings seemed to be totally transformed and to open up views of thought of which I had previously no glimpse.' And he preached a sermon on 'The Christian View of Moral Evil' and declared his emancipation. The sermon reached Dr. Channing in America. 'The part of your discourse,' wrote Dr. Channing, 'which gave me the sincerest delight, and for which I would especially thank you, is that in which you protest against the doctrine of philosophical necessity. Nothing for a long time has given me so much pleasure. I have felt that this doctrine, with its natural connexions, was a millstone round the neck of Unitarians in England. I know no one who has so clearly and strongly pointed out as yourself its inconsistency with moral sentiments in God, and with the exercise of moral sentiments towards Him by His creatures. I have always lamented that Dr. Priestley's authority has fastened this doctrine on his followers.'

This was in the year 1839. The other important event was the visit to Berlin in 1848–1849. It was after this visit, says Professor Upton, that all Dr. Martineau's College Lectures (except the early course on Political Economy), as well as all his more important philosophical works, took their final shape. He hesitated between Berlin and Tübingen, for he had a strong leaning towards Baur and the Tübingen school. But Berlin won. He heard Neander lecture. 'A little shy-looking man, with a quantity of black hair, and eyes so small and overshadowed by dark brows as to be invisible, slinks into a great lecture-room; steps up to his platform; but instead of taking his professor's chair, takes his station at the corner of his tall desk, leaning his arm upon the angle, and his head upon his arm; with his face thus hanging over the floor, and pulling a pen to pieces with his fingers, he begins to rock his desk backwards and forwards on its hind edge with every promise of a bouleversement, and talks smoothly, as he rocks, for his three quarters of an hour, without a scrap of paper, quoting authorities, chapter and verse, and even citing and translating longish passages from ecclesiastical writers; and finishing every clause by spitting, in a quiet dropping way, upon the floor, as if to express the punctuation. When

the clock strikes, the demolition of the pen is just complete, and he slinks out of the room without apparently having once been conscious that anybody was present.'

That was how Dr. Martineau saw Neander the Great, and that was how Dr. Martineau wrote in the days before he fell into that 'metaphysical habit of writing' which he himself thought spoiled his style, and made all he wrote very stiff reading; but which—well, so competent a critic as Dr. P. T. Forsyth speaks of as 'so lucent, jewelled, overpolished at times, perhaps, but never metallic; full of fancy—sometimes too full—and of imagery now scientific, now poetic; full of delicacy, lithe as steel, with a careful felicity saying the unsayable.'

But it was not Neander that made that year in Berlin so memorable to him. Nor was it Trendelenburg, whose lectures he frequented most. In his 'Biographical Memoranda' he wrote, 'A short experience convinced me that, for the purpose of my special studies, I should gain most by reading a good deal and hearing a little.' So he heard a little, not only of Neander and Trendelenburg, but also of Gabler, Michelet, Vatke, Boeckh, and Ranke; and he read a great deal *in two authors only*—but they were Plato and Hegel.

Dr. Martineau was born into a Unitarian circle, and he remained a Unitarian all his life. He saw some of his friends, such as the Huttons, leave Unitarianism and enter the Church of England, 'in order that they might keep a God essentially *social* before their hearts and minds.' He was often in keen antagonism to what he would have called 'orthodox' Unitarianism; he was often in keen sympathy with men like Maurice and Stanley. He even deplored his theological isolation. 'In reading these things,' he said in 1852, 'I am ashamed of the effect they have upon my weakness; not on my convictions—for I see where they logically fail—but on my mere human feelings; it is so painful to be exiled from the sympathies of faith, and observe the horror and scorn with which others regard what is religion to us.' And again in 1871, 'Never do I feel my exile from the common heritage of Christendom as in reading a book like this [it was Bunsen's *Prayers*], which, after making me sure of the profoundest communion, reminds me but too plainly that I am and must remain a spiritual outlaw.' Yet he was never ashamed to call himself a Unitarian, rejoiced in the liberty which he thought Unitarianism yielded him, and as the years went on gradually grew more reserved in what he affirmed of the Person and Work of Christ.

In the year 1828, when Dr. Martineau was ordained to the ministry of the gospel, he was requested to make a declaration of his faith. In that declaration he spoke of Jesus Christ as 'God's well-beloved Son,' he called Him 'the Mediator between God and men,' he said that He 'lives for evermore and shall hereafter judge the world in righteousness.' He spoke of His 'sinless excellence,' 'in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily'; 'as authorities for our duties' he said, 'as fountains of consoling and elevating truth, Jesus and the Father are one, and in all subjects of religious faith and obedience not to honour Him as we honour the Father is to violate our allegiance to Him as the great Captain of our salvation.' And in all the declaration there is one word only which a Trinitarian might not use. He speaks of 'that position which He now holds above all *other* created beings.'

Perhaps the most remarkable of these expressions is that of 'sinless excellence.' From that expression and that position Dr. Martineau never departed. Nothing in all his life caused him acuter agony than the publication of *Phases of Faith* by his old close friend, F. W. Newman, in which he read depreciation of the moral perfection of Christ. Even when he wrote his lecture on 'The Proposition that Christ is God proved to be false from the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures,' he stated that 'Christ possessed and manifested all the moral attributes of Deity.'

But other phrases were weakened with time. In a letter of 1861 he wrote, 'My scruple about the terms "Mediator," "Redeemer," and "Saviour," applied to Christ, has always lingered and hung about my mind from boyhood, though I am ashamed to say I have never till now had the courage and simplicity to look it fairly in the face.' And when he does look it fairly in the face, he comes to the conclusion that he cannot use these words in the sense which they bear in Scripture or the usage of the Church. A 'Mediator' is one who brings us to God; but he means

no more by it than that we owe to Christ *our right apprehension of God*. It speaks of a change from darkness to light; but he has never been in darkness in this sense, he has all along been with God, and at no date required to be brought to Him by Christ. 'Redeemer' and 'Saviour' also are words implying in the 'redeemed' and 'saved' a *transference* from a lost to a rescued condition: 'to most Unitarian Christians no such transference takes place.' He is a man of prayer. 'Few men,' says Dr. Drummond, 'have come nearer to the fulfilment of the apostolic precept, Pray without ceasing.' But he ceases to pray *in the name of Christ*.

And yet, strange to say, he never ceases to worship Him. 'The doctrine of the Trinity,' he says in 1863, 'does not consist in owning and enumerating *three objects* of religious faith—God the Supreme Father, the Son of God, the Spirit of God—for the acknowledgment of these three is the essential characteristic of all Christendom in all ages; but in making these three, *equal persons of one Godhead*.' And in 1886, after he had retired from the Principalship of Manchester New College and all active service, he sent a paper to the *Christian Reformer* on 'A Way out of the Trinitarian Controversy,' in which he claimed that the Being whom Unitarians worship corresponds with the second Person in Trinitarian theology, who was 'manifested through all ages by nature and history, but concentrated with unique brilliancy in the character and existence, the holy life and redeeming work of Jesus, in whom the Spirit so dwelt without measure that He was the very "Word made flesh," the Divine perfection on the scale and united with the incidents of humanity.'

What shall we say—that James Martineau was really a Trinitarian but unevangelical?—that he believed in the Deity, but not in the Cross, of Christ?—that he was strong on the Person but weak on the Work?

Recent Foreign Theology.

'The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament.'[1]

That the kingdom of God is a New Testament not an Old Testament conception, is a commonplace of Biblical Theology. But it encounters us on the first page of the New Testament as a conception already in full currency; it accordingly belongs to the stock of ideas which, however transformed by the teaching of Christ, was not strictly created by Him, but found by Him ready to hand. This means that, although not strictly an Old Testament idea, it is based upon Old Testament ideas. To identify and trace historically these ideas, the substratum or *Unterbau* of the New Testament idea of the kingdom of God, is a definite problem for Biblical Theology. Dr. Böhmer attempts this, and his treatment, if not exhaustive of the whole contribution of the Old Testament to the result, is so at least along one special line of development, namely, the conception of God as King. And the treatment of this special theme throws most valuable light on the conception of the kingdom also. Dr. Böhmer considers the question in the light of the divine names, and of the comparative significance of the title 'king' as applied to God in Israel and in other Semitic peoples. He draws out very carefully the influence of the monarchy and of the Davidic ideal as determining factors in the development. He shows how in the course of the development the idea of divine sovereignty extended beyond the limits of the chosen people to that of royal care for the heathen as well. He takes stock of disturbing elements in the working out of this idea, and shows how the more universal and spiritual elements of it were in Daniel to some extent narrowed and hardened as the price paid for an intenser realism in its apprehension.

It might be possible to question Dr. Böhmer's treatment of details, *e.g.* his assignment of Ex 19^5 to a very late stage in the development. But the student must be referred to Dr. Böhmer's pages for the presentment of his case, which is all along sober and reverent and worthy of careful attention.

In so far as the history of the place of the

[1] *Der Alttestamentliche Unterbau des Reiches Gottes.* Von Lic. Dr. Julius Böhmer. Leipzig, 1902. Pp. v, 235.

divine sovereignty in Old Testament religion furnishes the foundation for the New Testament idea of a kingdom of God,—and it does so to a very great extent,—this monograph may safely be pronounced the best study of its subject which we possess. A. ROBERTSON.

King's College, London.

'Early Acts of Martyrs.'[1]

MARTYROLOGIES are in discredit among Protestants on account of the great amount of mere legend and utter rubbish in the collections circulating in the Roman Catholic Church. It is nevertheless beyond doubt that this department of literature contains documents of great historical significance; and von Gebhardt has therefore rendered a real service to students of ecclesiastical history by editing a number of them, together with some other texts of value, in a clearly printed and handy volume. It comprises a short introduction, twenty-two texts, and some useful indexes. Some of the texts—'The Martyrdom of Polycarp,' 'The Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne,' and 'The Passion of Felicitas and Perpetua'—are old favourites; but others, for example, the 'Acts of Apollonius,' which first appeared in 1895, 'The Inscription of Arykanda,' and the two *libelli* which were edited in 1893 and 1894, are comparatively little known. The collection closes with the 'Acts of Paul and Thekla,' which are reproduced in the main from the edition of Lipsius and Bonnet. Most of the texts are provided with critical footnotes and biblical references.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Sevenoaks.

'Babylon and the Bible.'

THE *Babel-Bibel* controversy in Germany is by no means ended. When our brilliant but somewhat impulsive friend and neighbour, the German Kaiser, graced with his presence the now famous lecture of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, and afterwards bestowed special marks of favour upon the lecturer, he could not have anticipated the stream of literature which the utterances of his *protégé* would call forth. And it is safe to say that, but for the intrusion of the Imperial factor, the views maintained in *Babel und Bibel* would have passed unnoticed, for it cannot be said to contain much that is new. Not that we regret by any means the publication of the book. It is an advantage that notions which are in the air should find expression in such an able form as they here do. It is an advantage, too, that these notions should be examined, as they have been, by so many competent scholars, from so many different points of view. We have already noticed some of the criticisms of Delitzsch's book, and we shall probably have occasion to notice more. Since last month we have received two notable brochures bearing on this controversy.

The first of these is the latest (sixth) edition of the admirable *Bibel und Babel* of Professor Ed. König.[2] It affords us much satisfaction to note the rapid success of this work. In its new form it will still better serve its purpose, being materially enlarged. Fresh results of continued study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions are incorporated in it, and the author has also taken account of all the *Babel-Bibel* literature that has appeared since his tractate was first published. A section on the Sabbath has also been introduced. The work may now be said to contain a synopsis of the whole literature on the subject, and as such it will no doubt receive, as it will certainly repay, fresh and earnest study. Notwithstanding the enlargement it has undergone, the tractate, which now extends to 60 pages, is still published at the former price, 60 pfennigs.

The other work is in many ways a noteworthy one, and will arouse widespread interest among scholars. Its author is Professor Budde.[3] The opening part of the tractate is devoted to criticisms of Delitzsch's *Babel und Bibel*, with which most Old Testament scholars will, we are persuaded, entirely agree. But the main strength of the work is devoted to an examination of a number of the positions maintained by Winckler in the

[1] *Ausgewählte Märtyracten und andere Urkunden aus der Verfolgungszeit der Christlichen Kirche herausgegeben.* Von Oscar von Gebhardt. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1902.

[2] *Bibel und Babel: eine kulturgeschichtliche Skizze.* Von Eduard König, Dr. phil. u. theol., ord. Professor an der Universität Bonn. Sechste, erweiterte Auflage, mit Berücksichtigung der neuesten Babel-Bibel-Literatur. Berlin: Verlag von Martin Warneck. Price 80 pfennigs.

[3] *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen.* Von Karl Budde, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Giessen: J. Ricker. Price 80 pfennigs.

(so-called but very wrongly called) third edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament.* [This work we hope presently to notice in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES; meanwhile we may simply note that it is in no sense a new edition of Schrader, but an entirely new work.] The services of Winckler to Oriental research Professor Budde would be the last to deny, but he finds it necessary to enter an energetic protest against not a few of his methods, notably his wholesale discovery of Babylonian solar or lunar myths, not only in the patriarchal period, and that of the Judges, but in the early monarchical period. Many will feel that they owe a heavy debt of gratitude to Professor Budde for his patient, scholarly, courteous, complete refutation of Winckler, and for his admiral statement of the place and the rights of O.T. science over against the pretensions of a spurious archæology. Truly, the whirligig of time brings its revenges. It is not so long since we were constantly hearing that literary and historical criticism is the foe of the Old Testament history and religion, and that archæology is its friend. But it begins now to look as if the 'apologists' will soon have to pray to be delivered from their friends, and will be found looking for help to the once despised 'critics.'

Miscellaneous.

HUGO WINCKLER, the well-know Orientalist, has published an important tractate (with eight illustrations) on the relation betwen the ancient Babylonian culture and the civilization of to-day (*Die Babylonische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zur unsrigen*; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1902; price 80 pfennigs). To the uninitiated this relation may appear remote enough. Some Assyriologists, again, appear to assume that they knew everything in Babylonia. But when exaggerated statements like those of Frd. Delitzsch in his *Babel und Bibel* are discounted, it remains true that not only in the sphere of religion, but in that of art and science, as well as in many other departments, the modern world owes much to ancient Babylon. Winckler's treatise, which is quite of a popular cast, will place any reader in a position to judge for himself whether the author's contentions are made out in the particular instances with which he deals.

By no means unneeded was Winckler's clear explanation at the outset of the relation between Assyria and Babylonia, and his caution against using the term *Assyrian* in too wide a sense. Very interesting are his remarks on the early date to which we can trace back 'Babylonian' civilization, and on the immense periods of time with which we deal in this history as compared with that of ancient Greece or Rome or of any modern country of Europe. Those who are interested in the 'Sumerian' question will find it here again in evidence. The very detailed account of the astronomy and astrology, the sexagesimal system, the calendar, etc., of the Babylonians will appeal to many. The whole treatise will repay careful study.

Heft 2 of the fourth year's issue of 'Der Alte Orient' (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; price 60 pfennigs) is from the pen of Felix von Oefele, M.D., who entitles his work *Keilschriftmedizin, in Parallelen.* The medical science of the cuneiform documents, amidst all its empirical methods and magical formulæ, is shown to be the forerunner of much of the science of to-day. Dr. von Oefele's work is interesting from many points of view besides that of archæology.

A German translation of a small work of Professor E. Ménégoz (*Die Rechtfertigungslehre nach Paulus und nach Jacobus*) has been published by J. Ricker, Giessen (80 pfennigs). The author, whose name is well known to the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, appears to us to succeed completely in his endeavour to show that the teaching of St. Paul is in no way antagonistic to that of St. James on the doctrine of justification. The tractate contains a careful exegetical study of all the passages or expressions in which the two apostles have been supposed to contradict one another. Professor Ménégoz urges, we think rightly, that the matter in question cannot be fairly judged without keeping in mind that the one writer, St. James, speaks, as it were, from a layman's point of view, while St. Paul is a professional theologian. The layman's whole world of thought, and not his bare words, must be brought within the compass of theological formulæ, if we are to be fair to either writer. If this is done the antinomies dissolve without difficulty, and we recognize that we have to do with disciples

of the same Master. Both apostles labour to express the same twofold thought, that God bestows salvation on every man who sincerely and unreservedly gives Him his heart, and that, without the surrender of the heart, no external service of God can save a man. J. A. SELBIE.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Among the Periodicals.

Van Hoonacker on Zec. ix.–xiv.

To the *Revue Biblique* (April–July 1902) Professor van Hoonacker recently contributed a series of studies on the last six chapters of the Book of Zechariah. His articles have now been published also separately (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre).

The author commences by noting that there are probably few books or portions of books in the Bible, which within an equally narrow compass raise so many problems of criticism and exegesis as the second part of the Book of Zechariah. In not a few passages the text is plainly faulty (*e.g.* $11^{13.\ 15.\ 16}$). At other times it is deranged by transpositions of greater or less extent (*e.g.* 13^{7-9} is generally recognized to have fallen out of its proper place). When we come, again, to the interpretation of the text, we have the problem of the *mamzer* of 9^{6a}; the allegory of the prophet-shepherd of chap. 11, and the historical allusions it contains; the identification of the foolish shepherd of $11^{15ff.}$ 13^{7-9}; the subject who is 'pierced' in 12^{10b}; the lament of Hadadrimmon in the same passage; the list of houses that take part in the national mourning, vv.$^{12f.}$ Then there is the well-known difficulty as to the relation of chaps. 9–14 to one another, and their relation, if any, to the first eight chapters of the book.

Dr. van Hoonacker arranges his study under three divisions: first, a commentary on the text; second, a translation, embodying the results reached in the commentary; third, a summary sketch of the conclusions which his study of the text has suggested regarding the problems of the literary composition and the origin of these six chapters.

Let us note a few points under the first of these divisions. What is to be understood by the *mamzer* (E.V. 'bastard') who is to dwell in Ashdod (9^{6a})? Peiser has proposed to equate the Heb. וישב ממזר באשדוד with the Assyr. *ušišib umam ṣiri ina Asdudi*, = 'I made savage beasts dwell in Ashdod,' supposing this to be an extract from an inscription by the Assyrian conqueror. But, as Dr. van Hoonacker remarks, this explanation does not tally with the following notice of the purification of the *mamzer* and his incorporation in Judah. He himself thinks that the association of the *mamzer* with the Ammonites and the Moabites in Dt $23^{2f.}$ suggests that the word stands for some definite population instead of being merely a general term. Who more likely, he asks, than the mixed population of the north, the so-called 'Cuthæans,' better known as the Samaritans?—In 9^{13} Dr. van Hoonacker finds the mention of the sons of *Javan* (Greece) surprising, because there is no allusion to Greece elsewhere in these chapters, and, moreover, the direct address 'against *thy* sons, O Javan,' appears out of place in a context where Zion is uniformly the subject addressed. With Kirkpatrick (*Doctrine of the Prophets*, 476 f.), he would drop the words 'against thy sons, O Javan,' as probably a gloss introduced in the Maccabæan period, and would render עוררתי, not 'I will stir up,' but 'I will brandish.' Thus the parallelism, too, appears to him to be better preserved: 'I have bent Judah (as a bow), I have filled the bow with Ephraim (as an arrow), I will brandish thy sons, O Zion, and I will make of thee a hero's sword.'—The identification of the *three shepherds* of 11^{8} has always been felt to be a difficult problem. Our author rejects the view that the three are Zachariah, Shallum, and Menahem, holding that the shepherds must be sought not in the northern kingdom but at *Jerusalem*. He is equally clear that the period of their activity must be *before the Exile*, which excludes such views as that they are Lysimachus, Jason, and Menelaus. It is only, however, by a literary fiction that the prophet himself appears as a contemporary of the three shepherds, whom Dr. van Hoonacker holds to be Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin.—The difficulty occasioned by the statement of v.^{13}, 'I cast them (the thirty pieces of silver) unto the potter *in the house of the Lord*,' is met partially at least, by supposing that the original reading was בֵּיתוֹ, 'his house,' and that the final ו was read י and supposed to be the initial letter of יהוה (Jahweh). Dr. van Hoonacker accordingly renders 'Je les jetai au potier, dans son atelier.'—The *foolish shepherd* of vv.$^{15-17}$ (with which 13^{7-9} should be directly connected) is held to be king Zedekiah.—'The lament of *Hadadrimmon in the Valley of Megiddon*' has been the subject of much

discussion. Our author rejects not only the view which finds a reference here to the usages connected with the cult of Adonis, but also that which refers the expression to the lamentations for king Josiah (cf. 2 Ch 35^{25}). Following the LXX (ὡς κοπετὸς ῥοῶνος), he reads simply *Rimmon*, not *Hadad*rimmon, and reads *Migron* (מגרון, see 1 S 14^{2}) for *Megiddon* (מגדון). 'The lament of Rimmon in the Valley of Migron' he then connects with the events of Jg 20 and 21. The remnant of the Benjamites took refuge at the Rock Rimmon (Jg $20^{45.47}$ 21^{13}), and we read of a great lamentation over their fate on the part of the other tribes ($21^{2f.}$).

As to the literary composition and the date of the six chapters, Dr. van Hoonacker, with most scholars, takes chaps. 9–11 (with 13^{7-9}) as one group of prophecies and chaps. 12–14 as another. As to the first of these, he differs from those who hold that its contents are pre-exilic, but accommodated to a later situation. He holds the composition to be wholly post-exilic, any pre-exilic appearances being, as hinted above, due to a literary device. The date he fixes *in the early days after the Return* (cf. $9^{11f.}$). To the same period he would assign chaps. 12–14, and he considers it probable, although not demonstrable, that they are from the same hand as the other group.

Finally, what is the relation between chaps. 9–14 and the first eight chapters? Dr. van Hoonacker thinks that the differences of diction, style, and method between the two parts of the book have been exaggerated, and he urges one consideration above all, which he considers to plead in favour of unity of authorship, namely, the literary device common to both, whereby the author *transports himself to the past.* This is held to be the case repeatedly in the first eight chapters, notably in chap. 5, and the device reappears, according to Dr. van Hoonacker, in 9^{16b} 10^{2-3} 11.

The whole study thus issues practically in the conclusion that no sufficient reason has been shown for the theory of a Deutero-, and still less for that of a Trito-Zechariah. 'J. A. Selbie.

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The Songs of the Ascents.

By the Rev. David Smith, M.A., Tulliallan.

VI.

A Prayer for a Fuller Restoration.

1. When Jehovah brought back the captives of Zion,
   we were like dreamers.
2. Then filled with laughter was our mouth,
   and our tongue with singing.
   Then said they among the nations,
   'Greatly hath Jehovah wrought with them.'
3. Greatly *hath* Jehovah wrought with us:
   we are right glad.
4. Bring back, Jehovah, our captives
   like the streams in the South.
5. They that sow with tearfulness
   with singing shall they reap.
6. One may go, weeping as he goeth,
   bearing the handful of seed;
   He shall surely come with singing,
   bearing his sheaves.—Ps. cxxvi.

When Cyrus took Babylon in 536 B.C. and proclaimed liberty to the captive Israelites, it was only a minority of them that availed themselves of the decree and set out forthwith on the perilous and toilsome pilgrimage across the desert. The majority remained on in Babylon. It were unjust to brand all the latter as cowards and traitors. The deliverance had been sudden and unexpected; and it would be difficult for those who had been born at Babylon and, under the not unkindly rule of their conquerors, were leading industrious and successful lives as tradesmen and traffickers, on such brief notice to wind up their affairs and break up their homes in order to set out on the homeward journey. There would be others, doubtless, who stayed on with less excuse and from baser motives: timid souls who dreaded the perils of the journey and the inevitable conflict and toil of resuming the tenancy of their usurped land and rendering it once more habitable; and prudent folk who were doubtful of the success of the enterprise, and judged it wise to wait and see how their bolder countrymen fared ere setting out themselves. For one reason or another it was only a minority of the Exiles that had the heroism and the patriotism to avail themselves immediately of the edict and adventure their fortunes and their lives on what must have appeared very like a forlorn hope; nor was it until almost eighty years later that the great bulk of the Exiles returned to Palestine.

Our Psalm belongs to this crisis. Those resolute and patriotic men have arrived in Palestine; and they look thankfully backward to the great deliverance which God has wrought for them, and hopefully and courageously forward to the difficult task which lies before them. The Psalm falls naturally into two divisions. In the first three verses the restored Exiles joyously congratulate themselves on their wondrous deliverance. Then comes a prayer for the restoration of their brethren who are still in Babylon, followed by a beautiful expression of trust that the difficulties and toils which beset them shall have a happy and glorious issue.

1. The deliverance had been sudden and surprising. Hardly any event could have seemed more improbable than that Cyrus, with his band of Assyrian mountaineers, should storm and capture Babylon, the majestic mistress of the world. And when this actually occurred and the conqueror set the captives at liberty, it seemed too marvellous to be real:

> When Jehovah brought back the captives of Zion,
> we were like dreamers.

These words 'like dreamers' are capable of two interpretations. On the one hand, they may mean *like those that dream.* Overwhelmed with joy and astonishment at their wondrous deliverance, the Exiles could hardly persuade themselves that it was a fact. 'It is all a dream,' they said, 'a delightful and beautiful dream, but only a dream, which will vanish when we awake and leave behind it the cold, sad realities of exile and bondage, all the more grim and painful for the bright vision we have had.' In his weird *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* Coleridge describes how the ship lay for long becalmed, sweltering and rotting in the tropical sun, till the crew one by one dropped dead of thirst, and only the Ancient Mariner remained alive; and then the ship, with her ghastly crew of one living man among so many dead, was wafted homeward by angel-breezes; and as they 'drifted o'er the harbour-bar' and the Ancient Mariner caught sight of the dear old town he had never thought to see again, —its lighthouse, its hill, its kirk, and its houses,— he could hardly believe that it was not all a dream, and cried:

> 'Oh let me be awake, my God,
> Or let me sleep alway.'

One can imagine the same thought in the minds of the Exiles. If their deliverance were a dream, then dreaming was unspeakably better than waking. It would be good never to wake again, but go on dreaming thus for ever.

On the other hand, the translation may perhaps be, 'we were *like them that have dreamed.*' Those long years of defeat, exile, and bondage, now that they are over, seem like an evil dream, a distressing vision which has vanished at daybreak. The dreamers awake with a sigh of relief to discover that 'the terror by night' has been only a phantom, and the light and peace of morning are about them.

And, whichever be the right interpretation, the latter contains the finer thought. As another Psalmist says (30^5):

> Weeping may come in to lodge at even,
> but in the morning a cry of gladness.

Could we but look on life with open eyes and in clear light, we should discover that there is nothing in it to distress us or make us afraid. It is the darkness of our ignorance that clothes our lives with terror and dismay, and conceals from us the precious and lovely uses which our painful experiences are meant to serve. It is not without a wise and gracious purpose that God disquiets and alarms us with evil dreams; this, namely, that we may learn that we are like little children alone in the darkness and need the presence of our Heavenly Father. It is when we grope and stumble in the night that we creep close to God and cling to Him and walk by faith. Were it always day we would walk by sight with stout hearts and never a thought of the Unseen Hand. Thank God for the darkness and the terrors which drive us to His side! Most true are these lines of Goethe:

> Who ne'er his bread with tears hath ate,
> Who never through the sad night hours
> Weeping upon his bed hath sate,
> He knows not you, you heavenly powers.

When our joy cometh in the morning, it will be all the sweeter, and we shall know God all the better and trust Him the more firmly for the tears we have shed in the night.

It is a pity we are so slow to believe the good which God designs for us. The truth is, as will one day appear, that for those who seek to do God's will there is nothing in the universe which does not most intensely mean good. Our part is simply to trust in God, do our duty manfully, and wait for the morning. If we will only do that, we shall awake to find that our troubles and sorrows have been but painful dreams; nay, rather, we shall recognize them in the morning light as angel-visitants that seemed unfriendly only by reason of the darkness. When God brings back our captivity, we shall be like one who has dreamed an evil dream and awakened to sunshine and peace.

Their deliverance made new men of the Israelites. During their captivity they had gone about morose and sorrowful, with downcast faces and tearful eyes; but now 'filled with laughter was their mouth, and their tongue with singing.' As they set out with brisk steps and joyous faces on their homeward march, singing songs of triumph like Ps 124, the heathen who saw them marvelled at the change. Could these be indeed the wretched captives whom they had been accustomed to see so spiritless and dejected? 'Greatly,' they exclaimed, 'hath Jehovah wrought with them!' And the Psalmist echoes their words, 'Greatly *hath* Jehovah wrought with us: we are right glad.'

2. Here the Psalmist's exultation is suddenly checked. He bethinks himself how many of his countrymen have remained at Babylon, and what a small band they are that have returned to Palestine, like a tiny rivulet rather than a full flood pouring in to revive and replenish the desolate and wasted land. He is reminded of the streams in the southern desert, which in the season of drought dwindle into trickling threads or quite dry up. Presently, however, the rainy season comes round, and then the cataracts rush down the mountain-sides and swell the scanty rills into broad and brimming rivers that clothe the desert with verdure and fertility. And with this image in his mind the Psalmist prays:

> Bring back, Jehovah, our captives,
> like the streams in the South—

a mighty flood of men to replenish the desolate land.

From this image of fertilizing streams the Psalmist not unnaturally passes to that of sowing and harvest. In language which has the ring of a popular proverb, he continues:

> They that sow with tearfulness
> with singing shall they reap.

Sowing is weary work, but the husbandman who patiently performs it will in due season be rewarded with a rich harvest. And for those returning Exiles, so feeble and few, there was the inspiring certainty that, if they faced manfully the weary task of rebuilding their ruined city and recultivating their wasted lands, God, in His own time and His own way, would crown their labour with success. This is an image which would go home to agricultural folk, and the Psalmist lingers over it. It was slow and weary work placing stone upon stone, but so also was the work of the farmer as he scattered the seed in paltry handfuls over the broad field and watched the long process of its growth and ripening. This, however, was all that was required of them—to go on from day to day doing their poor best and bravely trusting God.

> One may go, weeping as he goeth,
> bearing the handful of seed;
> He shall surely come with singing,
> bearing his sheaves.

The chief lesson of our Psalm is one which may seem at first sight somewhat commonplace, but which is nevertheless supremely important; this, namely, *the necessity of performing courageously and conscientiously the hard and uninteresting tasks of daily life, and the exceeding recompense which awaits those who do so.* Life is indeed different with us all, and no two of us have precisely the same difficulties to encounter; and therefore each must adapt the lesson to his own peculiar circumstances. For all of us alike, however, it is utterly true that the circumstances, often so trivial and depressing, amid which we find ourselves day by day, are God's challenge to us to behave as true-hearted and noble-minded men, and win for ourselves a priceless heritage of peace and blessedness. There are no circumstances so trivial or mean that they cannot serve as an arena wherein to discipline and strengthen our manhood. 'The Situation,' says Carlyle, 'that has not its Duty, its Ideal, was never yet occupied by man. Yes here, in this poor, miserable, hampered, despicable Actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy Ideal: work it out therefrom; and working, believe, live, be free.' We would be less discontented with our circumstances did we but realize that these circumstances, dull and prosaic as they mostly appear, are the material, and the only material, out of which we are to fashion our eternal destinies; and the way to ennoble our lives is not by attempting to escape from our appointed lot, but by accepting it bravely and lovingly, and compelling it to serve the grand ends of our moral and spiritual advancement.

Our Psalm has a very special message for those of us who are young and have life before us in all its hope and mystery. It warns us against those sins which so constantly and urgently beset us—fretfulness at the drudgery of life, discouragement at our repeated failures, and discontent at our slow promotion; and it reminds us that in these very things lies our most sacred opportunity. There is indeed no harm in the young man's ambition to be successful. Quite the contrary. But let us give success its true definition. Let us realize that we are here in this world of wonder and mystery for grander, diviner, and more enduring ends than money-getting and self-pleasing. We are here to play the hero and win the priceless possessions of manhood, purity, and love, which, more and more as our lives unfold, are perceived to be the only ends worth striving after. And these high ends we shall attain, not by snatching greedily and selfishly at worldly prizes, but rather by living gently and greatly in the places where God has put us, and striving to prove ourselves, in every least detail, worthy sons of the Heavenly Father and worthy brethren of the Lord Jesus Christ, His perfect Son and our glorious Elder Brother.

'The Death of Christ.'[1]

By the Rev. W. Morgan, M.A., Tarbolton.

Dr. Denney's book is dominated throughout by a practical motive. He believes that the death of Christ has not that central place in current which it has in apostolic Christianity; and he seeks, by setting it in the relief in which it stands out in the New Testament, to call back Christian thought, and especially Christian preaching, to the doctrine of the Cross as the constitutive element in the Gospel.

[1] *The Death of Christ: Its Place and Interpretation in the New Testament.* By James Denney, D.D., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature, and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

The book has all the qualities which we are accustomed to expect in Dr. Denney's writing. The style is lucid, vigorous, and flowing. There is no display of learning in the shape of swollen footnotes, but it is everywhere clear that the author has taken up his position in full view of whatever of importance has been written on the subject. Last, but not least, every page is aglow with moral and religious fervour. In the tone of the book there is but one thing to regret. Dr. Denney is a little too fond of playing the part of the Apostle John to his opponents' Cerinthus. He has no patience with any view other than his own, and rather brushes it aside with con-

tempt, or explains it by a lack of Christian experience, than subjects it to fair examination.

The thesis he sets out to prove is that the death of Christ is the central fact in every New Testament book, and that it receives everywhere the same interpretation—the interpretation, namely, that it is a propitiation offered to God for man's sin, an equivalent for man's forfeited life. We naturally start from the teaching of Jesus Himself as given in the Synoptic Gospels. Do His own words support the view that His one object in coming into the world was to die? In opposition to those who find in His life an early period of hopefulness as to the immediate success of His work, Dr. Denney maintains that a consciousness of the tragic issue was with Him from the first. Wholly ignoring the general tenor of Christ's early teaching, he rests his case mainly on the voice from heaven at the baptism. The words, 'This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,' are an echo of Is 42^1, and therefore warrant the conclusion that the Messianic consciousness of Jesus was one with the consciousness of the 'Suffering Servant.' Dr. Denney, however, admits that it is only after the events at Cæsarea Philippi that reference to the death becomes unambiguous: 'From that time forth began Jesus to show unto His disciples how that He must go unto Jerusalem to be killed, and be raised again the third day.' Great stress is laid on the necessity indicated by the *must*. This necessity is interpreted as submission to the Divine will as expressed, not in outward events, but in Scripture; and the Scripture in view could have been none other than that which tells of the work of the suffering servant. What Christ sought to teach His disciples was that the necessity to suffer and die was involved in His vocation.

Dr. Denney proceeds next to the great ransom passage. He rejects the view that would take it in the general sense that Jesus, through faith in God, could reconcile Himself to His death as to something which would, though it was not clear how, contribute to the carrying out of His vocation. The figure is to be taken literally. The lives of the many are somehow under forfeit, and Jesus teaches that the very object of His coming into the world was to lay down His life as a ransom price, that those to whom these forfeited lives belonged might obtain them again. Only one thing would justify Dr. Denney in reading so much into this passage—if, namely, the idea that forgiveness is morally impossible until justice has first been satisfied by an equivalent for the sinner's forfeited life, were elsewhere expressed by Jesus in unmistakable language. It is notorious that no such words can be adduced. Jesus connected forgiveness in an immediate way with the fatherly love of God, and with the faith, humility, penitence, love, and mercifulness of men; but in no single instance have we the slightest hint of an antinomy between divine justice and divine mercy. Such silence on the part of Jesus is, if we accept Dr. Denney's thesis, nothing less than astounding. It does not lessen the difficulty to be informed that the thrice repeated attempt of Jesus to prepare the minds of His disciples for His death had reference—though the Evangelists are silent about it—to its meaning as a propitiation, and that what the disciples found so hard to understand and credit was just the forensic view of the Atonement. If, as Dr. Denney maintains, the substitution doctrine is the one essential thing in Christianity, and if the Church derived this doctrine from Christ Himself, it is impossible to account for the failure of the Evangelists to preserve His teaching on the subject. In any case it is a precarious proceeding to fill up the blank with conjecture.

It is surprising that in his discussion of the ransom passage Dr. Denney should have failed to draw attention to other passages in which Christ has described His mission. To read the doubtful in the light of the transparent is surely one of the best established canons of exegesis. Such passages are not wanting. At the opening of His ministry Christ announced His programme. He was sent to preach good tidings to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind. The Son of Man, He said on another occasion, is come to seek and to save that which was lost. These are unambiguous utterances; they are in line with the rest of Christ's teaching and with the character of His earthly ministry. The theory that would put them aside in favour of far-fetched inferences must find itself in conflict with fact.

It is natural that the Sacrament of the Supper should play a large part in Dr. Denney's argument. He finds the key to its meaning in the Levitical idea of sacrifice, in which blood was always associated with propitiatory power, and in the New Covenant idea of Jeremiah. The New

Covenant blessing of forgiveness can become ours only through Christ's death as a propitiatory sacrifice. No doubt the sacrificial reference is self-evident, and we can believe that Matthew's expansion of the words of institution—'This is My blood of the *new* covenant, shed for many *unto remission of sins*'—do not go beyond our Lord's meaning. But it is not possible to extract from the sacrificial reference anything that can be called a philosophy of Christ's death. The sacrificial system was never rationalized as was, to some extent at least, the mythology of Greece. There was no philosophy of sacrifice. The prophets made no attempt to reinterpret it in the light of their spiritual faith, and they derive no idea from it but the very general one of an offering well-pleasing to God. When incorporated by Judaism in the prophetic religion, the sacrificial system was no doubt brought into connexion with moral offences, but how little there was of anything like an explanation of the action of sacrificial blood is shown by the fact that not only moral offences but ceremonial as well, and even the impurity of inanimate objects, were regarded as cleansed or covered by it. Atonement by means of blood was accepted simply and solely as a fact of statutory religion: there is no evidence that it was ever taken up into the domain of the conscience. It is necessary to insist on this because Dr. Denney uniformly takes it for granted that the sacrificial propitiation was a moral idea, and that it had at its basis a doctrine of substitution. As a matter of fact, the idea was not moral, but ceremonial: it was rooted in a conception of God, not as the righteous, but as the holy—the Being who stands apart from all creaturely weakness and defilement. And notwithstanding Holtzmann, there is no clear proof that, even in later Judaism, the life of the victim was regarded as a surrogate for that of the offerer. All we can infer from the New Testament use of sacrificial language is that the death of Christ was thought of as in some way connected with the new covenant of forgiveness. The blood of the new covenant finds no more than an illustration and historical parallel—helpful to the imagination, but with no dogmatic import—in the blood of the old. We are not here in the region of principles.

From the Synoptists Dr. Denney passes to the earliest Christian teaching as given in Acts. It is surely an extreme position when he denies that the death ever presented itself as a difficulty to be got over, and when, refusing to see anything of the nature of development, he reads into every statement the full-blown forensic theory. The death of Christ is spoken of in Acts as a crime which God neutralized by the resurrection, as foretold by the prophets, as determined by the counsel and foreknowledge of God; but it is never once described as a propitiation. It is not even brought into connexion with forgiveness at all, forgiveness being preached simply in Jesus' name. Dr. Denney's answer is that the connexion is 'self-evident to anyone who believes in Christianity as a whole, and who reads with a Christian mind!' That is an easy, but not a very convincing, way of getting past the clear evidence that the death of Christ had neither the place nor the significance for primitive Christianity that it afterwards had for Paul.

When we come to the great apostle of the Gentiles, Dr. Denney's labour in maintaining the thesis is conspicuously lightened. No one will deny that the central theme of Paul's Gospel is the cross; and there is now a very general agreement that his epistles contain an interpretation or theory of Christ's death that may be described as forensic. We give his statement of Paul's doctrine in his own words. 'In dying, Christ made our sin His own: He took it on Himself as the reality which it is in God's sight and to God's law: He became sin, became a curse for us. It is this which gives His death a propitiatory character and power: in other words, which makes it possible for God to be at once righteous and a God who accepts as righteous those who believe in Jesus. He is righteous, for in the death of Christ His law is honoured by the Son who takes the sin of the world to Himself as all that it is to God; and He can accept as righteous those who believe in Jesus, for in so believing sin becomes to them what it is to Him.' In this statement Dr. Denney has added to Paul something of his own. Paul does not say that the believer is accepted because sin has become to him what it is to Christ—that would involve a departure from the juristic scheme; what he does say is that faith is imputed for righteousness. But there is a more serious objection to Dr. Denney's presentation of the apostle's doctrine than this. He has taken it out of its historical setting, and given it a modern setting in which it no longer correctly

represents Paul's thought. According to Dr. Denney, the problem which Paul faced, and the premise of his Gospel, is this—How can God justify and yet appear just? Paul, in fact, was confronted by an antinomy between the justice and the mercy of God, and what he found in Christ's death was a solution of that antinomy. Such a position may seem to find support in Ro 3^{26}, but in reality it is untenable. We have many glimpses into Paul's inner life, but in none of these is there the slightest indication that he ever, either before or after conversion, viewed forgiveness in the light of a problem. His problem was not that of the possibility of forgiveness; it was the Jewish law, the Old Testament dispensation: how to justify his breach with it, how to demonstrate that the old order had been annulled and a new order inaugurated. The Epistle to the Galatians makes this point sufficiently clear. What Paul meant by the law was the Old Testament dispensation, not however as we, who find its soul in the prophets and psalmists, conceive it, but as the *Pharisees* conceived it—a dispensation that had no principle but strict recompense, and no elements but command, threat, and reward, and that therefore excluded grace by its very idea. If he argued on the hypothesis that the principle of recompense is inviolable, it was not because it presented itself to him in that light in its abstraction, but because it was the governing idea of an order which he accepted without question as of divine institution. Only in the light of this conception of the law can we understand Paul's juristic doctrine. That doctrine had its origin, not so much in his religious experience, as in apologetic necessities. The death of Christ, interpreted as a satisfaction paid to the law, presented itself as a means by which he could justify and enforce a breach with the old order of 'works' and an acceptance of the new order of grace. The law's claims being satisfied, it had no more to say: it was abrogated, and God could now deal with men by way of grace and forgiveness, a way which had, indeed, been in His mind from the first. That the juridical doctrine of reconciliation had its origin in dialectic does not exclude the fact that the apostle could draw from it religious impulse. It is not in this, however, but in another doctrine that we find the deepest rendering of his Christian experience.

As everyone knows, Paul at least seems to have two doctrines of reconciliation through Christ's death—the juridical already mentioned, and what is usually called the ethico-mystical. Some have attempted to explain the first through the second, and others the second through the first. Most of us have tried our hand at bringing the two into the unity of a single system, and most have given up the task as impossible. It is now all but universally recognized that the two must be left side by side. How does Dr. Denney deal with the difficulty? His manner is as usual somewhat peremptory. 'The dying to sin (of the ethico-mystical doctrine introduced in Ro 6) may,' he says, 'be a new idea to the man who takes the point of view of Paul's opponents, and who does not know what it is to be justified through faith in the propitiation which is in Christ's death; but it is not a new idea to the apostle, nor to anyone who has received the reconciliation he preaches: nor would he be offering any logical defence of his Gospel if it *were* a new idea. It is Christ dying for sin, it is Christ dying our death on the tree, who evokes the faith by which we become right with God; and the faith which He evokes answers to what He is and to what He does: it is faith which has a death to sin in it.' In other words, the ethico-mystical theory does not supplement the juridical, but only exhibits its moral adequacy. Now, whatever we may think of this mode of connecting justification with regeneration, nothing is more certain than that it is not Paul's mode. When in the sixth chapter of Romans he makes the transition from justification to the new life, he does not appeal to gratitude as the connecting link, nor does he subject justifying faith to analysis, in order to show that a dying to sin and a living to holiness are implicit in it. He makes a fresh start, and proceeds without the remotest reference to the juridical idea. When a man is baptized into Christ, Paul argues, when he enters into a living connexion with Christ, he in that very act dies to his old sinful life in the flesh and rises into a new life in the spirit. And this ethical death and resurrection are possible, not because the death of Christ satisfied the claims of the law, but because it had the character of an archetypal dying unto sin, of a destruction of the flesh which is the principle of sin, and because it was followed by a resurrection into a new life which is wholly in the Spirit. The doctrine of a mystical fellowship with Christ in His death and

resurrection is at least as prominent and as characteristic of the apostle as the juridical doctrine. Its independence is further proved by the fact that it is wrought out into detail. It is brought into connexion with his theory of sin as having its seat in the flesh, with his theory of the spirit as the divine principle that stands opposed to flesh, and with his conception of history as an advance from flesh to spirit. There is at least a hint that Paul sometimes considered the problem of the law's abrogation from this point of view: as part of the fleshly order the law lost its validity with the destruction of that order in Christ's flesh. It is, we think, a mistake to reduce the forensic doctrine to the terms of the ethico-mystical as is done by Weizsaecker; but it is equally a mistake to reverse the process. That Paul should have left the two doctrines unconnected will be an offence only to those who seek the greatness of a system in its logical unity.

Space will permit of only one other reference to Dr. Denney's treatment of the New Testament books. It was with some curiosity that we approached his chapter on the Fourth Gospel; not that we doubted his courage, but the ingenuity required seemed in this case almost more than human. Dr. Denney, indeed, surrenders the prologue as hopeless so far as his thesis is concerned, but he contends that the Gospel itself is not to be read from the prologue's standpoint. In this position he has the support of Harnack; but Harnack has found few followers, and the position is hardly capable of defence. The usual view of the Fourth Gospel is that it interprets Christ's work, not through the conception of a propitiatory sacrifice, but through the conceptions of life and light. What we owe to Christ is life eternal, and this life is mediated to us through His revelation of the Father. It is not His death but His life and work as a whole that constitutes the Revelation of Divine grace and truth; His death has a place only as exhibiting with the rest of His life His fidelity and His royalty. This view of the Johannine teaching is not drawn from isolated texts or recondite references, but from the endlessly repeated statements of the book. What has Dr. Denney to advance against this and in favour of his own view that even here the propitiatory sacrifice is the fundamental doctrine? He passes by the general character of the teaching in complete silence, and draws attention to a few isolated passages; in his own words, 'putting this and that together in order to discover what the writer does not explicitly say.' The first passage cited is the Baptist's reference to Christ as the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. From this he draws the inference that the author put the conception of Christ as a sacrifice for sin in the forefront of his work. We have already referred to the limited amount of dogma that can be derived from sacrificial language. He finds the same view of Christ's death in the sixth chapter, where Jesus speaks about eating His flesh and drinking His blood, on the ground that these words refer to the Supper. No doubt the words have this reference; but their interpretation is added, and it is not sacrificial: 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.' Only in one passage does Dr. Denney profess to find *explicit* support for his view—'For their sakes I sanctify Myself, that they also may be sanctified in truth.' He argues that the sanctification of the Saviour has reference to His death, and the sanctification of the sinner to the sinner's reconciliation; and he concludes that what we have here is just Paul's doctrine, that Christ dies our death that we may be drawn into the fellowship of His death, and so put right with God. But apart from the fact that the reference to the death is more than doubtful, it is clear from what precedes that the medium of sanctification is nothing other than the word of truth.

As a study of New Testament teaching in its historical objectivity, Dr. Denney's book can hardly be taken seriously. The interpretation is determined throughout by dogmatic presuppositions.

The strength of the book lies in its powerful exhibition of the great ideas which have found in the past, and which still find, a home and an instrument in the forensic doctrine of the atonement. No one who considers this doctrine with unbiassed mind but must confess that it presents in the most vivid way the tremendous evil of sin, the transcendent glory and sacrifice of divine grace, and the immeasurable debt which the world owes to Christ. Dr. Denney clings to it with a passionate earnestness. He puts it at the centre not only of life, but of theology. Only in relation to it do other doctrines find their true place. Inspiration means the unity of Scripture, and Scripture finds its point of unity in the sin-bearing. The Person

of Christ must be determined by His atoning work. He is the one who could do this work. The Holy Spirit, psychologically considered, is indistinguishable from that infinite assurance of God's love given in Christ's atoning death. The atonement is also the principle of Christian ethics: the new life is faith's response to its appeal.

It must be said, however, that Dr. Denney has not done much to present the forensic idea in such a form as shall meet the difficulties which many feel regarding it. It involves several presuppositions that the modern mind will not easily grant. For one thing, it involves the view that death—not spiritual but natural death—is the direct consequence of sin and its specific penalty. Dr. Denney attempts to evade the obvious scientific difficulty by asserting that while death comes physically, there is a spiritual element in it. God's voice speaks through it: through death the divine judgment on sin comes home to the conscience. We venture to say that such a statement is true neither to Scripture nor to experience. In the Old Testament an untimely or violent death is indeed regarded as the judgment of heaven; but never a death that comes in the ordinary course of nature. If we except Paul's dogmatic use of the idea, the same thing is true of the New Testament; and even in Paul's theory the emphasis falls more on the violent and therefore penal character of Christ's death than upon the death itself. To speak, as Dr. Denney does, of the sinlessness of Jesus enabling Him to realise its awful character, is to go outside the apostle's thought. And surely there are few Christian people who in the presence of death feel that they are standing face to face with God's judgment on sin. The specific penalty of sin is not a fact of the natural life, but of the moral life; and the old theologians were more logical than Dr. Denney, if less sensitive, when they spoke of Christ as suffering something that corresponded to the spiritual torments of hell. Another presupposition of the forensic theory is that guilt, like a debt, can be legally transferred from one person to another. Dr. Denney gets over the moral difficulty attaching to such an idea of transference by claiming for it the authority of a revealed fact, and by lifting it above moral criticism. 'The obedience of the Redeemer (*e.g.* His assumption of the sinner's doom) transcends morality, if we will; it is something to which morality is unequal; from the point of view of ordinary ethics it is a miracle.' 'We ought to feel,' he says again, 'that moralizing objections here are beside the mark, and that is not for sinful men, who do not know what love is, to tell beforehand whether, or how far, the love of God can take upon itself the burden and responsibility of the world's sin, or if it does so, in what way its reality shall be made good.' One might remark that Dr. Denney's free critical position—a position which permits him to reject as legendary more than one fragment of New Testament narrative, and to describe the Epistle to the Hebrews as 'the high water-mark of uninspired writing'—is ill adapted to support an *ab extra* conception of revelation. But apart from this, the idea of a legal transference of merit or demerit will scarcely appear as a moral miracle to any one who is familiar with the literature of Jewish rabbinism. Dr. Denney himself constantly tends to get away from the strict juridical notion, and to give to the fact that Christ took upon Himself our burden a purely ethical expression, forgetting that with the surrender of this notion the forensic theory, as a theory, tumbles into ruin.

Throughout the book Dr. Denney proceeds on the assumption that the Cross and the rationale of it are for religion one and the same thing, and that there is no interpretation of Christ's death which enables us to regard it as a demonstration of love to sinners if its substitutionary character is denied. Apart from the atonement, he tells us further, the love of God has no real meaning, but becomes a mere indeterminate, sentimental expression. Of a like kind is the assertion that the denial of propitiation is equivalent to the denial that Christ has any place in His Gospel at all. Even to those who accept the author's general position such statements must seem wildly extravagant. Can any one fail to see that the love of Christ, as exhibited in His dealing with men, and as brought to its highest power in His death, *is* a fact, and a fact that has proved itself a redemptive and creative force in the life of mankind, apart from all dogmatic theories. Was it a mere indeterminate sentiment to the woman who was a sinner, or to publicans like Zaccheus? They were but poorly provided with dogma, and yet Christ's love brought them the assurance of forgiveness and saved them. But if the love of Christ is a reality apart from dogma, the love of God must be equally so; for it is from the former

that the latter derives its meaning and power. It is in Christ that we meet with the living God as a power of righteousness and love; and only in contact with that love that was separate from sin and yet sought out the sinner, does the divine condemnation of sin become a reality to us, and the divine forgiveness a reality. In setting the forensic theory of atonement at the centre of religion, Dr. Denney really replaces the fact by an idea drawn from it. Not Christ Himself is made the object of our faith, but an idea of something great that Christ did for us. It is not, in his account, the love itself in all its richness, as embodied in our Saviour's every word and deed, and reproduced in human lives to-day—it is not that that saves; but the *idea* of a love that was so great that it assumed the responsibilities of our sin. We have already admitted that the forensic theory does embody a great deal of what is true of the reality; but an idea is never so rich as the reality, it is never, in its form at least, so enduring, and it can never take its place.

Modern Criticism and its Influence on Theology.[1]

By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D., Master of Selwyn College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge.

The aim of the Christian student is truth; and the aim of the Christian teacher is to bring that truth to bear upon human character and life. The Old Testament forms an integral part of the Bible. It was placed in the hands of the Christian Church by its Founder and His Apostles as the record of God's revelation of Himself to His chosen people and the manifold preparation for His own coming; as the source from which instruction in conduct was to be derived and as the means by which the spiritual life was to be fed. We cannot, therefore, treat it as any other book: it is sacred ground; reverence is demanded of us as we approach it. But it is no true reverence which would exempt it from the fullest examination by all legitimate methods of criticism. Inquiry into the origin, the structure, the character, the meaning of the books which compose it is not only permissible, but indispensable. 'To discover more clearly how anything has grown may enable us more truly to estimate its worth and to distinguish it more confidently from all other things.' God's revelation of Himself was progressive, and its interpretation must be progressive. We may reasonably expect that 'every increase of knowledge will bring forth a deeper knowledge of the truth committed to His Church.' New modes of thought, more searching methods of literary and historical investigation, fresh discoveries of science and archæology, must necessarily affect and modify the interpretation of the Bible. It was once as easy as it was natural to regard the first chapter of Genesis as a literal account of the way in which the universe was brought into being; now that we have read the records of the rocks and learnt some fragments of the mystery of the heavens, we know that it cannot be regarded as literal history. But its religious value remains unaltered. It teaches religious truths which geology and astronomy could never teach with authority—truths which are more important for the mass of mankind than all the results of the most elaborate scientific researches.

But truth is not to be won without effort and, it may be, pain; and even, as it may seem, temporary loss. Times of change must be times of trial. They call for faith, courage, patience, sympathy:—for faith that God is still teaching His Church, as He taught it of old, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, 'by divers portions and in divers manners'; for courage to go forward trustfully, following the light of the reason which God has given us; for patience to 'prove all things' and 'hold fast that which is good'; for sympathy between those who cling to tradition and those who are animated by the desire for progress.

Now, what is the position of students and teachers of the Bible to-day? They are face to face with a treatment of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, which half, nay, a quarter, of a

[1] A paper read at the Church Congress, Northampton, October 1902.

century ago would have seemed utterly irreverent, subversive of the foundations of the faith, and which still seems to many (it is not to be wondered at) irreverent and mischievous. Let me try briefly to state what modern criticism is saying with regard to the Old Testament. Pardon me if, for the sake of brevity, my statement is somewhat blunt and dogmatic.

(1) Textual criticism declares the text to be seriously corrupt. The old theory of the perfection of the Massoretic text is no longer tenable in the face of a mass of cumulative evidence to the contrary.

(2) Linguistic criticism throws doubt upon the interpretation of not a few passages. The meaning of words is disputed; grammatical constructions are ambiguous; allusions are obscure; translation fails adequately to convey the meaning of the original, and honesty compels us to recognize an element of uncertainty in a multitude of renderings.

(3) Literary criticism has investigated the origin of the various books, and pronounces that some books once supposed to have been written by single authors are compilations with a long and complicated literary history, and that some books cannot have been written by the authors whose names they bear. Sometimes it goes further, and asserts that some books have been revised and interpolated in such a way that their original authors would hardly be able to recognize them.

(4) Historical criticism affirms that much of the history has been coloured by the beliefs and practices of the times in which the books were compiled, long after the events, and must be regarded as rather an ideal than an actual picture of the national life. It bids us to a great extent revolutionize our views of the course of the history of Israel.

(5) The researches of archæology and the comparative study of religions show that the religion of Israel derived many elements from the primitive religion of the Semites, possessed much in common with the religions of surrounding nations, and was largely influenced in its developments by the faiths with which it came in contact in the course of its history.

In these and other ways modern criticism is demanding a new treatment of the Bible, which seems to many incompatible with the reverence due to it; it is offering a new view of the Bible which seems to many to impair, if not to destroy, its value. Is not all this perplexing, disquieting, unsettling? Yes; but the new movement cannot be ignored; it cannot be crushed by denunciation; if it rests, as its advocates claim that it does, upon the honest recognition of facts, it must in the end be triumphant. Now, practically everyone who has made any serious study of the Old Testament has felt himself compelled to admit that the traditional view of its character—the view which was generally accepted fifty years ago—can no longer be maintained without modification. Many students of the Old Testament, probably a majority of them, have found themselves compelled to go further, to accept critical principles, and to revise their views of its textual, literary, and historical character to a greater or less degree, in the directions I have indicated. They have done so, not in obedience to any *à priori* philosophical or theological theories, but as the result of a careful and unprejudiced examination of the facts in the light of modern critical methods and enlarged knowledge. But they have not abandoned their belief that the Old Testament is the God-given record of God's special revelation of Himself through Israel in preparation for the Incarnation, and as such of permanent significance for the Christian Church.

This being the case, the clergy are in duty bound to endeavour to understand the methods of criticism, to estimate the validity of its results, and to consider how those results, if true, must affect their teaching. For if those methods are, generally speaking, sound; if those results are, to any considerable extent, valid; readers of the Bible must be gently and gradually prepared to accept them. The responsibility laid upon the teachers of the present generation is to guide those entrusted to their care safely through the inevitable dangers of a time of change; to show that the Bible is not less the Word of God because we are forced, in the light of modern research, to acknowledge that it does not possess many characteristics which it was once believed to possess, and which had come to be regarded as essential notes of a record of divine revelation; to explain how its religious value is not diminished, but increased, by a courageous treatment of it in the light of fuller knowledge. The clergy who are to teach must teach themselves; they have promised to be diligent in such studies as help to

the knowledge of Holy Scripture; and some knowledge of modern criticism is indispensable, partly that they may avoid basing the truth of Christianity upon insecure foundations and defending positions which they will presently be forced to abandon, partly that they may not be guilty of ignoring new light upon the meaning of Scripture which God intends should be thrown by the progress of modern thought. For there is a grave danger to faith in insisting upon views which the majority of thinking men have found, or will shortly find, to be untenable; and there is a serious loss to the faith if the results of criticism are ignored, supposing its claim to offer a larger and sounder theology is to any extent well-grounded. I do not plead that the processes or results of modern criticism should often, if ever, be directly discussed in the pulpit; in many churches they would be utterly out of place, and would only perplex and annoy; but I do believe that they must be taken careful account of in determining the way in which the Old Testament is taught, if the faith of the next generation is to be spared an abrupt and perilous shock.

But here it is necessary, in view of certain recent developments of criticism, to point out that it is all-important to distinguish between sober criticism, the results of which have been tested and are generally accepted, and speculative criticism, which is the outcome of individual ingenuity, and is never likely to command a general approval. Sober criticism is objective; it carefully collects facts, arranges them, and endeavours to ascertain their meaning. It recognizes its limitations; it acknowledges that many of its conclusions are only probable. Speculative criticism is subjective; it often pretends to impossibilities; it depends on the intuition of the critic; and frequently it convinces no one but himself. Thus, for example, it must be admitted that in a large number of instances the text of the Old Testament is corrupt, and honesty requires us to acknowledge it; but it is absurd to suppose that in more than a few instances the original text can with certainty be restored by conjecture, and it is ridiculous to imagine that history can be rewritten by the aid of a long series of unsupported guesses, however ingenious. The results of literary criticism are at best only probable, though in many cases the probability amounts to practical certainty; but literary criticism has been pushed to the wildest extremes, as, for instance, when we are told that we have no genuine writings of the prophet Jeremiah except a few lyric poems, and that only a dim remembrance of the grand form of the prophet is to be discerned in the poetic portions of the book. The results of historical criticism, again, are only probable; it may easily be mistaken in its attempts to reconstruct history from scanty details; it is often presumptuous in presenting as certainties what are only tentative theories. Every movement is sure to have its extravagances; they misrepresent and injure it, for those who dislike the movement are only too ready to judge it by its extravagances, and to point to them as characteristic, when they are mere excrescences; and at the present time there are such extravagances of criticism, which must not be regarded as normal and representative. Those on whom lies the responsibility of teaching are bound to examine and discriminate.

But to return to our main subject. In what ways does modern criticism affect theology, *i.e.* our whole view of the content of God's revelation of Himself and of the way in which it was given and recorded? Let me speak of three points—the mode of revelation, the character of prophecy, the nature of inspiration.

(1) It leads us to regard God's revelation of Himself as a more gradual process than we have supposed it to be, effected, to a large extent, by the action of ordinary forces, developed in ways which we should now call natural rather than supernatural. There is an analogy between the process of revelation and the process of creation as we now understand it. The shaping of the universe, we now know, was the work not of six literal days, but of immeasurable ages; yet it was no whit the less the obedient response of matter to the fiat of Omnipotence. The lofty creed of ethical Monotheism was not flashed into the heart of the nation once for all amid the lightnings of Sinai, but won through many a struggle and many a failure; yet none the less it was Jehovah's message to the nation from the day when He brought it out of the land of Egypt.

(2) Prophecy, that unique gift of ancient Israel, was far more closely linked with the time and circumstances of its delivery than was formerly thought. We should place its evidential value now far more in its moral force than in its predictions, though this element must not be denied

or minimized. It was the exposition of eternal principles in the language of the time; rooted in the history and institutions of the chosen people; conditioned by the temperaments and fortunes and environments of individual prophets; yet none the less surely a message from God and no mere fanciful aspiration of enthusiasts and fanatics, or natural expression of moral ideals by the best representatives of a naturally religious race.

(3) Criticism compels us to revise our doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture. We must not ascribe an equal value and authority to every part of the Old Testament. We must no longer talk of its infallibility and inerrancy. We must distinguish its temporary, imperfect elements. Our Lord Himself taught us to do so. While we hold fast to the belief that the Old Testament contains the record—the divinely-shaped record—of God's revelation of Himself to Israel and through Israel, we seem to be forced to admit that the record was not given and has not been preserved in such form as we might antecedently have expected and as has generally been believed. And surely, in this connexion, the fact that for centuries the Old Testament was known to the Church only through a most imperfect version gives much matter for reflection.

What follows from these results of criticism? Is not our theology liberated, deepened, strengthened?

(1) It is liberated.—We are relieved of a multitude of difficulties in the study of the Old Testament when we accept in general principles, if not in every detail, the critical account of its origin and character. We need no longer spend our time and energy in attempting to reconcile every supposed discrepancy. We can recognize most frankly that the immoralities and barbarities and imprecations which shock us belong to a lower stage of religious history. Unfulfilled prophecies need no longer perplex us. We can look away from details to the great central truths which were being slowly taught to an unwilling nation, to the great divine purpose for the world which was being patiently wrought out in and through the vicissitudes of the nation's history and the sufferings and triumphs of its individual members.

(2) It is deepened.—For at the present moment, through the instrumentality of this criticism which to many seems destructive and unsettling, God is surely driving us back, lovingly, if sternly, from the letter to the spirit; from the word to the Speaker; from external details to the great spiritual truths which underlie them. We only follow our Lord's example if we concentrate attention on the great principles which sum up the teaching of the Old Testament (Mt 7^{12} 22^{40}).

(3) It is strengthened.—Criticism compels us to a deeper and more careful study of the way in which God wrought out His purposes in the world in history as well as in creation; and I cannot but believe that it has a special message for our time, because it presents to us a view of His action in past history which will confirm our faith and help us to believe more confidently in His continued working in the world. As we enter more and more sympathetically into the nature of the process of God's working in old time we begin to realize how hard it must have been, at the time, to be sure that God was guiding the destinies of Israel; yet, as we survey the completed history, we cannot fail to trace His guidance: and so we are encouraged to believe that, hard as we may sometimes find it to recognize His guiding hand in the tangled history of the present, all is converging to the 'one far-off divine event'—the universal establishment of His eternal sovereignty.

At the Literary Table.

ENGLISH MEN OF LETTERS: JOHN RUSKIN.

Macmillan, 2s. net.

Literary men and biographers have conspired to say there shall be no more heroes. It is perhaps a reaction. There was a time when every villain of the past was washed a hero or a saint, till of Judas himself it was said, that 'all the ends he aimed at were his country's, his God's, and truth's,' and when he fell, he fell a 'blessed martyr.' But when English men of letters write on other English men of letters, they ought to be able to resist reactions.

Mr. Frederic Harrison's *John Ruskin* is the best of the new series yet issued—though there is one curious and particular weakness in it. It is a book well written and of good proportions. It describes Ruskin's work and Ruskin's person in such a way that one obtains real knowledge of the work, even of the enormous mass of work, which Ruskin did, together with a memorable picture of the person. And although Mr. Harrison has joined the conspiracy, and reveals his 'man of letters' a creature of no heroic blood, he at least finds him a genius, and says so. He approves of Ruskin's writing. Ruskin's style, not always to his taste, yet often calls out praise unstinted. Ruskin's thoughts are sometimes wholly right, sometimes the seed of great and good movements in our land. Thus: 'In the sixth chapter of the second volume of the *Stones of Venice* is a passage about the mental slavery of modern workmen, which may be said to be the creed, if it be not the origin, of a new industrial school of thought. It is as powerful in expression as it is elevated in conception.' And his description of Ruskin himself, as he saw him first in 1860, deserves to be quoted in our school books.

Yet Ruskin is no hero. For he was a reformer, and the best that Mr. Harrison has to say of 'Reformers, Hot-gospellers, and Prophets' is, that 'we must take them as we find them, and accept from them what we can.' It is towards the end of the book that the worst comes. The book itself somewhat degenerates then, as if Mr. Harrison were getting tired of it. There are repetitions, and the style is less effective. Then comes this on Ruskin's remarks about Leighton and Tadema: 'He reminds us of a rabid monk at Naples or Seville denouncing "The Revolution." It is an offence, not so much against reason and taste as against morality and fairness, which no skill in judgment or beauty of language can excuse, and which even the approach of cerebral disease can hardly palliate.' The judgment on *Fors* is not less terrible. But the last chapter, the chapter on *Præterita*, is something of a redemption.

We said there was one curious and particular weakness in the book. It is this. Mr. Harrison writes, not as a man of letters, but as a man of a certain religious persuasion. He gives us to understand that there are just two classes of religious people in the world, Positivists and Calvinists. He himself and Auguste Comte and John Ruskin (as it turns out) and a few others are Positivists; all the rest of the world are Calvinists. And it is a dreadful thing to be a Calvinist, though there are degrees of dreadfulness in it. One of the worst kinds is a Bible Calvinist. John Ruskin's mother was that. John Ruskin himself loved his mother, but Mr. Harrison cannot find words severe enough to describe her. 'The father was a man of singular prudence, patience, practical talent, conventional views of life, and fine taste. The mother was a woman of great power, indomitable will, harsh nature, and an almost saturnine religion.' And so the infant Ruskin 'was often whipped, was not allowed any pretty toys, was surrounded by things forbidden, and was forced to read the Bible aloud day by day.' It is terrible. And yet there is relief in it. To find Mr. Harrison claiming Ruskin as a Positivist almost touches the grotesque. The index gives six references to Comte, but there are several more. 'I often had occasion to remind him,' says Mr. Harrison, 'in public and in private, that most of his social doctrines had been anticipated by Auguste Comte.' And then near the end comes the claim of conversion: 'A passage in *Præterita* well expresses the root religion of his life: "I grew daily more sure . . . that the only constant form of pure religion was in useful work, faithful love, and stintless charity." —Well! that is the essence of the religion of humanity.'

THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

T. & T. Clark, 8s. net.

The great difficulty in the way of reaching assurance on the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God—and it *is* difficult to reach assurance on it—is the apparent inconsistency of the New Testament teaching on the subject. Mr. Scott Lidgett examines the New Testament teaching with very particular care. His conclusions are these: First, that the Fatherhood of God, as revealed by our Lord, is in a special sense Fatherhood towards the Son; that, secondly, it is Fatherhood towards those who, through faith in Christ, become sons of God; but that the use of the name 'the Father,' the express teaching, and still more the underlying assumption of our Lord and His apostles; and, finally, their doctrine of human nature as a whole, especially in its relation to

Christ, compel us to regard the universal Fatherhood of God as everywhere set forth in the New Testament, though man's sonship is but a latent capacity marred by sin, until he receives 'the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.'

If the doctrine of God's Fatherhood has been winning of late, Mr. Scott Lidgett does not think its victory is due to theology. Rather the tendency of the most active theology, that of the High Church, has been toward the mediæval doctrine of the sovereignty of God. It has been through the sense of neighbourhood and brotherhood which men have been gaining toward one another. 'A new gentleness and sympathy have been awakened. And such brotherliness has of necessity found its source and its justification in the fatherliness of God. The source of what is truest and best in me must be in Him; therefore, if I am brotherly, how much more must He be fatherly!'

The danger lies in the introduction of sentimentalism. Mr. Scott Lidgett believes that one of the great theological tasks set before the twentieth century is to exclude sentimentalism, give the doctrine of God's sovereignty its place, and rescue the whole realm for the supreme truth of the eternal Fatherhood of God.

It is a great book. Since Candlish and Crawford we have at least made progress toward the apostolic precept to speak the truth *in love*. We have made progress also in our sense of the vastness of God's thoughts concerning us.

THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS.

T. & T. Clark, 3s. each.

Two more volumes of the 'Epoch-Makers' have been published. The one is *Euclid: His Life and System*, by Thomas Smith, D.D., LL.D.; the other, *Pascal and the Port Royalists*, by Professor William Clark LL.D., D.C.L.

We cannot say that after reading Dr. Smith's book we know much more about Euclid than we knew before. But we know more about many other things, and we have had an hour or two's excellent enjoyment. Dr. Smith does not treat his subject as a joke exactly, but he lets his humour play all over it, and easily shows us that in his eighty-fifth year the writing of a book like this is mere child's play to him.

He is very funny about critics and mythmakers,—the two are indistinguishable to his thinking. So little do we know of the life of Euclid that, he says, 'a thoroughgoing mythist might even doubt, and consequently deny,—for, with the proper mythist a very small measure of doubt warrants a very decided denial,—that Euclid was ever born, or ever existed as a man at all.' And then he gives an ingenious hint to the 'mythist' to discover the complete myth in the name. For *Eucleides* is compounded of *eu* 'well' and *kleis*, *kleidos*, 'a key': what could be more appropriate for the science of geometry than to call it *the happy key?*

Again, he says that in his own lifetime Euclid's fame must have rested on his *Music*, his *Optics*, and the rest, not on his *Elements of Geometry*, and he illustrates: 'Sir Walter Scott was known to the people of Selkirkshire as *the Shirra*, and to his young sportsman son as ever the first to descry the hare in his lair; *we* know him as the author of *Waverley*.'

For the modern Bible critic Dr. Smith says a Roman physician would have prescribed a course of Hellebore: 'our receipt is Euclid, to be taken undiluted.'

He scores against one biblical and mathematical critic,—it is not Bishop Colenso,—who concludes that the Jews paid little attention to geometry since the author of 1 Kings vii. 23 (and 2 Chron. iv. 2) says that the circumference of a circle is three times its diameter. What would the critic have had him say? He would have had him say *in a popular book of religion*, not that 'a line of thirty cubits did compass it about,' but that 'a line of 31.4159 cubits did compass it about.'

Dr. Smith has faith in the future of geometry: 'We are convinced that there neither is nor can be any department of study which could supply the means of continuous exercise of the reasoning faculty to any extent approaching that to which they are afforded by geometry.'

Professor Clark had a great subject assigned him,—no more attractive in all the range of the series,—and he has made a great book of it.

THE HOLY LAND.

A. & C. Black, 20s. net.

We may have a vague idea that colour-printing is making progress, but when a book like this comes into our hands, the idea gets realized. The book is written by John Kelman, M.A., and

painted by John Fulleylove, R.I. Its title is simply *The Holy Land*, its size a small quarto, its material workmanship fit to make it a quick choice out of all the books that lie on the bookseller's counter.

There are ninety-two illustrations. They are all full-page and on special paper, and they are nearly all in colour. Do you know the Eastern blaze? Do you know the special colour-scheme of Palestine? If not, you will scarcely accept these pictures; they will seem unfinished, they will seem glaring. Mr. Kelman says (and he is speaking only of the land, not of the picturesque people of the land): 'When the plains are behind you, and you are in among the valleys up which the road climbs to Jerusalem, you at once recognize the fact that a new and surprising world of colour has been entered.' Recognizing it there, you recognize it here. But if you have not seen it among the valleys, you may miss the reflection of it in these pages. Yet who can miss the effect of the Lake of Galilee looking north from Tiberias, or the Interior of the Mosque of El Aksa from the south-east, though the difference between these two is so great?

Mr. Kelman divides his description of Palestine into three parts: the Land, the Invaders, the Spirit of Syria. He treats of the Spirit of Syria in five chapters. There is the literary flavour in their very titles: (1) The Lighter Side of Things; (2) The Shadow of Death; (3) The Spectral; (4) The Land of the Cross; (5) Resurrection. What does he mean by the Spectral? 'The Shadow of Death,' he says, 'is always haunted. A strong and pure faith peoples it with angels, and is accompanied through its darkness by that Good Shepherd whose rod and staff comfort the soul. When the faith is neither strong nor pure, and when those who sit in darkness have been disloyal to their faith, it is haunted by spectres, and its darkness becomes poisonous. . . . This unclean spectral element is a very real part of the spirit of Syria.'

It was lavish to give us those pictures and this writing in one book. And yet so well do they associate, that two separate books would not have been equal to this one.

FOR THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

Notice first of all Mr. Melrose's Wall Pictures. No infant-class teacher can get on without them. The ear has no chance with the eye. And these pictures are striking enough to catch the dullest eye. Nor is there crowding of figure to cause confusion. Mr. Melrose has sent a series on the first half of the Acts of the Apostles, and a number of detached Old and New Testament scenes.

Messrs. Fleming H. Revell of Edinburgh and London have published some practical Sunday school-books. *Bible Lessons for Little Beginners* are in two parts to fulfil a two-years' course. The author is Mrs. Margaret Cushman Haven. *Outline Studies* in Acts and the greater Epistles are suitable for private study as well as for Sunday-school teaching. The author is Mr. William G. Moorehead.

More systematic and direct is *Arnold's Practical Sabbath-School Commentary on the International Lessons for* 1903. For each lesson it gives the text in both versions, a commentary, a practical survey, practical application, blackboard exercise, and hints to primary teachers. *The Child for Christ* is a Manual for Parents, Pastors, and Sunday-School Workers. It is written by Dr. McKinney, and contains a 'Prologue' by Dr. Schauffler.

From the Church of England Sunday School Institute have come the Lessons for the First Year of a Five Years' Course of *Bible and Prayer-Book Teaching*; together with *Lessons on the Sunday Gospels*, by the Rev. C. A. Goodhart, M.A.

A NEW SCIENCE.

Macmillan, 8s. 6d. net.

Its name is 'Social Economics.' It is not our old acquaintance, Political Economy, with a new name. It touches Political Economy, it partly covers the same ground. But it is practical where Political Economy is theoretical. It is an applied science. When once it has really become a science, and is recognized in our school-books, it will teach us how to do our own work in the world and how to get all the other members of society to do theirs. Be up to date. Find out about this coming science. Give it a helping hand.

The most recent contribution to the infant science of Social Economics is *The Strength of the People*, by Helen Bosanquet. It is a fresh unconventional book, palpitating with enthusiasm and big with hope—just the book to prepare the way for a new science. Much of it looks quite familiar

—the 'Problem of Poverty,' 'Work and Wages,' and the like—but read it; the familiar has at least a new setting, it is being brought under the sway of the laws of Nature, it is on the way to the making of a science. The great practical lesson which the book contains is this: Set everybody to work; set everybody to some work, somewhere; make everybody an *administrator*. Sometimes it can be done in the Church: 'I have in mind one parish in East London where there was a large and empty church, and the whole church-machinery of vicar, curates, and lay visitors, working *in vacuo*, wholly out of touch with the parishioners, except for those who looked for alms. There was also a very poor little Mission, I forget of what denomination, presided over by a zealous harness-maker, and consisting entirely of working-class members—hard-working men and women who spent their evenings in actual mission work amongst the poorest and the worst. They *were* the Church and did the work of it, and so it was a reality to them. The great spiritual leaders have always been those who made great demands upon their followers; who knew that they could not give except to those who were strenuously exerting themselves to partake; and who knew also that the less you ask of human nature the deeper it falls into apathy and indifference.'

MUSIC IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

Smith, Elder, & Co., 10s. 6d. net.

There is no subject whose history is harder to write than that of Music. Keats says—

> Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter.

No history, therefore, can be written of the sweetest music of all. But how easily do even heard melodies perish, passing away almost with the breath that gave them being. How important was the place which music held in the services of the Hebrew sanctuary, yet how little can now be said about it.

Professor Edward Dickinson of Oberlin College has written the History of Music in the Western Church; or rather, as he more modestly puts it, has written on Music in the History of the Western Church. For he knows the delicate elusive character of his subject, and has found out how necessary are caution and reserve in the handling of it. The question, he says, which is ever before us is this: How shall Music contribute most effectually to the ends which church worship has in view, without renouncing those attributes upon which its freedom as fine art depends? The question cannot be answered without some knowledge of the history of music in the Church, some knowledge of 'how music, in issuing from the bosom of the Church, has been moulded under the influence of varying ideals of devotion, liturgic usages, national temperaments, and types and methods of expression current in secular art.' The knowledge of the history of music, he believes, will not only deepen interest in church music to-day and guide the judgment, but will also tend to promote humility and reverence. His book is well arranged and well written. The preliminary chapter on Primitive and Ancient Religious Music at once arrests the attention, and gives the reader confidence that he is in the hands of an authority. If one knows anything of the subject, more is suggested by what is left unsaid than by what is actually affirmed, so many theories, once plausible and popular, being simply passed in silence.

So judicious and so considerate is Professor Dickinson in all his writing, that even the later chapters will give instruction without offence; we mean the chapters on the 'Musical System of the Church of England,' and on 'Congregational Song in England and America.' In regard to England Professor Dickinson says: 'English Church music has never been in a more satisfactory condition than it is to-day; there is no other country in which religious music is so highly honoured, so much the basis of the musical life of the people.'

THE ELDORADO OF THE ANCIENTS.

Pearson, 21s. net.

This is a book of travel, of exploration and discovery. Dr. Carl Peters claims to have done something for the interpretation of the Old Testament. We shall speak about that in a moment. In any case he has written a book which the innumerable multitude who love to sit at home and read tales of enterprise abroad will thoroughly enjoy and thank him for. His style is lively. Perhaps his imagination is lively also. Without imagination a traveller and explorer is of little account. Outside the interpretation of the Old Testament the liveliest imagination can do no harm, and even in relation to the Old Testament

it has its place. Where is the visitor to the Holy Land who was not at first disappointed with the tameness of the scenery? But imagination came to his aid, and lo! it was once more the goodliest of all lands on earth. Dr. Carl Peters sees with the eye, enlivens with the imagination, and then vividly describes the scenes which eye and imagination have together placed before him.

'Shortly after our arrival I heard a loud noise in the village as if somebody were sneezing hard. This sneezing continued. It was the chief, who was crying out from a high wooden scaffolding across the country, 'Skoff, skoff!' ('Food, food!'), by which he gave his people to understand that they should pound flour, and bring it for sale.'

Dr. Peters believes that he has discovered the Land of Ophir, whence Solomon's navy brought 'gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks'; and he devotes a large part of his book to the proof of that. Well, it is a most interesting part, and by no means to be neglected; but Dr. Peters has not placed the matter wholly beyond dispute. He gets over the difficulty of the 'peacocks' by suggesting guinea-fowls, but some difficulties remain. And although it is evident that he has not only explored the country, but also studied the literature of the subject, there are elements in the problem which he has not taken into account. Nevertheless, this part of the book also holds the attention, and affords one the additional pleasure of working comfortably through an old hard problem towards a possible and even plausible solution.

Books of the Month.

THE MAKING OF A CHRISTIAN. By C. Anderson Scott, M.A. (*Allenson*, 1s. 6d.).—Mr. Anderson Scott possesses two rare gifts, gifts that are very rarely found in combination—keen appreciation of knowledge, or what we call scholarship; and keen appreciation of ignorance, or what we call popular writing. Here he writes for young people, and succeeds in imparting to them a complete system of Christian doctrine, apparently with the greatest ease on his part, and we are sure with the greatest delight on theirs. He is not old-fashioned, except that he is in constant touch with the things that have been most surely believed among us from the beginning. In expression he is quite modern, as in the title of chapter xi., 'The New Creature, His Gymnastics.'

Messrs. A. & C. Black have published *Who's Who* (5s. net) and *The Englishwoman's Year-Book* (2s. 6d. net) for 1903. Both have grown in bulk. Both are marvels, almost unexampled marvels even in these days of cheap and bulky year-books, of accuracy, of compass, of compression, and most of all, of price. A distinguished Professor of Logic used to say that his greatest wonder on earth was how people got on before soap was made. It is the wonder of every literary person now how they got on before *Who's Who* and *The Englishwoman's Year-Book* were published.

Mr. Capey's new volume of *Young People* (Burroughs) has as pretty pictures and as pleasant reading as any of the Young Folks' Annuals we have seen. The illustrations, in truth, for all the cheapness of the book, are masterpieces of soft suggestive work.

The Cambridge Press has issued a *Concise Bible Dictionary*, based on the 'Cambridge Companion to the Bible' (1s. net). It will take the place of all other cheap dictionaries.

From the same warehouse comes Dr. Cunningham's *Gospel of Work* (2s. net), consisting of four lectures on Christian Ethics. The titles of the lectures should create an appetite for the book: (1) Divine Vocation and the Dignity of Work; (2) The Duty of Diligence; (3) The Spirit in which Work is done; (4) The Appreciation of Work.

RELIGION AS A CREDIBLE DOCTRINE. By W. H. Mallock (*Chapman & Hall*, 12s.).—In writing his new book, Mr. Mallock has certainly no new end in view. It is simply the reconciliation of science and religion. But an old end may be pursued in a new way. Mr. Mallock's claim upon our attention lies in this that he attempts the reconciliation not as an advocate on either side, but 'as an intellectual accountant who will go carefully over the books of both parties.'

Now in all work of this kind the first and often the last necessity is to know what is meant by 'Science' and by 'Religion.' By science Mr. Mallock means Physical Science, with its materialistic tendencies, and its difficulty in recognizing

the existence of things that do not come under the search of its own scientific instruments. Religion he covers in three statements: first, the proposition that a living God exists who is worthy of our religious emotion, and is able to take account of it; second, that the will of man is free; and third, that his life does not cease with the dissolution of his physical organism.

Now Mr. Mallock is one of our most delightful English writers, and one of our most reasonable thinkers; and he never has been more delightful or more reasonable than here. He is neither an apologist nor apologetic. He speaks of things that are most evidently believed by himself; therefore he is firm and unhesitating. But he knows that he speaks of things which other good men find very hard to believe; therefore he is considerate and long-suffering.

The Church Worker and *The Boys' and Girls' Companion* are the annual volumes published by the Church of England S.S. Institute. The *Church Worker* has no illustrations, but the abundance of the *Companion* makes up for its deficiency. Church workers have no time to look at pictures; they want something to do, and to be shown how to do it.

The three annuals published from Drummond's Tract Depôt, Stirling—*The British Messenger* (1s. and 1s. 6d.), *The Gospel Trumpet* (6d. and 1s.), *Good News* (4d.)—are as absorbingly evangelical as ever, and perhaps more artistic than ever. For fine art and the gospel go well enough together in annuals.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS IDEALS. By the Rev. H. G. Rosedale, M.A., D.D. (*Gay & Bird*, 3s. 6d.).—Dr. Rosedale has hit upon a new and beautiful idea, quite worthy of 'The World Beautiful Library,' to which his book belongs. He has discovered that our English poets have gradually been making progress in their thoughts of God and the things of God. So he takes each of the great poets in succession and tells us what his message is. And as he advances from Chaucer to Browning, he shows that there is an advance in the truth and the beauty of their religious conceptions. We are familiar with writings on the Theology of the English Poets, but this is new. If Dr. Rosedale makes good his endeavour, and we think he does, he has added a new chapter, not only to the study of English Literature, but also to the science of Evolution. In any case, he has written a very pleasant little book.

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE BIBLE. By Richard G. Moulton, M.A. Ph.D. (*Heath*).—There is nothing like specialization for fame. Professor Moulton has made himself a great name by studying the Bible as literature. We have all had a vague idea that the Bible was literature, and have talked much platitude concerning it, but Professor Moulton has *studied* it as literature. He has turned the literary study of the Bible into a science. And besides making the Bible more intelligible to us, he has enlarged our ideas of what literature is. His *Short Introduction* is not an abridgment of the larger work on *The Literary Study of the Bible*. Being addressed to a different audience, that is to say, to a wider and more popular one, it is written from the beginning to suit that audience. And we all know how intelligible and attractive Professor Moulton's writing can be. We have done much for the Bible, says he; there is yet one thing left to do with it, to read it. If we read his book we are much more likely to read the Bible and to find pleasure in it.

CHAPTERS ON PREACHING. By the Rev. George Fletcher (*Kelly*, 2s.).—Many preachers are made, not born. The first requisite, in Mr. Fletcher's opinion, is to be born again. The next, to read all the good books on preaching that have been published, including Mr. Fletcher's own. After that, to preach. Mr. Fletcher begins at the beginning and goes to the end. He covers the whole ground as one who has had to make himself a preacher. He knows the difficulties and how he overcame them. And above all else he has made common words his servants, so that he can give to others what he himself has gained. Besides the chapter on the 'Preacher in his Study,' there is a chapter on 'Preparation for Preaching,' which, apart from the preparation of the sermon, urges three personal matters: the gift of the Spirit, bodily exercise, and spiritual tone. There is a good appendix of Literature.

Mr. Kelly has also published the second volume of *The Dawn of the Reformation* by the

Rev. Herbert B. Workman, M.A. It covers the Age of Hus. It has all the characteristics—original research, trained judgment, personal style—which have given our greatest historians their name.

THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION. By the Rev. Leighton Pullan (*Longmans*, 5s.).—It is difficult for one who does not belong to the Roman Communion to get at the point of view of this book. Yet it does not seem to be written by a Roman, but by a member of the Church of England. But it speaks of the Church as only a Roman is entitled to speak, who regards external continuity as its true note. What the writer means by 'The Christian Tradition' will be understood from the following quotation.

'Another distinguished Presbyterian, Dr. A. B. Bruce, has said that the Canon of Scripture, though it is practically a closed question, is in the abstract an open question, and "never can be anything else on the principles of Protestantism." For us it is not an open question. The Church has answered it by the power of the Holy Ghost. And the Church remains "a witness and keeper of Holy Writ." When devout Protestants make use of the Scriptures, they are simply using a treasure which the inspired prudence of the Catholic Church amassed. The use of it by individuals who are separated from the Church is often blessed by God. But the Bible does not belong to any religious body outside the Church.'

It is strange to hear that Protestantism, which has done so much for the Bible, has no right to it. It is strange to hear that all Presbyterians—that is to say, practically the whole of Scotland, not to go farther afield—neither belong to the Church nor have any right to the Bible. But it is strangest of all to hear that the Bible, which belongs neither to Presbyterianism nor to Protestantism, does belong to the Church of England, which according to the Roman Church is as Protestant as Presbyterianism, and which can only attach itself to the Church by insisting that Spiritual Gift and not material organization makes the Church, a claim which is equally open to Protestantism and Presbyterianism.

THEOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS. By Henry Churchill King (*Macmillan*, 5s. net).—Professor King is nothing if not up to date. In that, however, he is like everybody else. Half our preaching and half our writing is carried away with the wind because it is preaching and writing to the last generation. Professor King is nothing if not more than up to date. As a teacher of his generation he is in advance of it. He has something to lead his generation to, higher than it has yet reached. It is the recognition of the Social Consciousness. He would have the Social Consciousness recognized in theology, in all our religious thinking and teaching. Man was made in the image of God—that is theology, we all know that; therefore man was made in the image of man—that is the social consciousness. Professor King would teach us that. If man was made in the image of God, the chief end of man is to obtain full communion with God. If man was made in the image of man, his next end is to enter into full communion with man. It is not new, you say; and you quote, 'If a man say I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.' Quite so; there is nothing new in theory; but it is the consciousness of it that Professor King desires to realize in us. The book deserves your attention. You will not weary of it. It will make old things new to you.

ERASMUS. By Ernest F. H. Capey (*Methuen*, 3s. 6d.).—Messrs. Methuen's 'Little Biographies' are more than they pretend to be. Neither are they written for little people, nor are they biographies of little men. They are not even very little in size. This volume runs to 226 pages. It contains a bibliography of 24 pages, an excellent index, accurate historical illustrations, and it is written so as not to offend the most deeply read student of Erasmus and his works. It is a biography one may begin with, certainly. It is written for beginners. But Mr. Capey has discovered that to write for beginners demands as thorough a command of a subject as to write for experts. He knows that his responsibility is the greater, the less his readers are able to dispute with him. He knows, in short, that to write for beginners well is to write for everybody. This book has cost him something. It is worth what it cost him. Erasmus is here, the great and the little, yet one personality; and much of what made Erasmus is here also.

An early volume of the same series has only lately reached us. It is Mr. Horsburgh's *Savon-*

arola. These two books ought to do something to make this beautiful and scholarly series known. Those who read one of them, it does not matter which, will certainly seek out the rest.

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY. By J. A. Macculloch (*Methuen*, 6s.).—The Study of Theology is one thing, the Study of Comparative Theology is another. The former is old and well established—too well established, some people think; the latter is now struggling for recognition. Perhaps the day is coming, and we may live to see it, when books like this will be commonplace. But to-day, what can be more startling than to find that a chapter on the 'Communion of Saints' is occupied with an account of Ancestor-Worship and the burial customs of Kaffirs; a single page being devoted to the Christian belief, and that page being used to show that 'the pagan presenting his offering to the *Manes* of his friends, is doing in a gross way what the Christian does when he seeks the welfare of the departed.' The book is full of such surprises. It is largely pioneer work. Comparative Theology is scarcely a science yet. But it is in the pioneer stage that all branches of knowledge possess their keenest interest; and no one will complain that this book is dull or commonplace.

THE BIBLE IN MODERN ENGLISH. Vol. iii. The Books of the Prophets. By Ferrar Fenton (*Partridge*, 2s. 6d. net).—Mr. Fenton is near the end of his heroic task. Another volume will complete it. With the volume of the prophets he has reached and overcome his greatest difficulty. In all future translation, his work will have to be consulted. And to-day those who find the prophets hard reading should try Mr. Fenton's translation.

THE LIFE OF SAINT PHILIP NERI. Edited by F. Ignatius Antrobus (*Kegan Paul*, 2 vols., 15s. net).—Faber's 'Lives of the Saints' began to appear in 1847. They began with the Life of St. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome and Founder of the Congregation of the Oratory. The translation was made from the 1837 edition of Father Bacci. A new edition of Bacci's work appeared at Florence in 1851. It contained, along with certain emendations twelve additional letters of the Saint. In 1868, a new edition of Faber's translation was issued containing the corrections and additions of this Florence edition of 1851, but omitting the Letters, together with the Fifth and Sixth Books, so as to compress the Life into one volume. The present edition restores the Letters, reprints the Fifth and Sixth Books, and returns to the original two volumes. It of course supersedes all other editions in English. For, besides its general completeness, it brings the story of St. Philip up to date, making good use, in carefully chosen footnotes, of all the previous editions. Of the book itself this only need be said, that it behoves all those who reject the miracles in it to imitate the piety that brought them into being.

THE PRINCIPLES OF JESUS. By Robert E. Speer (*Revell*).—Mr. Speer finds Jesus in every thought, act, and relationship of life, or thinks he ought to find Him. That he may find Him everywhere he writes fifty-four short chapters, each chapter dealing with some thought, act, or relationship of life, and showing how Jesus may be found in it. 'Jesus and Nonresistance,' for example, a chapter not without significance at the present moment; wherein Mr. Speer says, that Jesus escaped when it was right to escape, resisted when it was right to resist, and submitted when it was right to submit.

FULLER'S THOUGHTS. Edited by A. R. Waller (*Grant Richards*, 3s. 6d. net).—Are parchment bindings coming in again? We have not seen them for some time. But here is a new series of books, called the 'Religious Life' Series, in parchment, with red lettering. The whole of Fuller's thoughts are in this volume—Good Thoughts in Bad Times, Good Thoughts in Worse Times, and Mixt Contemplations in Better Times. At the end there are notes and an index of obsolete words.

THREE BULWARKS OF THE FAITH. By the Rev. E. H. Archer-Shepherd, M.A. (*Rivingtons*, 5s. net).—The three 'Bulwarks of the Faith' are—who will guess?—Evolution, the Higher Criticism, and the Resurrection of Christ. Mr. Archer-Shepherd, you see, has made progress, and he has now no fear. He has written his book 'in the faith that there is a Power in the universe wise enough to make truth-seeking safe,

and good enough to make truth-telling useful.' The book is a little unfinished, but even its loose threads are significant. Its footnotes cannot be cut away from it. One of them is: 'When I rebuilt the church in my late Cornish parish, I had some ancient stone carvings, which were found in the walls, built into the porch. On a leading Dissenter asking why those ugly old stones were being put there, the foreman answered, They are to remind you that a church stood here before the old one was built: and there will be another church here when this one has been pulled down.' Another is an interpretation: 'It is necessary to add a caution, that the unity for which our Blessed Lord prayed, and which a doubting world so urgently needs, is not to be obtained or hastened by ignoring the fact that they who "went out from us" must return to us, before we "all" can "be one."'

THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION: EGYPT AND CHALDÆA. By G. Maspero, D.C.L. (*S.P.C.K.*, 4th Edition, Revised).—The writers of books on the Archæology of the East are having a hard time of it at present. The ink is scarcely dry upon the page, when some discovery is made, important enough to demand a new book, or at least a new edition. Who would be content, for example, with a book upon Egypt which had no record of Petrie's discoveries and surmises in connexion with the first dynasty; or with a book upon Babylonia which gave no account of the discovery and decipherment of the Code of Hammurabi—the most epoch-making 'find' of the last quarter of a century?

Professor Maspero's method is the only satisfactory one. After every great new discovery he produces a new edition. And so within these few years, since the book first appeared, four editions have been issued in English. For Maspero is the authority, and he has the great gift of popularization. It is to Maspero that the vast multitude must turn who do not see the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* and could not read them if they did.

Professor Maspero claims, and no one will dispute the claim, that he has brought his book completely up to date, having embodied in it the results of the latest discoveries made in the Nile Valley by Amélineau, De Morgan, and Petrie. These discoveries have compelled him to rewrite his description of the manners and customs of the early Egyptians. Professor Maspero does not claim to be quite so sharply up to date in regard to Babylonia, for Hilprecht's book had not appeared when he went to press. He has, however, done what was possible, and in particular has been able to give an account of the interesting discoveries made by De Morgan at Susa. No doubt we shall have another edition by and by. But he who resolves to wait for the latest book and the latest edition on Egypt and Babylonia, resolves to know nothing about the subject. We must follow Maspero from edition to edition whatever it costs us.

DAVID THE KING. By Marcel Dieulafoy. Translated from the French by Lucy Hotz (*Fisher Unwin*, 7s. 6d. net).—One must have a good reason for writing another life of David, and M. Dieulafoy has it. There are many Davids—French and English and German Davids, believing and unbelieving Davids, Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant Davids, Davids of this century and of that—there are many Davids, and that is just why M. Dieulafoy creates another. For there ought to be but one David, the 'hero of the biblical epic,' who lived in his own times and within his own environment; and that is the David whom M. Dieulafoy attempts to produce. It is a difficult task, but he has qualifications for it. He has had long experience of the East, and in spite of the thirty centuries which divide us from David, he still finds Saul or Joab in some Syrian sheikh, and Zadok or Abiathar in some ulema or mushtahid; for the tribes of Arabia are writing the Bible still. Moreover, M. Dieulafoy is an authority upon Fortification; and he claims to furnish a better account of the great battle of Rephaim, and the marvellous strategic abilities of David, than elsewhere is to be found.

The book has all the fascination of Renan, and yet it owes much less to the daring hypotheses of unbelief. Its great feature is the picture of Bathsheba. Fifty-four pages are occupied with that lady's history. And one wonders which is greatest, her consummate ability or her shameless audacity.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE.—Weld (A. G.), 'Glimpses of Tennyson.' Hopps (J. P.), 'Sermons of Life and Love.'

STOCKWELL.—Mursell (A.), 'Hush and Hurry.' Thomas (J.), 'The Iris and other Poems.' Smith (G. W.), 'Byways of Bible Highways.' Hughes (D.), 'The Making of Man.' Ellis (J. J.), 'Through Christ to Life.' Spurr (F. C.), 'Jesus is God,' new ed. Pack (H.), 'Visions of the Master.' Cameron (E.), 'Christ versus Caste.' Boseley (I.). 'Christ the Carpenter.' Home (A. J.), 'My Prize Translation.'

STOCK.—Freer (F. A.), 'Edward White, his Life and Work.' M. C. E., 'The Amen of the Unlearned.' Wilberforce (B.), 'Feeling after Him.' Oliver (J. M.), 'Realities of Life.' Brockington (A. A.), 'The Seven Signs.' Dimock (N.), 'Christian Unity.'

RIVINGTONS.—Down (E. A.), 'Our Life in Paradise.'

REVELL.—Coe (G. A.), 'The Religion of a Mature Mind.' McFadyen (I. E.), 'Thoughts for Silent Hours.' Jordan (W. G.), 'Prophetic Ideas and Ideals.'

R.T.S.—Farrar (J. G.), 'Some Fathers of the Reformation.'

PASSMORE & ALABASTER.—Spurgeon (C. H.), 'Twelve Sermons on the Doctrines of Grace.'

OLIPHANT.—Willcock (J.), 'The Great Marquess.' Jordan (W. G.), 'The Majesty of Calmness.' Hillis (N. D.), 'The Master of the Science of Right Living.'

MACMILLAN.—Swete (H. B.), 'The Gospel according to St. Mark,' 2nd ed. Bayne (R.), 'The Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.'

MARSHALL (HORACE).—'Hugh Price Hughes.'

LUZAC.—King (L. W.), 'The Seven Tablets of Creation.'

JARROLD.—Campbell (M. M.), 'Two Lovable Imps.'

ISBISTER.—Macmillan (H.), 'The Poetry of Plants.' Boyd Carpenter (W.), 'The Wisdom of James the Just.' Parker (P. L.), 'John Wesley's Journal.'

HOULSTON.—Hochfeld (M. von), 'Fifty-two Cheery Chats.'

HODDER & STOUGHTON.—King (J. M.), 'The Theology of Christ's Teaching.' Griffith-Jones (E.), 'The Master and His Method.' Rainy (R.), 'Sojourning with God.'

WELLS GARDNER.—Winnington-Ingram (A. F.), 'Twice Saved.'

R. & R. CLARK.—'Morning Rays.'

CONSTABLE.—Vignon (P.), 'The Shroud of Christ.'

CLARENDON PRESS.—'Day by Day of the Christian Year.'

CAMBRIDGE PRESS.—Frankland (W. B.), 'The Early Eucharist.'

GARDNER (ALEX.).—Hall (C. A.), 'The Art of Being Happy.' Brownlie (J.), 'Hymns of the Holy Eastern Church.'

DEIGHTON.—Dearden (H. W.), 'Words of Counsel.'

BAPTIST TRACT AND BOOK SOCIETY.—Bean (M. F.), 'Studies in Romans.' Robarts (F. H.), 'Sunday Morning Talks.'

ALLENSON.—Paterson (W.), 'The Church of the New Testament.'

Contributions and Comments.

The Reading of the Septuagint in 1 Kings xvii. 21 and 2 Kings iv. 34.

THE suggestive article of the Rev. Professor John E. M'Fadyen, 'Did Elijah cut himself for the Dead?' (in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, p. 143) needs some additional notes. Commenting on the rendering of ויתמדד by *ἐνεφύσησεν*, he writes: 'Unless a corruption be assumed in the *Greek* text, it does not translate the Hebrew original, *nor even suggest a word at all like it*.' He then goes on to quote from Hatch-Redpath the Hebrew equivalents for *ἐμφυσᾶν*; but just there he might have found quoted 2 K 4^{34}, *i.e.*, the parallel story on Elisha, to which he himself refers. In Field's *Hexapla* *ἐξέπνευσεν* and *ἐμπέφυκε* (*sic*!) are given for this passage; it is true, it is not quite clear, at the first sight, whether for ויגהר or for ויזרר.

But now turn to the Targum of both stories, and you will find again in both אתמקק, in the second place for ויזרר; the probability is therefore increased that the Septuagint found in 1 K 17 a form of the same root as in 2 K 4, or *vice versâ*.

Finally, it is strange that only Klostermann of modern commentators, as far as I am aware, and of the older generations only Malvenda as quoted by Matthew Pole, should have seen that in 2 K 4 it is not likely that the boy is the subject of ויזרר, else הנער would not have been repeated as the subject for the next verb; but what Elijah is said to have done three times, Elisha repeated with the boy seven times.

Whether ויזרר comes from a root זרר, and whether this root has the meaning *to sneeze*, which is generally given to it, is very doubtful. One dictionary copies it from the other, with the same misprint, אתפקק for אתפוק, in Levy's *Chaldäischem Wörterbuch* and in Jastrow's dictionary, *s.v.* פקק. Lucian's *ἠνδρίσατο* in 2 K 4 will be due to a reading ויגבר; his *διεκινήθη* for ויזרר reminds of the fact that both Targum and Peshito found here a passive or reflexive form, as in the story of Elijah.

If the preceding remarks are no complete solu-

tion of the difficulties contained in these stories, they will show, I hope, the direction in which this solution must be sought for.

Regarding the fact itself, the Greek translators thought of course, as was pointed out by M'Fadyen, of the breath of life of Gn 2^7. In the case of 2 K 4 it is clearly a sunstroke, and it will be the task of those acquainted with the history of therapeutics to tell us what kind of helps were applied in olden times—or are applied, perhaps, even now in eastern lands—to restore breath in case of drowning for instance. For 1 K 17 one might even think of blowing off the secretions, which cause suffocation in case of *diphtheria*. But that is not the thought of the translators, who rendered ἐνεφύσησεν.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

Studia Sinaitica. No. II.[1]

ON her return journey from Mount Sinai in 1895, Mrs. Lewis obtained by purchase at Suez a palimpsest MS., the under-writing of which she has published as No. xi. of the series 'Studia Sinaitica.' The upper-writing, consisting of selections from the Christian Fathers, is in ninth or tenth century Arabic, and will perhaps be dealt with in a future volume. The under-script, chiefly in Syriac, with which we are at present concerned, is interesting and valuable, and is of a miscellaneous character. It consists of the Protevangelium Jacobi and the Transitus Mariæ—with some lacunæ—in a hand, according to the editor's opinion, of the fifth or sixth century; fragments of Isaiah and of Exodus from leaves which are doubly palimpsest; fragments of St. John and St. Matthew in a Peshiṭta text of probably the fifth century; a portion of a hymn in a ninth century hand; and some miscellaneous pieces, including fragments of the writings of Mar Ephraim and of Mar Jacob. All this in Syriac. In addition the palimpsest contains a valuable LXX fragment; leaves from two ancient MSS of the Corân; and a curious Arabic document.

[1] *Studia Sinaitica*, No. XI. *Apocrypha Syriaca*: The Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariæ. With texts from the Septuagint, the Corân, the Peshiṭta, and from a Syriac Hymn in a Syro-Arabic Palimpsest of the Fifth and other Centuries. Edited and translated by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S. With an Appendix of Palestinian-Syriac Texts from the Taylor-Schechter Collection. Cambridge University Press, 1902.

All this wealth of material Mrs. Lewis has published in full, excepting the Corân and Peshiṭta pieces, with the addition of translations of the Protevangelium, Transitus, Hymn, and Arabic document, an index, appendices, facsimiles of some leaves of the MS., and a suitable introduction to the whole.

To deal with this mass of matter in a short notice is plainly impossible, and therefore before turning to the chief feature of the book, *i.e.* the Protevangelium and Transitus, we will merely remark in passing on the significance of the fact that leaves of Peshiṭta Gospels have been used for writing material by the editor of the Arabic selections. The argument has been employed that the text of the famous Lewis Gospels was of small value in the estimation of John the Recluse since he used the leaves containing it for his *Select Narratives*. Here, however, we find much the same thing done with leaves of a Peshiṭta text. There are, of course, several possible explanations of these facts, but anyway the point deserves consideration.

We now turn to the Protevangelium and the Transitus. The recension which Mrs. Lewis here publishes is not the same as those of Wright which he printed in *Contributions to the Aprocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, and in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for January and April 1865, mainly from Add. 14,484 and Add. 14,732.[2] It is fuller and, notwithstanding the antiquity of the text, gives probably a later recension of the story than that contained in Add. 14,484. We had an opportunity recently of collating a few pages of the Transitus in the British Museum MS. with Mrs. Lewis's text, and we found not merely several interesting variants, but also that Add. 14,484 lacks long paragraphs which the palimpsest contains.

What was the origin of the Protevangelium and of the Transitus? What basis have they in fact? From what sources were they amplified in successive recensions, and what is the relation of these recensions to each other? These are interesting questions in the investigation of which the work of Wright, Tischendorf, and Budge can now be most usefully supplemented by the palimpsest, taken together with the Harris MS., from which Mrs. Lewis makes good the lacunæ referred to

[2] It should be noticed that Add. 14,484, ff. 1–5, and Add. 14,669, fol. 39, contain the *Obsequies of the Virgin*.

above, and the fragments from Cod. Sin. 30, and we hope that some scholar may ere long attempt the task of constructing a critical edition.

Meanwhile the story deserves attention from all theological students. We here see the deep roots of the mediæval and modern cultus of the Virgin Mary, and we can perceive how this cultus grew, in part at least, from what was originally not blameworthy. In the Transitus, for instance, she is worshipped (ܣܓܕ) as one almost divine; yet St. John (p. 50) 'worships' his brethren: the worship was at first reverence merely. On p. 89 we have a hint that the reverence paid her was for her Son's sake. Again, the apocryphal story represents her as interceding in a manner which we feel can only without blasphemy be attributed to Christ; yet this probably grew out of the fact that she interceded at Cana with her Son on behalf of the wedding company. Another point is impressive about the Transitus, namely, that despite all its sad extravagance of fiction and miracle, there is nothing in it absolutely shocking to our sense of what befits the Virgin's character. This is not the case, as we pointed out recently, in the *Select Narratives*: several of the holy women there written of display a conduct by no means ideal; but whatever the faults—and they are many—of the Transitus, the Virgin never speaks or acts inconsistently with her character as the first of holy women.

Turning to the translation from the beautifully printed and excellently edited Syriac text, one confesses to a little disappointment—the translation is perhaps hardly up to the high level of that in *Stud. Sin.* x.; there are here and there traces of haste, possibly due in part to the hindrance of the tedious illness to which the editor refers in the introduction.

For instance, the text is not always rendered with complete exactness. Thus we find, p. 24, 'and no man' for 'because no man'; p. 30, 'so that I may know' for 'because I know'; several times 'said' for 'says'; p. 49, 'the disciples of the apostles wrote' for 'and their disciples wrote to the apostles'; p. 68, 'shalt die' for 'shalt surely die.' Then the same word is rendered differently without apparent reason: ܡܫܝܚܐ is 'Messiah' and 'the Christ,' ܡܪܝ is 'Lord' and 'our Lord,' and ܒܘܣܡܐ is 'odours,' 'spices,' 'perfumes,' 'scent,' and 'myrrh,' which last it can hardly be. Here and there too, the translation seems to be Wright's when the text of the palimpsest is different. Thus p. 15, 'make concord reign and sow peace' is Wright's rendering of ܢܦܩܘ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܙܪܥܘ ܚܕܘܬܐ where the palimpsest has ܢܦܩܘ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܙܪܥܘ ܫܠܡܐ. Further, there are cases where the translation does not agree with the text, possibly in some instances at least through errors of the press. Thus, ܠܝ, p. 47, l. 1, is rendered as if it were ܠܗ; ܐܬܚܙܝ, p. 58, as if it were ܐܬܚܙܝ; ܒܗ, p. 106, as if it were ܒܗܘ; and the angelic words attributed to the Magi, p. 19, are rendered 'good will to men,' the actual text being that of the Peshitta 'good hope.' To the list of errata must be added ܟܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ p. 80, ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ p. 87, and probably ܐܬܪ̈ܟܫ p. 23.

We have noticed these oversights—and there are some others—because the translation is naturally intended mainly for those who do not know Syriac, or for those whose knowledge of it is limited, and it is desirable in the interests of such readers that as much exactness as possible should be aimed at.

However, the translation is, after all, but a subordinate matter, and Mrs. Lewis's work as a whole demands the highest praise. No one can study the beautiful facsimiles without a feeling of astonishment that from such unpromising material—though with the help of the reagent—so complete and satisfactory a text has been constructed. The editor is now a past mistress, if the phrase may be allowed, in the difficult art of transcribing palimpsests, and we can rely upon her work with every confidence. Once more in the volume before us she has laid theological students under a real obligation, and has worthily added to the now long list of her labours in the cause of Syriac literature. We may be permitted to express the hope that in succeeding years she and Mrs. Gibson may be able to add many a volume to the important series 'Studia Sinaitica.'

Alphington, Exeter. ALBERT BONUS.

A New Theory of Everlasting Punishment.

ALLOW me to supplement your interesting remarks on Dr. Illingworth's 'New Theory.' The new is

old. Epictetus asks: Ποίαν βλάβην; Ἄλλην οὐδέμιαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι ἃ δεῖ· ἀπολέσεις τὸν πιστὸν, τὸν αἰδήμονα, τὸν κόσμιον. Τούτων ἄλλας βλάβας μείζονας μὴ ζήτει (*Dissert.* iii. 7).

Shelley says—

> Justice, when triumphant, will weep down
> Pity, not punishment on her own wrongs,
> Too much avenged by those who err.
>
> *Prometheus Unbound*, Act i.

R. M. SPENCE.

Manse of Arbuthnott.

The *Locus Classicus* for the Incarnation overlooked.

COMMENTING upon my paper under the above title, which appeared in the July number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Mr. Duff MacDonald seems to take a favourable view of my thesis, but would like me to say 'a word or two of explanation' regarding the following points. I gladly comply with his friendly wish, and thank him for his kind suggestions.

1. My reading of Jn 1^5 ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν; ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, is objected to on the plea that the evangelist would have asked οὐχ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ κατέλαβεν; or rather μὴ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ κατέλαβεν; My reply is that either reading: ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν; or οὐχ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ κατέλαβεν; would be normal in Greek (cf. Jn 18^{11} 19^{10}, 1 Co 9^7), although the former is commoner and sounds more natural to English ears. As to the second alternative suggested by Mr. MacDonald: μὴ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ κατέλαβεν; such a reading would be admissible only in animated dialogue or rhetorical monologue, and then would imply on the part of the speaker either sarcasm (as Jn 8^{22}) or apprehension and anxiety for a reply contrary to what he asks so anxiously (cf. Jn 4^{33} 7^{31} 21^5): μὴ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ κατέλαβεν: 'Surely darkness did not apprehend it?'—a case manifestly inappropriate to our passage, since the evangelist is not solicitous that mankind should have failed to understand the Light.—However, I should add that my object in placing the interrogation mark after οὐ κατέλαβεν was not to justify or strengthen my contention; I merely had regard to *grammar*, and wished to remove the asyndeton. Accordingly, my main proposition is not affected by any reading, whether affirmative or interrogative. On the other hand, Mr. MacDonald is perfectly free to withhold assent to my inserting or rather adopting the ἦν after ἀπεσταλμένος, on the authority of ℵ*D* Iren., but when he says that such a reading 'does not seem to be particularly well attested,' overlooks the trend of present criticism, which gradually recognizes the great authority of the so-called Western or δ-text, of which ℵ*D* are the leading representatives.

2. The passage in Jn 8^{58} πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι is irrelevant, seeing that here γενέσθαι is a copula or 'substantive' verb, and so does not imply 'motion': 'to arrive.' On this vexed passage my forthcoming edition of the Gospel may throw some new light.

A. N. JANNARIS.

'Tongues, like as of Fire.'

IN the July number of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, reference is made to an interesting point raised by Dr. Chase in his *Credibility of the Acts of the Apostle*. Dr. Chase thinks that at the moment when the Holy Spirit was poured upon the Church on the day of Pentecost, the beams of morning light streamed through the colonnades and arches of the temple and rested upon the disciples. His suggestion has considerable support as to the time of the wonderful occurrence, namely, the completion of the interval which was to pass before Pentecost arrived and the commencement, the dawning, of that great day. Coincident with the first rays of sunlight was the outpouring of the illuminating spirit.

Dr. Chase thinks it not 'unnatural' that Christians should connect the sight of those first morning beams with the wonders of apostolic utterance which ensued. It was in a double sense the light of a new day to the world. I do not write to discuss the question, but simply to refer to an interesting historical parallel to Dr. Chase's suggestion.

On 17th November 1307, thirty-three Switzers met at night in a secluded meadow, the Rütli, by the side of Lake Lucerne. The three leaders, Walter Fürst, Arnold of Melcthal, and Werner Staufacher, raised their right hands to heaven, pledged their lives for their fatherland, and took God to witness that their solemn alliance was

made in the spirit—'One for all, and all for one.' At that moment, we are told, the sun shot his first rays across the mountain tops and shone upon the heroic patriots, filling their hearts with joy. It was to them an augury of success, the beginning of a new day for their fatherland. See 'Switzerland' in *The Story of Nations*, p. 122. There is certainly something very beautiful and natural in Dr. Chase's suggestion, but as to whether it meets the requirements of St. Luke's narrative is another matter.

A. HAMPDEN LEE.

Walsall.

Tortoise in the Bible.

THE *Dictionary of the Bible* informs us under the heading TORTOISE, that the A.V. used this word as translation of the Hebrew צָב (Lv 11^{29}), where the R.V. has 'great lizard,' and probably the *land monitor* is meant. But neither here nor in our Hebrew dictionaries are we informed that the Septuagint gives χελώνη, 'tortoise,' for the Hebrew word גֵּל in Hos 12^{12}, and similarly Theodotion in Ec 12^{8} for Hebrew גַּלְגַּל. As the word means really the tortoise in Aramaic and modern Hebrew, there is no doubt that it has this meaning already in ancient Hebrew, and thus the question is raised, whether tortoises were and are found in Palestine. Scholars acquainted with the Natural History of Palestine can easily answer this question.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

Inter Alia.

THE best chapter, at any rate the most useful chapter, in Dr. Stalker's little book on the *Seven Cardinal Virtues* (Hodder & Stoughton) is the one on Courage. Courage is the 'problem' for the moment in our popular novels, and it is better than sex or even religion. It is the war, perhaps, that has done it.

The Editors of the *Biblical World* are anxious to have a uniform system adopted in America for distinguishing the British Revised Version of 1881–85 from the American Revision of 1901. They suggest R.V.(Br.) and R.V.(Am.).

We heartily approve of their desire, and should be glad to see the uniform system extended to this country. We also agree that 'Br.' is better than 'Eng.,' since the American Revision is English also. But the letters R.V. are very often given in parentheses, and [R.V.(Br.)] is ugly, while (R.V.(Br.)) is intolerable.

It is a small matter, and great men are apt to ignore it. But when we find Mr. Rendall in his *Acts* using B.V. for the familiar A.V. (presumably because the Authorized Version never was authorized), we see the necessity for some general understanding.

How would this do?—AV for the Authorized Version (no need of dots); AVm for its margin; RV for the Revised Version when the British and the American agree, or when there is no need to note the difference; BRV and ARV when they are to be distinguished; and EV when they agree with the Authorized Version.

A book owes much, for good or ill, to its title, and *The Miracles of Unbelief* was one of the happiest titles we have seen. But Mr. Ballard's book is more than its title. The *Guardian* reviewer, who said that 'from beginning to end there is not a single dull passage, not a sentence obscure from overloading, not an argument skimped into shallowness, not a point ineffectively put,' has been reinforced from an unexpected quarter. Mr. Charles Watts, the Secularist leader, has written a 'reply' in a hundred pages, and he says Mr. Ballard's book is 'by far the best exposition and defence of Christian claims that has been made in recent times.' In the new (fourth) edition Mr. Ballard answers Mr. Watts.

Two books of great interest in the Archæology of the Bible are to see the light very soon. One is small and one is large. The small one is Mr. Johns' translation, with notes of the Code of Hammurabi—the greatest by far of recent discoveries, and bound to tell upon all future dis-

cussion of the Origin of the Law of Moses. The large book is a complete history of all the discoveries of the century in Biblical Archæology. Professor Hilprecht, the director of the American Expedition, which has lately made the sensational library discovery, edits the book, and writes on Babylonia and Assyria; Benzinger writes on Palestine; Steindorff on Egypt; Hommel on Arabia; and Jensen on the Hittites. All the great 'finds' will be illustrated in the book.

Little Contributions to the Greek Testament.

By Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D., Maulbronn.

Acts ii. 47, iii. 1.

A passage which has not yet received sufficient attention is the last verse of Ac 2. The ancient reading was: 'And the Lord added *to the Church* daily such as should be saved.' If we disregard Mt 16[18] and 18[17], this is the first passage where '*the Church*' makes its appearance in the New Testament; but the text is far from certain. Bengel, in the first edition of his *Greek Testament* (1734), classified the omission of τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ among those readings which are not to be approved, though they have been approved by some; in the second impression of the minor edition which he finished just before his death, he valued the omission higher, among the readings equally good as those of the text; and in his *Gnomon* (1742) he has the important note—

> 'τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ est haec Chrysostomi, ut videtur glossa, per *Syrum* et alios propagata. Non habent antiquiores.'

Now I have already (in The Expository Times vol. xiii. p. 563) hinted at the possibility that the relation seems to have been the opposite, that Chrysostom took it from the Syriac version, and not the Syriac from Chrysostom, and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that the oldest witness for this reading has not τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, but exactly as the Syriac version, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, connecting it with σωζομένους and not with προσετίθει. Thus Codex Bezæ in the Greek and in the Latin, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, cottidie in unum *in* ecclesia. In a similar way has the Oxford Codex 58, which has been lately collated by Pott, ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ Πέτρος.

On the singular reading of *D* at the beginning of chap. 3 it is worth while to repeat the statement of Bengel's Apparatus—

> 'Porro Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις initio hujus capitis habet *Cant.* [= D], ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις *Lectionaria.* Ex quibus si hunc flosculum decerpsit, ut apparet, Codex Cant., antiquitatis suae opinionem ipse valde imminuit. nam lectionaria separata ipso Lectionum ecclesiasticarum usu longe recentiora sunt.'

This observation is not unsound; it must however be remarked that even if this be the origin of this 'flosculum,' it cannot have been borrowed from a 'separate lectionary,' it may have been ascribed to the margin of the codex from which D was copied, and then received into the text.

At all events, the origin of the reading τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ deserves more careful attention than it has found hitherto.

1 Cor. xvi. 22.

'If any man *loveth* not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be *Anathema.*' When we read this closing of 1 Co in the Syriac version, we find that the cursive-printed words form a very significant pun between רחם and חרם. That St. Paul is thinking here in his mother tongue is proved by the addition of *Maranatha.* There are two words for love in Aramaic, חַב and רחם, the former is apparently in Paul's mind to form another pun with חָב, *to owe*, when he writes, in Ro 13[8]: '*Owe* no man anything, but to *love* one another.' And it is interesting to observe that here the Syriac version uses חב, as it uses רחם in 1 Co. For similar examples of Aramiac puns to be discovered under their Greek dress, see The Expository Times, viii. 138, x. 525.

Matt. v. 37.

In the second edition of the second volume of Westcott-Hort's Greek Testament there was made

an addition to this verse '[see note].' This must refer, as in other similar cases, *e.g.* 1^{16} 4^{10} $5^{4.5}$, to the 'Additional Notes to Notes on Select Readings,' or to the 'Supplementary Notes by F. C. Burkitt,' printed on pp. 140 ff. of that volume. But in neither of these sections can I find the note which is here referred to. As it is difficult to imagine what additional note was intended, some communication about it seems desirable. Syr. *sin* has, like Syr. *cur* and Syr. *vg*, ναὶ ναὶ καὶ οὐ οὐ, and seems to have taken πονηροῦ as masculine.

John viii. 56.

For the difficult words of the second half of this verse the R.V. proposes as alternative translation: '*How is it that I even speak to you at all?*' This translation has not only the high authority of Chrysostom, as Fred. Field remarks in his Notes on this passage, but is confirmed by a very exact parallel in the *Clementine Homilies*. There a certain Apion is giving an explanation, his hearer does not appear to him to be attentive, therefore he interrupts his speech (τὸν λόγον ἐγκόψας) and says to him: Εἰ μὴ παρακολουθεῖς οἷς λέγω, τί καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαλέγομαι; 'If you do not follow my words, why do I speak (or discuss) at all?' See *Clementina*, ed. P. de Lagarde, p. 77, ed. Dressel, p. 163, bk. vi. chap. 2.[1]

The Altar of the Unknown God.

In the article 'Unknown God' in the *D.B.* iv. 835, it is not mentioned that the inscription may be translated 'to *an* unknown God,' with the indefinite article (see R.V.), nor do I find in any of our German commentaries a very nice story about the occasion at which this altar is said to have been erected. In the commentary on Acts which is attributed to Oecumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, about the middle of the tenth century, consisting chiefly of extracts from earlier writings (Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. 118), we read: 'Two occasions are mentioned for this inscription of the altar. For some people say, when the Athenians sent Philippides to the Lacedæmonians for help at the time when the Persians came against Greece, there appeared to him on the way, near the Mount Parthenion, a vision of Pan (Πανὸς φάσμα), complaining that the Athenians had hitherto neglected him, while they honoured other gods, and promising his help. After they had won the victory, they erected him a temple and builded an altar, *and to guard themselves against the danger of suffering the same again, if they were to neglect another God unknown to them, they erected that altar with the inscription* ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ, that is to say, if there be another God unknown to us, in his honour this altar be erected by us, that he be gracious to us if we do not worship him, not knowing him. Καὶ ὡς φυλαττόμενοι μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοτε πάθοιεν, παρέντες τινὰ Θεὸν ἄγνωστον αὐτοῖς, ἀνέστησαν τὸν βωμὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐπιγράψαντες ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ, τοῦτο λέγοντες, ὅτι καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος ἀγνοοῖτο παρ' ἡμῶν, εἰς τιμὴν ἐκείνου οὗτος δὴ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐγηγέρθω, ὡς ἂν ἵλεως ἡμῖν εἴη, εἴπερ ἀγνοούμενος μὴ θεραπεύοιτο.'

Whether this story is found in earlier commentaries I have not been able to trace. The report about the mission of Philippides, or Phidippides, from Athens to Sparta, and the introduction of the worship of Pan in Athens at this occasion is well known from *Herodotus*, vi. 105. John Chrysostom, to whom the commentary of Oecumenius is largely indebted, says on Ac 17 only (Migne, vol. 60, 268): 'As the Athenians received at various times many gods even from abroad, as the image of the Athena *and Pan*, and many others from various places (ἐπειδὴ κατὰ καιροὺς πολλοὺς ἐδέξαντο θεοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερορίας, οἷον τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, τὸν Πᾶνα καὶ ἄλλους ἀλλαχόθεν), fearing there might be some God, whom they knew not, worshipped by others, they erected also to him an altar for greater safety, and, as the God was not known, the altar was inscribed 'ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ.'

The other occasion to which, according to Oecumenius, the erection of the altar is attributed by some, is a great pest, which was so severe that the Athenians could not bear even the finest underclothing upon their bodies (ὡς μηδὲ τῶν λεπτοτάτων σινδόνων ἀνέχεσθαι). This tradition coincides with that mentioned by our commentaries from Diogenes Laertius about the pest and the way by which Epimenides put an end to it. The former I have not found mentioned in any German commentary, and as it will be of special interest to those versed in Greek history, I call attention to it, in the sure expectation that in England, where the combination of classical and theological studies is livelier than with us, it will be known at least to some commentators of Acts.

[1] I see now that the passage is quoted by Blass in his Grammar, § 50, 5.

By the way, it may be added that the mentioning of the name *Athens* in 2 Mac 6^{1} 9^{15} found no place in the first volume of the *D.B.*

The Names of Peter in the New Testament.

Surely the Apostle Peter had very bad luck with the different names which he bears in the N.T. Is it credible that bishops and archbishops of the Greek Church should not have recognized that *Symeon*, of whom James speaks in Ac 15^{14}, was the same person with *Peter* who had spoken in vv.$^{7-9}$? And yet it is so.

1. John Chrysostom in his thirty-third homily on the Acts, commenting on chap. 15, begins with saying, that James, speaking here, was the bishop of Jerusalem; and as he had not to refer to such results as Peter and Paul, he strengthens his words by referring to new and old prophets (*ἀπό τε νέων, ἀπό τε παλαιῶν βεβαιουμένου τῶν προφητῶν τὸν λόγον*). The old prophecy to which he refers is of course the quotation from Am 9^{11} adduced in vv.$^{16ff.}$, the new prophet is for Chrysostom *Symeon*, who declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, and he states then expressly (Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 60, 239): *Τινὲς τοῦτον εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκᾶ εἰρημένον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἕτερον ὁμώνυμον τούτῳ. Εἴτε δὲ οὗτος, εἴτε ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι χρή, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὡς ἀναγκαῖα δέχεσθαι, ἃ ἐξηγήσατο.* Both these statements, that James confirms his words by old and new prophets, and that Symeon was the one intimated by Luke, are repeated by Oecumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thessaly. He writes (Migne, 118, 217): *Τινὲς τὸν ἐν τῷ Λουκᾷ προφητεύσαντα· νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα, φασί.*

Finally, Theophylact, the archbishop of Achrys (Okrida, the first church of Bulgary), living about 1077, and chiefly following Chrysostom in his commentary, repeats the same statements, and says shortly and expressly (Migne, 125, 717): *Συμεών, ὁ ἐν τῷ Λουκᾷ προφητεύσας· νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα* (cf. further, col. 980, 1103).

If a Sunday-school child to-day were to make such a confusion we would not be satisfied, yet the highest dignitaries of the Greek Church are found in this condemnation. Then it is conceivable that the other names of Peter were also misunderstood.

A strange thing is, further, that already Origen saw in Simon of Lk 24^{34} ('the Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon') the fellow of Cleopas: *dicentes* of the Latin Bible and *saying* of the English can be referred to the 'eleven,' and to 'they returned'; Origen read apparently λέγοντες (instead of λέγοντας), a reading preserved in the Codex Bezæ, and maintained as the true reading by Resch, *Paralleltexte zu Lukas*, pp. 779 ff.

2. That *Cephas*, who came to Antioch, to whom Paul withstood to the face, was the same with Peter the Apostle, many Fathers of the Church could not understand or were unwilling to acknowledge. Only a few examples may be given.

Already Clement of Alexandria distinguished Cephas and Peter. In the 'Coptic Life of the Virgin,' published by Forbes Robinson in the *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* (*Texts and Studies*, iv. 2, 1896), Peter, Simon, and Cephas are considered as three different persons.

The Διαταγαὶ διὰ Κλήμεντος, as published by Lagarde (*Reliquiæ juris ecclesiastici antiquissimæ græce*, 1856, p. 74) begin: 'Rejoice, ye Sons and Daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: John and Matthew and *Peter* and Andrew and Philip and *Simon* and James and Nathanael and Thomas and *Cephas* and Bartholmew and Judas of James.' In the context of this piece different ecclesiastical rules are attributed to *Peter* and *Cephas*.

In the so-called *Chronicon Paschale* (pp. 521–522) he is called the namesake of Peter (Κηφᾶς ὁμώνυμος Πέτρου), and in the *Menologium Basilianum* he has his day with six other disciples of Christ on the 9th December (p. 197 f.); see Nilles, *Calendarium* (2nd ed. i. 54).

That Cephas was one of the Seventy was already the conviction of Clement, whom Eusebius quotes in his *Ecclesiastical History*, i. chap. 12. In the list of their names as given in the *Book of the Bee*, by Salomon of Basra, his name occurs (ed. Budge, p. 113). In the same source we read (p. 110): 'Cephas, whom Paul mentions, taught in Baalbec, Ḥimṣ (Emesa) and Nathrôn (Batharûn). He died and was buried in Shîrâz' (instead of Emesa Lipsius, *Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten, Ergänzungsband*, p. 22, printed 'Edessa'). On the names of these places, see the note of Budge, and on the whole question the dissertation, quoted by the same, of P. M. Molkenbuhr, *An Cephas . . . fuerit Simon Petrus*, 1785, 4to. It is strange, that even on Syriac ground, where the meaning of *cepha* = rock (Peter) was well known, such a mistake could take hold.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THERE is nothing in the second number of the *Hibbert Journal*, the number for January, so sensational as Mr. Claude Montefiore's protest against the way in which Christian theologians neglect the scholarship of the Jews. His charges are definite, he names the men who are most to blame, and his words are strong.

Mr. Montefiore does not say that Christian theologians neglect *everything* that Jewish scholars write. They neglect only what they write about the Law. If Schechter writes in the *Jewish Quarterly* about a fragment of Sirach, all the great Christian scholars notice it at once. But when one of the greatest Rabbinic theologians of the world (he still means Schechter) writes an important series of articles on his own subject,—a subject about which the Christian theologians are confessedly unable to speak at first hand,—obstinate silence is preserved.

What is the reason? Why should Christians ignore what a Jew writes about the Law? Mr. Montefiore hints that they are afraid. He says that the picture of Jewish legalism contained in the New Testament is not true. And he suspects that the Christian scholar is afraid lest, if he listened to the Jewish scholar, he might have to confess that even Jesus of Nazareth said things —or is represented to have said things—about the Jews of His day which are not in accordance with fact.

Mr. Montefiore selects two examples from the sayings of our Lord.

The first is found in St. Mark vii. 11. There our Lord is represented as saying that it was customary for Jews to call a portion of their property 'Corban,' that is, a dedicated offering. By simply giving it this name, which meant that they intended to hand it over to the priests in the temple, they were relieved of the duty of using it in the support of their parents. Commentators add that the Rabbis approved of this: they even said that if the person who called his property 'Corban' did *not* hand it over to the uses of religion, he could not, in any case, give it to his parents: the parents must suffer now, whether the service of religion profited or not.

Mr. Montefiore says that this is not true. He says that Schechter wrote an essay on 'Legal Evasions of the Law,' and showed that it was impossible that such a custom could ever have prevailed. That essay was published as early as 1893 in an appendix to Mr. Montefiore's own Hibbert Lectures. Yet even the most advanced of the Christian commentators on St. Mark—he

names Holtzmann, the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and Menzies—go on ignoring the essay and repeating the slander.

The other example is from the same chapter. It is St. Mark vii. 4. The passage deals with the ceremonial cleansings of the Jews. In this verse it is stated that 'when they come from the market-place they do not eat till they have sprinkled themselves.' The statement is even stronger according to the most widely attested text. Swete and Menzies follow the Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts in reading 'sprinkle' (*ῥαντίσωνται*); but all the rest of the manuscripts and all the versions read 'bathe' (*βαπτίσωνται*), and they are followed by two of the latest commentators: Gould, who calls 'sprinkle' a manifest emendation, and Salmond.

What does this mean? It means that every time a Jew returned from doing any business he was compelled to take a bath. Swete is struck with the 'burden' of it. He says it suggests a standard which is Essene rather than Pharisaic. And Menzies remarks that 'the heavy burdens imposed on the people in this attempt were what drove publicans and sinners to despair.'

Mr. Montefiore again denies the truth of the picture. With the help of Schechter, he pointed out in his Hibbert Lectures that ritual uncleanness was not contracted in the market-place, and that the only occasion on which anything like bathing of the body was demanded was before a worshipper entered the temple. 'The ordinary layman might touch a corpse or a dead mouse. He could rub shoulders with the Gentile. The whole "burden" so eloquently denounced, and for the neglect of which the poor sinners and publicans are so much pitied and applauded, is an absolute myth.'

Mr. Montefiore admits that Schechter may be wrong. To his thinking he has proved that even the Sabbath was no burden but a delight to the ordinary Jew of the days of our Lord. He may not have proved it to the satisfaction of every one else. Let him be refuted, then. There is only one Christian scholar in Europe or America who seems to read the things which Jewish scholars write. It is Professor Driver of Oxford. The rest simply ignore them. The silence is magnificent, says Mr. Montefiore, but is it the right way, he asks, in which the warfare of science should be waged?

'As one reads the biography of Jesus, one cannot fail to be struck with the effect that seems to have been exercised on His mind and nature by the wide prospect from a lofty elevation. Try to cut out the mountain scenes from His life. How much poorer would the Gospels be.'

Those are Professor W. M. Ramsay's words in his new book, *The Education of Christ: Hillside Reveries* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2s. 6d.). He recalls the choice of the Twelve 'on a mountain at dawn of day,' the Sermon on the Mount, the Transfiguration, the mountain in Galilee where the last instructions were given, the Temptation from 'an exceeding high mountain,' and the division of Christ's life when He was in Jerusalem between the temple and the Mount of Olives.

And then, with his curious felicity in seeing situations, Professor Ramsay believes that one incident in the life of our Lord which the generations of Christianity have supposed to have occurred in a house in Jerusalem, really took place upon the Mount of Olives.

It is the interview with Nicodemus. He came by night. Have we not been told to think of the frightened figure stealing through the streets of Jerusalem until he reached the humble lodging of the Man of Nazareth? The picture, Professor Ramsay thinks, is a mistake. St. Luke expressly tells us that during the final visit to Jerusalem Jesus used to retire every evening to the Mount of Olives. It was evidently a custom with Him from

the beginning of His ministry. St. John expressly mentions that on an earlier visit to Jerusalem He went *at evening* to the Mount of Olives, and early in the morning came again into the temple.

And now, in this interview with Nicodemus, 'as you read the words which St. John has preserved, you feel yourself out on the quiet hillside, with the breath of the evening moving gently around you,'—*the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth.* The time was the season of the year about the Passover, when—

> Spring's awakening breath will woo the earth
> To feed with kindliest dew its favourite flower.

'Awakening breath'—it is the very word which St. John uses: 'the breath (of the air) breatheth where it will.' In our northern land, says Professor Ramsay, we live within the walls of houses, and by these walls we are divided from the life of those nations—Roman, Greek, and Jew—whom we study so much and cannot understand. They lived in the open air. The breath of the open air which blew around them gives a tone to their literature and to their life which we cannot appreciate. When we think of Nicodemus going to speak to Jesus by night, we think of him slinking into a garret or a cellar in the city; Professor Ramsay thinks of him as knowing the great Teacher's custom and going forth to find Him on the mount.

Professor Goodwin Smith—who must not be confounded with Professor Goldwin Smith; he belongs to the Lane Theological Seminary of America—Professor Goodwin Smith has written a 'Critical Note' in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, for the quarter ending with December, on the controversy which recently took place between Harnack and Réville regarding the study of religion.

When the *Congrès d'Histoire des Religions* took place in Paris, in the end of the year 1900, Professor Réville was able to report progress in the study of the history of religions among all the civilized nations of the earth, except one. He named Holland, France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, and the United States. He left out Germany. Were they surprised that he had not spoken of that 'classic home of universities'? He had nothing to say about instruction in the history of religions in the German universities because there was none. He had searched the programmes of the German universities carefully. He had found courses on every other conceivable subject, but none on the history of religions. If a German desires to look into the subject, he is recommended to a book by de la Saussaye, a Hollander. When the topic comes up for annual review in the *Theologische Jahresbericht*, it has to be entrusted successively to a Swiss, a Hollander, and a Dane.

Harnack read Réville's speech and felt the sting of it. In August 1901 he had to deliver his Rectorial Address before the University of Berlin. He did not name Réville. But he spoke of 'loud voices that declare our theological programme too short and scientifically unsatisfactory.' And he gave three reasons why the theological faculty of Germany ought not to include the study of Comparative Religion.

The first reason was that the religion of a nation can be properly studied only in connexion with the study of its language, history, and civil institutions. Germany must avoid *Dilettantismus*. Now the study of language, history, and civil institutions is outside the province of the theological faculty.

The second reason was that Christian theology has no business with any religion but that of the Bible. The religion of the Bible has been evolved, said Harnack, by a continual process extending over three thousand years. It is a living power to-day. He who knows not the religion of the Bible knows none; he who knows it, along with

its history, knows all. Christianity is not a religion among other religions; it is the religion.

The third reason was that the theological faculty of Germany had close relations with the State. These relations were always under some tension. Why introduce new elements of disturbance?

In the sixth number for 1901 of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* Réville replied to Harnack.

The most astonishing argument is the third. Who would have supposed that German theology had to walk so gingerly? However, it is a domestic concern. Professor Réville can only rejoice in his own comparative freedom.

The arguments of general interest are the first and second. In the first argument Harnack suggests dilettantism. We must not be dabbling in everything he says; we must limit ourselves and be thorough. To be a student of Comparative Religion one must become a student of the language, history, and civil institutions of all the nations of the earth. Professor Réville replies that the study of religion demands universal knowledge no more than any other study. Every study has relations with other studies. But the specialist in one does not need to be a specialist in all the rest. He lets other men labour in their own fields, and when their results are ready he appropriates them.

But Harnack's most popular argument is that there is only one religion in the world, and it is the business of the Christian theologian to confine himself to that. Harnack calls it the religion of the Bible. Whereupon Réville asks at once whether the religion of the Bible can be understood without some study of the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, and Greece. Harnack should be the first to answer, No. For he recognizes no method of study but the historical, he believes in no form of religion but the evolutionary. Has not he himself had a chief hand in showing how much early Christianity owed to Hellenism? Pass down the history of Christianity. How can Gnosticism and Manichæism be understood without touching upon the religions of the East? How can the popular beliefs and customs of the Middle Ages be described without some reference to the religions of the Celts, Gauls, Germans, Scandinavians, and Slavs?

'The religion of the Bible is *the* religion.' Professor Réville agrees: 'I am personally fully convinced of the religious power and the incomparable morality of the gospel.' But can you assume its superiority? Will your dogmatic assertion—dogmatic assertions, by the way, come strangely from the arch-priest of anti-dogmatism—be accepted by the multitude? Christianity is alive, is it? So also are Buddhism, Islam, and the religions of China—intensely alive. The missionary conquests of Islam in Africa are more notable as yet than those of Christianity. Harnack himself admits, indeed, that the believer in the gospel cannot afford to-day to be ignorant of the religions with which it comes into daily contact in the East. He only seems to be afraid that the comparison will not be to the advantage of the gospel. Réville has greater faith in the gospel than that.

The 'logic of the situation,' says Professor Goodwin Smith, is on the side of the Frenchman. He seems to speak in a freer atmosphere; he lays more emphasis on the essential principles involved. Yet there are two great arguments which he does not use. There are two great reasons still why every student of Christianity should be a student of the religions of the world.

The first is, that the world 'is on the verge of a great spiritual and intellectual movement upward.' No movement of like significance has been seen since the era of the Renaissance and Reformation. Its characteristic is harmony and unity. The forces in the Christian Churches are no longer to

be spent in competition and antagonism to one another. Science is drawing closer to religion. 'The conviction,' says Professor Goodwin Smith, 'that the true solution of the world-problems is the religious solution, was never stronger than it is to-day.' The time is therefore at hand when the religious spirit will be examined under whatever religious form it is found. The Christian spirit already 'feels the elemental thrill of sympathy as it touches the common instincts of prayer, of self-surrender, of sacrifice, of hope for the future, in many systems that it was once taught to believe were forms of devil-worship.'

And the second reason is that since the study of religions has been made and will be made, it is our duty to see that that study is religious. In the nineteenth century, says Professor Goodwin Smith, we have had the philosophical, the psychological, the historical, the linguistic, the scientifically 'unprejudiced,' and the apologetic or polemic study of religions. The religious study remains to be tried. And by the religious study of religions Professor Goodwin Smith means 'the investigation of all religious beliefs and practices in the light of the Christian faith in an all-powerful, omnipresent, all-loving Heavenly Father, in the belief that the Logos is the Light that lighteth every man, and that the action of the Spirit of God has never been restricted to the confines of Judaism or of organic Christianity.'

It is with much regret that we receive the last number of *Present Day Papers*. The little magazine with its brick-red cover and strange floral device has been as welcome as any. No monthly number has been without some article of interest, for the editors, Mr. J. Wilhelm Rowntree and Mr. Henry Bryan Binns, know the gentle art of writing well themselves, and appreciate it in others. But especially has the magazine been welcome because of its revelation of a movement of great significance in Quakerism, and its central place in that movement.

It is a movement of scholarship. The Quakers have always been scholars. They have often led the Christian world, sometimes they have been far in advance of the Christian world, in the scholar's apprehension of the mind of Christ. They are not behind to-day. And it is the five volumes of *Present Day Papers* that will best tell the future historian (if he can find them, for they are going out of print) how Quakerism, in passing from one century into another, took courage to itself and became a leader in that radical study of the Bible which goes by the name of 'Higher Criticism.'

In the last number the most significant article is a review by Mr. W. H. Drummond of a book recently published through the Rationalist Press Association. The author of the book is Mr. J. M. Robertson, and its title is *Christianity and Mythology*.

The purpose of Mr. Robertson's book, as was pointed out in these pages on its appearance, is to show that the Gospel narratives, and much else in the New Testament, owe their existence to the maker and receiver of myths. The notion is not new, but Mr. Robertson gives it a sweep that compels new attention to it. Mr. Drummond quotes two passages: (1) 'Our analysis shows that on the one hand the Twelve Apostles, and on the other, such prominent teachings as the Sermon on the Mount, are just as mythical as the Virgin-birth, the Temptation, and the Resurrection;' and (2) 'The whole Christian Legend, in its present terminology, is demonstrably an adaptation of a mass of previous pagan myths.'

These sentences suggest that the whole book is, as Mr. Drummond expresses it, 'an essay in topsy-turvydom, which serious men need not pause to consider.' But such essays do not fall dead from the press. There is around this volume an air of authority which is not without its impression upon the unwary; and even its extravagance is hidden behind a claim to original research and freedom

from prejudice. The writer's results are revolutionary, but he knows what he is about. So Mr. Drummond reviews the work seriously. He finds reasons for doubting the worth of its conclusions.

The first is that Mr. Robertson evolves his facts largely out of his own inner consciousness. He has a faculty for seeing what he wants to see. He does not examine the date or authorship of the Gospels, he simply assumes that they are 'the literary travail of many generations.' He handles their contents in the same way. 'This is obviously a myth,' and 'that is clearly an interpolation,' without a shred of proof, without a single reference to the manuscripts or the history of the text.

Take his way with the Lord's Prayer. It is not a Christian prayer at all, he says. It belongs to the Jews. Not merely are there parallels to some of its clauses in later Jewish literature, it is a Jewish prayer in the form we have it, and it was simply appropriated by the early Christians.

What is his proof of that? His proof is solely this, that the Lord's Prayer occurs in the Didache. That the place where it occurs is Christian is shown by the previous reference to Christian Baptism, but Mr. Robertson will not admit that. And when you point to the words which introduce it—'as the Lord commanded in his Gospel'—he answers, 'they are an interpolation.'

Or look at his way with the words Nazareth and Nazarene. He wishes to show that the historical Jesus (who was a certain Jesus Pandira of the Talmud, the rest being mythology) had nothing to do with the city of Nazareth. The connexion, he says, arose out of the fact that the early Christians practised Naziritism. Now Mr. Robertson does know that Nazarite, an inhabitant of Nazareth, is spelt with an *a*, while Nazirite, a person separated to God, is spelt with an *i*. He knows that, but when it suits him he ignores it; conveniently using the Authorized Version spelling 'Nazarite' to bring the two words more closely together. He knows that they are spelt with different letters, but evidently he does not know that they come from different roots, else he could not pass from the one to the other so easily as he does. And when he says that ναζαραῖος (the word translated 'Nazarene' in Matthew and Acts) is 'the standing term for Nazirite in the Old Testament,' he says what is not true. The word occurs very rarely in the Old Testament, and when it does occur it is either in the form ναζιραῖος or ναζειραῖος.

Mr. Drummond's second reason for doubting the worth of Mr. Robertson's results is that there was no time before the issue of the Epistles of St. Paul and (say) the Gospel according to St. Mark for such an extraordinary forest of myth to grow up; that, even if there had been time, the intellectual conditions of the age were not favourable to the creation and diffusion of a new mythology; and that such a theory of the origin of Christian belief wholly fails to account for the influence of Christian ethics and Christian worship in the Roman Empire.

The last reason goes to the root of the matter. The New Testament, read without bias as it stands (and Mr. Drummond, who is a Unitarian, claims to be as free from bias as Mr. Robertson), does not give the impression that it is a farrago of contradictions and impossibilities, of commonplace Jewish ethics and childish mythologies. Mr. Robertson's theories are not required.

But now comes the significant part of Mr. Drummond's paper, the part on account of which we have referred to it.

Mr. Drummond has criticized Mr. Robertson's book severely. He does not wish, however, to leave the impression that there is nothing in it. On the contrary, he believes that Mr. Robertson has 'laid hold of a clue, the importance of which has not been recognized sufficiently in dealing with a certain class of New Testament difficulties.'

Biblical criticism, says Mr. Robertson, 'has fallen back on the textual analysis of the documents, leaving the question of truth and reason as much as possible in the background.' Mr. Robertson does not despise textual criticism. He calls it 'a great gain.' But to end with it, he says, is to leave much of the human significance of the phenomena unnoticed. With all this Mr. Drummond agrees. He says that here Mr. Robertson has put his finger upon a genuine weakness. For the really important matter is not whether we can harmonize the narratives of the birth of Christ in St. Matthew and St. Luke. We must go deeper than that. We must ask how each of these narratives assumed its present form, and whether they are historically true.

Now there are passages in the Gospels, says Mr. Drummond, about which we are more certain, and there are passages about which we are less. There are passages which carry their historical truth with them wherever they go, and there are passages which at once suggest the possibility of misunderstanding, or the growth of tradition, or the influence of later, perhaps even of alien, beliefs. This variety in 'authority' does not destroy the trustworthiness of the Gospels as a whole. It only tells us that we must examine every narrative, and, if it is suspicious, see whether even Mr. Robertson's theory of mythology may have some share in explaining it.

Then Mr. Drummond boldly acknowledges that for his part he is inclined to think that there is a great deal of evidence for definite mythological influence in the 'Birth Stories.' We must examine them, he thinks, once more. He does not expect much help from Mr. Robertson, for the way in which he tells us that the Sermon on the Mount is just as mythic as the Virgin-birth, shows how incapable he is for work of this kind. Those that are capable must examine the evidence for the Virgin-birth again. And they need not be afraid. For the Birth Stories, he says, constitute a problem by themselves, and whatever conclusion is reached upon them, it can have no legitimate effect upon our view of the Synoptic tradition as a whole.

The Virgin-birth of our Lord is the problem of problems at present. An important contribution to its discussion will be found on another page. It must now be admitted, however, that no discussion can be complete, or even more than begun, until the faith of other nations and the creed of other religions have been taken into account.

Among the rest there is the religion of Egypt. In his new book on *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Professor Sayce has a highly instructive chapter on 'Egyptian Religion in the History of Theology.' He quotes from a Papyrus at St. Petersburg a prophecy of an Egyptian Messiah; and then he says that yet more striking is the belief in the virgin-birth of the god Pharaoh, which goes back at least to the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Even as early as the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, the kings of Egypt called themselves sons of the sun-god. Queen Hatshepsu also, as the fragment of a text found by Naville at Dêr el-Bâhari informs us, claimed to have been born of Amon. But it is of Amonhotep III. of the Eighteenth Dynasty that the fullest statement has yet been found. His mother, says the inscription, was still a virgin when the god of Thebes 'incarnated himself,' so that she might 'behold him in his divine form.' And then the god himself, addressing the virgin-mother, says, 'Amon-hotep is the name of the son who is in thy womb. He shall grow up according to the words that proceed out of thy mouth. He shall exercise sovereignty and righteousness in this land unto its very end. My soul is in him, [and] he shall wear the twofold crown of royalty, ruling the two worlds like the sun for ever.'

A Unique Biblical Papyrus.

By Stanley A. Cook, M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Mr. Walter F. Nash, F.S.A., has recently become possessed of a fragment of Hebrew papyrus, which by reason of its antiquity and contents is one of the most interesting 'finds' of recent years. Hebrew papyri are rare enough to make the discovery of a new specimen a matter of interest to specialists, but if I am correct in my view that this fragment represents a pre-Massoretic form of the Old Testament text, and dates from the second century of the Christian era, the uniqueness and importance of Mr. Nash's papyrus will be apparent to every biblical scholar. As a more or less complete account of the papyrus appears elsewhere,[1] it will suffice here to give evidence in support of the view I have maintained, and to add certain supplementary remarks in the hope that they may lead to a solution of the problems which it presents.

The papyrus comes from Egypt; it is of a dark brown colour, and is written only on one side. There are twenty-four lines of Hebrew, written without vowel-points, accents, or diacritical marks. The verses are not divided, and occasionally, even, the words are scarcely separated from one another. There are no 'crowns' to the letters, and ligatures—rarely found in Hebrew—are frequent. The writing is transitional, between the middle Aramaic (*e.g.* the Egyptian-Aramaic papyri) and the settled 'square character' of the third century A.D.; indeed, several of the letters find their nearest parallels in such Aramaic scripts as the Nabatæan and Palmyrene inscriptions, and in the ancient Palestinian ossuaries, or present peculiar forms of which only the merest traces have survived in the oldest 'square' Hebrew inscriptions. The writing has a certain superficial resemblance with the later Rabbinical forms, but this is no argument against its antiquity. The differences far outweigh the points of agreement, and it is to be remembered that even the Egyptian-Aramaic papyri of the Ptolemaic period, as far as general features are concerned, reveal an astonishing likeness to mediæval Rabbinic. The fact that the final letters are regularly employed makes it improbable that the papyrus can be much earlier than the end of the first century A.D., and the palæography forbids us to ascribe it to a date later than the third. On the whole, the indications safely point to the second century of this era, and in this conclusion I have the valuable support of Mr. F. C. Burkitt.[2] To understand what this means, it is only necessary to recollect that the oldest dated biblical MS., the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets, bears date 916 A.D., and that there are perhaps a few undated biblical MSS of the ninth century. The Hebrew papyri in the Berlin Museum may be as early as the seventh century, but it is doubtful whether any known specimens of 'square' Hebrew (inscriptions and the like excepted) are earlier. On the most cautious estimate, therefore, the new papyrus may claim to be the oldest Hebrew MS. of any kind in existence.

The papyrus contains the Decalogue and the Shema' (Dt 6^4 sq.). It is mutilated at the foot and at both edges, but in spite of its condition the whole of the Decalogue can be restored with comparative certainty. The head is complete, and begins: '[I am the L]ord thy God,' etc.,[3] agreeing with the Deuteronomic recension (Dt 5^6) rather than with that in Ex 20, which is preceded by an introductory verse (v.[1]).

The fourth commandment agrees on the whole with Ex 20^{8-11}, but it has the reading '*thine ox, and thine ass, and all* thy cattle,' which is characteristic of Deuteronomy (5^{14}), although it is also given by the Septuagint in Exodus. Here, too, the papyrus reads: 'but *on* the [seventh] day . . . *in it* thou shalt not do any work . . . wherefore the Lord blessed the *seventh* [day] and hallowed it.' All three variants are supported by the Septuagint; the first can be justified by Ex 16^{26} 31^{15}, etc., the second by *ib.* 35^2, and the last by Gn 2^3, whence it has been thought that Ex 20^{11b} is derived.

The fifth commandment runs: 'honour thy

[1] In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, January 1903 (with Plates).

[2] Cf. art. 'Text and Versions,' sec. 42, *Encyc. Biblica*, vol. iv.

[3] Words in brackets are restored from the Massoretic text.

father and thy moth[er, that] *it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long* upon the land,' etc. This agrees with neither Ex 20^{12} nor Dt 5^{16} word for word, but is the reading of the Septuagint in both. It is supported by Philo and St. Paul (Eph $6^{2.3}$), and its genuineness is proved by the general agreement of the order with other characteristic passages in Deuteronomy.[1]

Another interesting feature is the transposition of the sixth and seventh commandments, which recurs also in Mk 10^{19} (A.V.), Lk 18^{20}, but not in the parallel Mt 19^{18}, where the ordinary 'Massoretic' arrangement has prevailed. It is also supported by the Vatican MS. and the Lucianic recension in Deuteronomy, the Septuagint support for the reading in Exodus being much weaker. Another piece of evidence which tends to link the papyrus with the Deuteronomic recension of the Decalogue appears in the ninth commandment, where the papyrus expressly reads עד שוא as against עד שקר in Ex 20^{16}. Similarly, in the tenth commandment it is practically certain that the 'wife' was mentioned before the 'house,' and this, together with the insertion of 'his field,' agrees with Deuteronomy, and also with the Septuagint in Exodus.[2]

Immediately after the Decalogue the papyrus begins with a fresh line: '[and these are the statute]s and the judgments which Moses commanded the [children of Israel] in the wilderness, when they went forth from the land of Egypt. Hea[r, O Israe]l,' etc. This introductory verse is found nowhere in the Old Testament, but it has been faithfully preserved by the Septuagint and old Latin versions (Dt 6^{4}), and it is only through their help that the missing words (in brackets) can be restored. The presence of this verse in the Septuagint has not attracted much notice, nor has it been satisfactorily explained by the assumption that it originated with the translator. The verse has every appearance of being genuine, a title is not out of place, and the only difficulty is to account for its omission in the Massoretic text. It is not always easy to explain a corruption or alteration in a text, nor is it always deemed necessary. In this case, however, it is possible that evidence can be adduced which will provide a plausible explanation. The clue is supplied by the Palestinian Targums, which have inserted before the Shema' a characteristic Haggadah ascribing the Shema' to the sons of Jacob as they stood at the deathbed of their father. This tradition reappears elsewhere in Rabbinical writings, and when we consider the importance of the Shema' in early times, it may be conjectured that the tradition faithfully reflects popular belief. If this be granted, it seems not unlikely that the verse now under discussion once stood in ancient recensions of Deuteronomy, and fell out merely on account of its disagreement with a currently accepted view. This tendency to thrust back rites and laws to pre-Mosaic times is perfectly intelligible, and the procedure is so well known from the Pharisaic Book of Jubilees, that there is nothing improbable, perhaps, in the nature of the suggestion I have hazarded.

These are the more remarkable features of the papyrus. There are also noteworthy grammatical forms: one, the nominal suffix of the third person singular masculine in ה, which occurs sporadically in biblical Hebrew; another, the suffix in ויקדשיו, which is absolutely unique. Further, the restoration of the papyrus suggests that in two or three cases the text must have differed from the Massoretic, although, naturally, the original reading cannot be recovered. Of these, the most striking is the fact that in Ex $22^{2.3}$ there could not have been room for all the words between 'Egypt' and 'other gods before me,' and the probability is that 'the house of bondage' was omitted.

A study of the variants in the papyrus shows that although a small number may occur singly among the hundreds of MSS collated by Kennicott or De Rossi, no one MS. contains the whole of them, nor any number of them, and that a large proportion of them are absolutely unique. On the other hand, with scarcely an exception, they are all supported by the Septuagint, and thus acquire additional authority and trustworthiness. But the text is neither a retranslation nor an adaptation from the Septuagint or any other version. The Hebrew Pentateuch was read in Egypt at least as early as the time when the Letter of Aristeas was written, and apart from the improbability of such a procedure, there are readings in the Septuagint which are not in the papyrus, or which would have been expressed differently.

Accordingly, one can see no reason why the

[1] So Dt 22^{7}: 'that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days' (cf. 4^{40} 5^{33}).

[2] The papyrus has preserved only: 'Thou shalt not covet . . . [thou shalt] not covet thy neighbour's h[ou]se, or his fi[eld],' etc.

papyrus should not be regarded as a genuine Hebrew text. It is well known that the 'Received Text' has scarcely undergone any change since the second century A.D. The variants in the extant MSS are remarkably slight compared with those in the papyrus, and their text agrees substantially with that presupposed by the Vulgate, the Targums, and Aquila's translation. But the evidence of the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and other witnesses, has led to the inference that at an earlier date other recensions of the Hebrew text must have been in existence. No actual Hebrew specimen of such a recension has hitherto been known, but the theory is founded so securely upon evidence that cannot be shaken, that it has been never refuted and but rarely denied. It is accepted by almost every biblical scholar: only the precise manner in which the Scribes formed the so-called 'Massoretic' text, and the exact date of its formation, are uncertain.

If it is argued that the papyrus is a specimen—and, at present, the only known specimen—of such an early recension, it need hardly be said that, quite apart from the palæographical evidence, it does not necessarily date from *before* the formation of the Massoretic text. Although the date of this event is not known, it must have been shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem when Judaism was reconstructed at the schools of Jamnia. But we do not know how the text was formed, or how long it was before it was finally adopted in Egypt. It is quite conceivable that private MSS, or MSS belonging to people who were not Jews, were not strictly revised until some years had elapsed, and, in any case, the readiness with which earlier forms of text survive in liturgies, etc., is a familiar experience to the textual critic.

As regards the bearing of the new text upon the criticism of the passages it contains, it must be confessed that it would have been extremely interesting had the Massoretic text contained obvious corruptions here. But this is not the case, the variants are of a different type, and opinion will probably differ as to the relative value of each. At all events, the text provides material for future discussion, and is of no little importance for the study of the Decalogue.

It is not easy to decide offhand whether the text of the Decalogue is an independent recension, or is a fuller form of that in Exodus, or, even, a simpler one of that in Deuteronomy. The third of these views is perhaps the easiest, and it may be supported by arguments into which space forbids me to enter.[1] It is true that the Exodus recension was usually employed in liturgies, but it is not certain that the papyrus was a liturgy. Its original purpose is not clear, and although conjectures may be hazarded, it must be understood that they have only a certain amount of probability, and are merely provisional. In considering this problem, we have to remember (*a*) that it is uncertain whether the papyrus consisted of a single leaf only, or was a roll or codex; (*b*) that the Decalogue is followed by the Shema' to which is prefixed an introductory verse; (*c*) that the Decalogue *may* represent the Deuteronomic recension; and (*d*) that this, in turn, was possibly never preceded by any introduction, heading, or title. It must not be forgotten, also, that according to Rabbinical tradition, it was disputed whether it was right to copy out separate portions of the Law. R. Jehudah (middle of the second century A.D.) is said to have allowed only Gn 1–6[8] or Lev 1–8. Children learnt the Shema', but it was preceded by the Hallel. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the procedure was tolerated, except perhaps in the case of schoolbooks, but here, even, there is no evidence that the passages contained in the papyrus would have been so treated. It is, of course, not impossible that the Jews in Egypt were not so strict as their brethren in Palestine in such matters, but the above point should not be overlooked in any consideration of the suggestion that the papyrus was a lectionary or collection of passages. A phylactery is out of the question, whether it was a magical charm seems to be capable neither of proof nor of disproof. It would be tempting to suppose that the papyrus was a liturgy, and, in early days, the Decalogue and the Shema' were actually read together at the Temple service. On the other hand, it is not clear whether the Shema' really *followed* the Decalogue,[2] and the presence of the introductory verse, and the absence of rubrics or benedictions preceding it, seem to constitute a serious objection. Finally, if the

[1] The differences between the two may be removed (1) by the variants in Hebrew MSS of Deuteronomy; (2) by the readings of the Vatican MSS (especially in Dt 5[14]); and (3) by critical considerations relating to secondary elements peculiar to the Deuteronomic recension.

[2] See Blau, 'Origine et Histoire de la Lecture du Schema,' in *Revue d'Études Juives*, xxxi. (1895), p. 192.

Decalogue is that of Deuteronomy, we have an omission of fifteen verses between Dt 5^{21} and 6^{4}. May the papyrus have been an ancient roll of the Law in which there was this lacuna? The material is not a great difficulty, since in Egypt papyrus would naturally be more accessible than leather. That faulty rolls existed in Egypt is evident from the complaint of Demetrius, the librarian of Ptolemy,[1] and there is no reason why they should not have been recopied and perpetuated, particularly if they were in private possession.

But, whatever the original purpose of the papyrus may have been, its value as a pre-Massoretic text of the Old Testament is not weakened. It has justified the confidence of critics in the Septuagint, and at the same time it is a warning that this version is to be used with the greatest discrimination, since comparison of the two reveals the presence of certain paraphrases and additions in the Septuagint which must be secondary. Finally, as the oldest Hebrew MS. extant, it is valuable evidence for ancient Hebrew palæography, and for the manner in which early manuscripts were written. Totally unexpected and unlooked for though the discovery of such a 'find' has been, it gives rise to the hope that future excavation and research may result in the recovery of other papyri of similar character.

[1] Letter of Aristeas; Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 525, ll. 2–5; Kautzsch, *Pseudepigr.*, vol. ii. p. 7, sec. 30.

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22	Davidson . . .	—	T. & T. Clark, 2s. 6d.
14	Farrar	C.B.	Camb. Press, 2s. 6d. net.
11	Moulton . . .	E.C.	Cassell, 6s.
10	Edwards . . .	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.

Commentaries for Students.

Votes.	Authors.	Names of Comms.	Publishers and Prices.
	JAMES—		
42	Mayor	—	Macmillan, 14s. net.
7	Alford	—	G. Bell, 18s.
6	Meyer (Huther) .	—	T. & T. Clark, 10s. 6d.
	PETER—		
34	Bigg	I.C.C.	T. & T. Clark, 10s. 6d.
10	Hort	—	Macmillan, 6s.
8	Meyer (Huther) .	—	T. & T. Clark, 10s. 6d.
7	Leighton . . .	—	R.T.S., 2 vols. 4s.
	JUDE—		
34	Bigg	I.C.C.	T. & T. Clark.
8	Meyer (Huther) .	—	T. & T. Clark.
	JOHN—		
47	Westcott . . .	—	Macmillan, 12s. 6d.
	REVELATION—		
33	Milligan . . .	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
6	Lee	S.C.	Murray, 28s.

Popular Commentaries.

Votes.	Authors.	Names of Comms.	Publishers and Prices.
	JAMES—		
22	Plumptre . . .	C.B.	Cambridge Press, 1s. net.
11	Plummer . . .	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
	PETER—		
26	Plumptre . . .	C.B.	Cambridge Press, 2s. net.
11	Lumby	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
8	Mason & Plummer	E.C.	Cassell.
	JUDE—		
26	Plumptre . . .	C.B.	Cambridge Press.
11	Plummer . . .	E.B.	Hodder.
8	Plummer . . .	E.C.	Cassell.
	JOHN—		
18	Plummer . . .	C.B.	Cambridge Press, 2s. net.
10	Alexander . .	E.B.	Hodder, 7s. 6d.
	REVELATION—		
23	Simcox . . .	C.B.	Cambridge Press, 2s. net.
10	Carpenter . . .	E.C.	Cassell.

The abbreviations used in the 'Names of Commentaries' column of the foregoing table are as follows—

C.B. . .	Cambridge Bible.
C.G.T. .	Cambridge Greek Testament.
Cy.B. .	Century Bible.
E.B. . .	Expositor's Bible.
E.C. . .	Ellicott's Commentary.
E.G.T. .	Expositor's Greek Testament.
I.C.C. .	International Critical Commentary.
O.C. . .	Oxford Commentary.
P.B. . .	Polychrome Bible.
P.C. . .	Pulpit Commentary.
S.C. . .	Speaker's Commentary.
S.C.B. .	Smaller Cambridge Bible.

In the case of monographs a dash appears in this column.

No work is entered above which does not receive more than five votes. I have, however, tabulated the whole of the replies received, and if anyone is sufficiently interested to know what number of votes were given to any particular books, I should be glad if they would communicate with me. The works receiving the highest number of votes are: Sanday and Headlam on *Romans* (50), Lightfoot on *Galatians*, *Philippians*, and *Colossians* (48), Westcott on *Hebrews* and *John* (47), and Smith on *Isaiah* (46). Where the votes on any book of the Bible are all low, it must be understood that no first-class commentary is available. But the table will in various ways repay a careful perusal. In the last column the price is left out when the commentary on the particular Book is included in a work containing more than one Book of the Bible, and previously mentioned with the price given. I ought to point out, for the benefit of purchasers, that in some cases certain *sets* may be bought from the publishers at a reduction on the published prices given in the table. This applies, *e.g.*, to the 'Expositor's Bible,' 'Clark's Foreign Theological Library' (which includes 'Delitzsch,' 'Godet,' etc.), and 'Meyer's New Testament.' This is the more worth knowing, because it often enables one to obtain a new book cheaper than a second-hand one; for there is always a demand for first-class commentaries, and indeed for standard theology generally, sufficiently great to make a ready market for the dealer in second-hand books.

Note.—The first part of this article appeared in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for January. The Editor proposes to make some remarks on both parts in the issue for March.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Père Lagrange's 'Judges.'[1]

THE publication of the present work with the *imprimatur* of Rome is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. During recent years it has been very gratifying to the friends of biblical science to note, on the part of all branches of the Christian Church, a growing recognition of the rights, and an increasing acquaintance with the methods and the conclusions, of the Historical Criticism of the Old Testament. For this result, as far as the Roman Catholic Church is concerned, a very large share of the credit is due to Père Lagrange, the well-known editor of the *Revue Biblique*, a publication which owes its deservedly high repute no less to his far-seeing and politic management than to the intrinsic value of its contents. It appears to Père Lagrange that the time has now come when members of his communion will be glad to have in their hands a new style of commentary, embodying the results of modern research, and thus better adapted to modern needs. He has, accordingly, had the courage to project a series of commentaries on the whole Bible, of which his own work on *Judges*, which lies before us, forms the first. It is a large undertaking, and to many it might appear to be hopelessly hampered by what is popularly supposed to be the position of the Roman Catholic Church towards tradition about the Canon and the authorship of the various books of the Bible, not to speak of the pronouncement of the Council of Trent (*Sess.* iv.) on the 'authenticity' of the Vulgate. We feel, however, not only hopeful but confident that Père Lagrange and his colleagues will succeed in their arduous task, in which they will have the sympathy of all progressive students of Scripture. And we may say at once that if the subsequent members of the series maintain the high level reached in the work before us, these commentaries are sure of a warm welcome outside the Roman Catholic Church as well as within its pale.

We are fortunate in having at our command several commentaries of the first rank on *Judges*. Notable among these are, in English, the work of Moore (*Internat. Crit. Com.*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark), and, in German, those of Budde (*Kurzer Hdcom.*) and Nowack (*Hdkom.*). Père Lagrange acknowledges special obligations to Moore and Budde, although he is fully justified in claiming an independence for his own work. For instance, on the important question of the two Greek versions of *Judges*, and their relation to one another and to the Massoretic text, he is in substantial agreement with Moore, but the whole subject is discussed with the introduction of fresh points of view, and with slight differences in some of the conclusions reached.

Père Lagrange, without committing himself to the view that the identical sources J and E of the Hexateuch are continued in the Book of Judges, is content to use these symbols provisionally, holding that the 'school' of J and, still more certainly, that of E can be traced at work in the narratives of the book. The stories of Ehud and Samson show no trace of 'doublets,' and may be assigned to J. The story of Deborah is likewise held to be a unity, derived from E, although there are complementary touches by the Deuteronomic redactor (R^D). The narratives regarding Gideon and Jephthah are clearly derived from two sources (J and E).

The story of how the Book of Judges reached its present form would be told by Père Lagrange in some such way as this. Originally there were two groups of histories in circulation, one recounting the episodes of the wars of Jahweh in a popular style (J); the other giving a connected religious history from Joshua to Samuel (E). In E the Canaanites are providentially left in the land for the purpose of training the Israelites to war, and also to test their fidelity to Jahweh. These two points of view are not mutually exclusive, and are combined in 3^{1-6}. A redactor (R^{JE}) combined these two narratives before the matter was taken up by R^D. Then came the final redactor, who prefixed the first preface ($1-2^5$) and added the appendices ($17-21$). This final redaction was probably accomplished in the time of Ezra.

[1] *Le Livre des Juges.* Par le P. Marie-Joseph Lagrange, des Frères Prêcheurs, Saint-Étienne-Jérusalem. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1903.

The first preface ($1-2^5$) cannot have been, Père Lagrange thinks, before R^D and cut out by him; it must have been composed by an author who, indeed, borrowed from early sources, one at least anterior to the conquest of Jerusalem by David (1^{21}), but whose main object was to account for the evils described in the second narrative, and who finds the explanation in the alliances contracted by Israel with the Canaanites.

Chaps. 17–19 show no trace of mixture of sources or of serious transformation by a later hand. It is different with chaps. 20–21, although Père Lagrange declines to resort, even in the case of these three chapters, to the hypothesis of the employment of different sources, preferring to discover only complementary matter introduced by the redactor, as in $1-2^5$. He would assign the basis of all five chapters to E. We confess that some of his contentions on this point, as well as his argument about the central sanctuary, appear to us less convincing than usual. All the more readily do we give our hearty assent to his refutation of Wellhausen's sweeping rejection of the historicity of the Gibeah incident and its consequences.

R^D is responsible for the main part of the Book of Judges (2^6-16^{31}). The second preface (2^6-3^6) as well as the similar passage $10^{6\text{-}16}$ were probably borrowed by him from E. He himself not only constructed the framework into which the narratives are fitted, but also wrote the story of Othniel. The latter story, however, Père Lagrange sees no reason for setting aside as unhistorical, especially if we read 'Edom' for 'Aram' as the country of Cushan-rishathaim. The 'minor' judges are held (in opposition to Budde, Moore, *et al.*) to be part of the framework of R^D and to enter into his scheme of chronology. Nor can Père Lagrange assent to the view of Budde that R^D cut out the story of Abimelech, and that it was reinserted by R^P.

On the vexed question of the chronology of the book and the way of reaching the 480 years of 1 K 6^1, Père Lagrange agrees with Moore (following Nöldeke), whose scheme rests upon the principle that we are not to count either the years of foreign domination or those of usurpers (Abimelech, and even Saul).

The method of Père Lagrange in the work before us is to give first a French translation of the Hebrew text, indicating by a few simple symbols any deviations from the M.T. Below the text are the notes, grammatical, archæological, geographical, etc. Then at the end of each considerable section comes a 'Critique litéraire et historique.' In the latter will be found some of the most valuable features of the work. As specimens we may instance the discussion of the origin of the Philistines, and the examination of the relation of the Song of Deborah to the prose narrative of chap. 4. We may note, further, that the 'moral' difficulties of the book are frankly faced and satisfactorily met. It scarcely needs to be added that the tone of Père Lagrange in controversy is precisely what we should expect of a Frenchman and a Christian. In short, this is in every respect a model commentary.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Duhm's 'Isaiah.'[1]

It is ten years since the first edition of this commentary was published. Since then, Duhm has written commentaries also (in another series) on *Job* and *Jeremiah*, and his critical position is well understood among scholars. The same merits and the same defects continue to characterize the second edition, which were noted in the first. We have had the curiosity to re-read the review contributed by the late Professor A. B. Davidson to the *Critical Review* (January 1893), and we find that the second edition differs in essential points so little from the first, that if Professor Davidson's criticisms were justified then, they are not out of place now.

Our author has all the confidence and independence of old, the same superiority of tone towards both the prophet Isaiah and those who have written commentaries on him. Regarding the latter, for instance, Duhm feels that to cite their various views would in most instances be simply wasting space. A *Handkommentar*, we are told, is not an anthology of fine thoughts, and we are not to pursue the study of the prophets in order to heighten our own importance. The cloud of names that shrouds the text, he adds, often makes one oblivious of the fact that com-

[1] *Handkommentar z. A.T.* (Nowack): Das Buch Jesaia. Von B. Duhm. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. Price M.8; bound, M.9.80.

mentators are after all only a necessary evil. There are some, however, from whom he owns having learned something. Notable among these are Cheyne and Marti. The old principles upon which his work is based are once more stated, principles to which no exception can be taken in theory, although there may be doubts as to the success with which Duhm applies them. The first of these refers to the necessity of emending the text when in its present form the author does not speak sense, or when the metre in which he writes is faulty. In regard to this last point in particular, we believe that many of Duhm's restorations or omissions are extremely precarious. No one has shown this more conclusively than Ed. König in his *Stilistik*, etc. Even more arbitrary and subjective are some of Duhm's conclusions regarding the genuineness or the date of certain passages, when these conclusions are based on assumptions as to the history of religion or of particular religious conceptions. That there is an unmistakable development in Hebrew religion as well as Hebrew language we have no manner of doubt, and as little do we doubt that within certain limits we thus obtain a safe critical canon. But arguments of this kind may be pushed to such an extravagant length as to seem to an outsider to amount to a *reductio ad absurdum* of criticism. There is a good deal of truth in the answer that was given by a highly respected but somewhat sarcastic professor (he was a Scotsman and a Presbyterian to boot) to a scholar who seemed to him to press unduly the argument that the sublimity of the doctrine of the Divine omnipresence unfolded in the 139th Psalm proved that that Psalm must date from a very late period in Israel's religious development. 'Why,' said the professor, 'I would undertake on these principles to prove that that Psalm is not written yet. For it is contained in the English Prayer-Book, and yet there are many members of the English Church who believe in *consecrated ground*!'

We are surprised to find Duhm still contending that 2 Ch $36^{22f.}$ (= Ezr 1^{1-3}) implies that the Chronicler attributed Is 44^{28} to *Jeremiah*, and that this shows at least that, when he wrote, Is 40–66 was not yet included in the Book of Isaiah. We have also a repetition of the wooden, unconvincing arguments to prove that Is $17^{7.8}$ and similar passages are interpolations, and the very precarious suggestion that the words, 'In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that the Lord of Hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria (*i.e.* Syria), the work of My hands, and Israel My inheritance,' have reference to the invitation of Jonathan the Maccabee to the wedding of Alexander Balas, the Syrian usurper, with Cleopatra, daughter of the king of Egypt. There is a great deal, too, that appears to us to be extremely doubtful, although ingeniously conceived and brilliantly maintained, in the section of the commentary dealing with chaps. 56–66, the so-called Trito-Isaiah.

Nevertheless, with all its faults of tone and of logic, this commentary will always be a favourite. Its clear exposition, its interesting style, and its unfailing *suggestiveness* have secured for it a hold which it will long retain. No student of Isaiah, whatever his critical standpoint, can afford to neglect Duhm.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter.

'The Religion of Judaism in New Testament Times.'[1]

For the purposes of this discussion the New Testament age extends from the persecution under Antiochus iv. to the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth by Hadrian, from about 168 B.C. to 136 A.D., the period which saw Judaism pass from the condition of a national religion, mainly concerned with ceremonial, to that of a universal and spiritual religion. Bousset holds that we have at present no comprehensive work in which the religious life of this intermediate period is exclusively and adequately exhibited. Students of the Old and of the New Testament have discussed this intermediate region too cursorily and too much from an external standpoint. And the phenomena are complicated. Three realms of literature must be explored: the pseudepigraphic, apocalyptic, and Haggadic; the theology of the Scribes, which has only reached us through a later tradition; and the Hellenistic writings. From these

[1] *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter.* Von Dr. W. Bousset. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903.

three factors he has endeavoured to construct a harmonious whole, but knows that the result is simply a preliminary sketch. For that sketch, however, we are deeply indebted to him. It is admirably done. Undoubtedly it should be translated into English. The student who is at home in these inquiries will be helped both by the details here accumulated and the conclusions drawn from or suggested by them, and the layman who would explore farther the 'Origins' of Christianity will find no difficulty in following the guide.

A preliminary section, in which the documents from which the description must be drawn are enumerated, characterized, and, as far as possible, dated, is followed by an exhaustive account of the religious beliefs, whether of the Jews universally or as they took on different shades in Palestine and the Dispersion respectively, or as they were regarded by the various sects. Then there is a survey of the systems which were off the regular line, the teachings of Philo, the tenets and practices of the Essenes. The work closes with an inquiry into the extent to which, and the points where, the development of Judaism was affected by foreign influences: Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, and, above all, Persian.

It is needless to say that this book would not have been planned but for the immense increase of knowledge, during recent years, concerning pseudepigraphic and apocalyptic literature. We hardly realize the greatness of that increase till we see it applied in some such fashion as here. Perhaps the following extract may convey a faint idea. The author has been speaking of a feeling amongst the Jews that their position in the world was not the one to which they were entitled: 'But in the times of the Syrian persecution this feeling revived in far greater intensity. The period of apocalypses now begins in Jewish literature, inaugurated by the author of the Book of Daniel. There followed, indeed, in the Maccabæan period, a splendid outburst of national enthusiasm, and this seems for a time to have thrust somewhat into the background the exclusive reference of Jewish piety to the future. Yet the deepest strain of feeling continued to be strongly Messianic. For, on the one hand, people believed, at all events in the early days of Maccabæan rule, that they were actually living in the Messianic time, so that they looked on those days in a Messianic light and expected very great things from the immediate future (Ps 110, 1 Enoch 90, Jubil. 23, Test. Levi 18). On the other hand, the pious were the very people who soon felt themselves oppressed by the Maccabæan rule, and turned their eyes to that future in which there would be a real dominion of the godly over the violent, rich, and ungodly (1 Enoch). When the Maccabæan dynasty perished, the hope of a Messiah belonging to the family of David flamed up afresh (Ps. Sol. 17). And in the confused and savage days prior to Herod the godly looked for judgment against the kings who were again devastating the earth (Similitudes of 1 Enoch). . . . There is sufficient evidence of a deep eschatological tone in what Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 43) tells us of such predictions by Pharisees in the time of Herod, in the Apocalypse of Moses, in the developed eschatology of Paul, and in many other quarters. . . . A fresh impulse was given to the apocalyptic literature of Judaism by the taking of Jerusalem. There is the prophecy of Ezra, the manifold Baruch-documents, the Sybil's predictions concerning Nero, and the Apocalypse of John, which contains a great deal of Jewish matter. . . . The oldest Jewish Sybil has a thoroughly Messianic and eschatological cast, and also the more recent scanty fragments from Cleopatra's time (?) which stand at the opening of the third Sybil. Several citations concerning the judgment and the destruction of the world are found in the collection of falsified verses attributed to the pseudo-Hecatæus. Even in Philo's writings Messianic expectations are not entirely suppressed.' [1]

Buddhism would be difficult to explain and account for if we knew nothing about the Brahminism of the valley of the Ganges in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. Modern research has thrown much light on the relations between the two systems, and thus made each of them clearer. The peculiarities of the later system are all the more evident when looked at in their historical setting. A like service is rendered to the teachings of the New Testament by this careful exhibition of the mental and spiritual conditions amidst which they arose. We need to know how far the Jews had travelled along the road on which Jesus was to seek to carry them farther, and to mark the parting of the ways; we cannot

[1] Pp. 196 f.

but understand Him better if we are familiar with the ideas of those whom He addresses; we may possibly be surprised at finding how few were the totally new thoughts contributed by early Christianity, but we shall say, with Bousset, in his excellent chapter on the ethics of this period of Judaism, 'The development in this realm which Judaism underwent directly prepared the way for the gospel: rich treasures were heaped up, though it was in a confused mass. *The Master must come to sift the treasures and bring them into unity and order.*'[1]

Here, then, is a glimpse into the sentiments of the period: 'It is, indeed, certain that the pious man is favourably regarded by God. But who belongs to the number of the pious? Who can satisfy God? Amongst the very Israelites there are godly and ungodly, faithful adherents of the law and despisers of God. To please Him one must belong to the narrow circle of the godly and be a member of the sect. Within this circle, again, each is responsible for himself and his own conduct. The godly can no longer find their way out of this labyrinth to a simple, unmixed confidence in the goodness of God. They lose themselves more and more in comparative estimates, in counting and weighing one work against another. The idea arises which is fatal to all true godliness and all moral earnestness, that when God demands righteousness everything depends on the good works preponderating in number over the evil. Life becomes a balance-sheet, a constant reckoning of the balance which the pious has with God. This idea finds a thoroughly characteristic exemplification in the doctrine of the זכות (δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ), which is developed in the later rabbinic theology. This doctrine is of an exclusively external character. Along with the interceding angels God holds a court of justice, which judges individual godly men. The more commandments the man has fulfilled, the more זְכִיּוֹת he has: the more he has not fulfilled the more עֲבֵירוֹת (Weber 278, after Peah 1, 16b). If God is to pronounce a sentence of justification, the good works must outnumber the evil. A single one may turn the scale. The godly man must therefore habitually regard himself as half clean and half guilty, and habitually perform that one decisive work (Weber 281). This balance of the life of the godly is not only made out in the day of judgment, but every day (Weber, 283). And the total can be altered daily. Lk 18^{14}, *κατέβη οὗτος δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ πάρ ἐκεῖνον, so far as its external form is concerned*, is quite Pharisaic.'[2]

There is an admirable section on the theologians, the learned class whom we usually call the Scribes. 'It is, in any case, impossible to rate too high the influence of Sirach. From his time forward the consciousness was rooted in the soul of Judaism that piety can be communicated by instruction, and that the learned man is the representative of piety. This was carried still farther in Palestinian Judaism also. To the author of the Foundation Document of the Testaments[3] (Levi 13) conversance with the Law is identical with Wisdom. A saying of Hillel's is peculiarly forcible: "No uncultivated man (בּוֹר) easily avoids sin, no common man (עַם הָאָרֶץ) is pious." When many passages of the Mishna place the Chaber (חָבֵר = Pharisee) in contrast with the Amhaarez, this is the most intelligible and exact distinction between them—the Pharisee is the "cultured," the man instructed in the law; the Amhaarez is the uncultured, the common man. The arrogance of piety takes its place alongside the arrogance of culture. In the Pirke Aboth the value of culture and instruction is extolled in almost every third sentence. We may learn from the Gospels how seriously religion was injured by this alliance between piety and that culture which was a mere lifeless erudition. This explains the exultant cry of Jesus, "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hidden this from the wise and cultured, and revealed it to the uncultured (the infants)" (Mt 11^{25}, Lk 10^{21}).'[4] The contents of the idea of Wisdom were much fewer amongst the Scribes to whom our Lord spoke than to the men whom Sirach called wise, but their functions had grown larger and more definite; to these men belonged the power of pronouncing legal decisions, the conduct of the synagogue service, the right to advise the people in all affairs of religion, worship, and ceremony, the teaching in the Rabbinical schools. And meanwhile religion was 'little else

[1] P. 398. The italics are mine.

[2] P. 372.

[3] *I.e.* The Apocryphal Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

[4] P. 142.

than instruction and theology. Here, too, one must recognize the influence of that Greek ideal of life which has already been touched on. There, as here, Wisdom is the ideal; the conviction prevails that it is instruction and culture which make life worth living. On the other side, it must be admitted that in the school of the Rabbis, seriousness, relevancy to human life, the endeavour to influence the nation, an abiding consciousness of duty, were much stronger and weightier, than in those private philosophical schools of the Greeks, which hardly troubled themselves with the life of the populace or the outside world. Figures like the Hillels, Gamaliels, Jochanans, claim unreserved respect; in spite of every peculiarity, there is something touching, nay, even imposing, about them. Yet the reverse side must not be forgotten. What a narrow world Religion has here become! How all independent motive power and freshness, yea, even life itself has perished! What a vast interval between the divinely inspired speech of the prophet and the murmured repetitions of the docile scholar, or even between the soul of the son of Sirach, open to all the world, and the rabbi whose world is the schoolhouse! One of the greatest features in the character of Jesus is His opposition to these γραμματεῖς, that He did not teach as the theologians, that, at any rate for a time, He delivered the people from them.'[1]

Sometimes Bousset is overcome by the temptation to trace every plant back to the seed-plot in which he is interested. He quotes from the Pirke Aboth, as spoken by a contemporary of Akiba: 'Where two sit together and are occupied with the words of the Torah, the Shechina is with them,' and adds[2] that this declaration concerning the Shechina is applied to the ascended Jesus (Mt 18^{20}). But he adduces no proof that Mt 18^{20} was not spoken by the Lord Himself. He treats the Apostle to the Gentiles a little too much on the footing of an ordinary Jewish teacher: 'When Paul intimates (2 Co $12^{2f.}$) that he had been rapt in an ecstasy into the third heaven, we must conclude that this peculiar form of ecstasy was common in rabbinic circles one or two generations earlier than rabbinic tradition indicates, and that Paul had already become conversant with it as a rabbi.'[3] The notes on pp. 286 and 403 imply convictions respecting the doctrines of the Virgin-birth and the Resurrection of our Saviour which are not likely to be generally acceptable in England. But we can all bring our *granum salis* with us to the perusal of the book, and there are few pages where we shall require it. On the other hand, there are whole chapters which one would like to reproduce, and many happy hits at points of secondary importance but of real interest.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

[1] P. 146. [2] P. 340. [3] P. 350.

A Great Synoptic Work.[4]

WEIZSÄCKER succeeded to the theological chair at Tübingen left vacant by Baur's death in 1860, and he held it till 1898. During that period he gave to the world three great works: the *Untersuchungen* (1864), a singularly excellent translation of the New Testament (1875), and the *Apostolic Age* (1886). The first of these has just been reissued, having been for some years out of print. Its reappearance ought to have a cordial welcome. Though nearly forty years old, antiquated is the very last word one could justly apply to it. The first part, which deals with the sources, is marked by a brilliance and lucidity always rare, and to this day it is probably the best available introduction to the Synoptic problem. A more conservative attitude to most questions, and especially to the Fourth Gospel, is assumed in this earlier book than in the *Apostolic Age*. The second part of the book is occupied with a minute delineation of the work, teaching, and personality of Jesus, which, while making no pretensions to be a biography proper, offer us all the materials bearing on the subject which Weizsäcker thought could safely be drawn from the sources. All that precedes Christ's Baptism and all that follows His death, it is disappointing to note, is simply dropped out as of dubious authenticity. The central theme is always the religious consciousness of Jesus, and of this the account given is profoundly reverent, delicate, and scholarly. At a time when attention in this department is mainly riveted on more detailed aspects of the gospel history, it is well to read again the grave and measured synthesis of a

[4] *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung.* Von Carl Weizsäcker. Zweite Auflage. Williams & Norgate. Price 7s. net.

critical but far-seeing thinker. And for this purpose no better guide could be had than the book before us. It is the work of a patient and fastidious mind, characterized by constitutional reserve, conscious of the infinite worth alike of faith and truth, and anxious to discharge a duty which, as he says, 'we owe to the glory of Him in whom we believe, and to the defence of His cause.'

The student of Gospel criticism cannot afford to neglect a treatise which, more than any other, has influenced the course and development of later Synoptic study. He may decline some of its conclusions, but he will be memorably impressed by its scientific method; nor less by its fine and deeply religious insight. There are times when Weizsäcker's words, in their absolute sincerity and historical vision, sound like the minor echo of the voice of a greater than he, and recall something of the master lately gone from us—*tam carum caput* —Dr. A. B. Davidson. H. R. MACKINTOSH.

Aberdeen.

Erman's Egyptian Grammar.[1]

THE appearance of a new edition of Erman's Egyptian grammar is most welcome, partly because it implies a widespread interest in the language, still more because it presents us with the important results of the latest researches in a handy and digested form. The first edition was published eight years ago, and since then Sethe, the distinguished pupil of Professor Erman, has rivalled his master in discovery and classification. On comparing the two editions the chief differences on the scientific side are to be found in the classification and explanation of the grammatical forms, especially in the verb, the participles, relative form, etc. The accounts of the employments of the forms and the translations of passages quoted have undergone comparatively very little change. Nevertheless, the new views have involved the recasting or addition of an amount equal to about one-quarter of the whole book. Erman's references to the parallel Coptic grammar by Steindorff in the same series will be found not to agree with the current edition of the latter; evidently a new edition of that also has been prepared and may be looked for in the near future. Further, an Egyptian chrestomathy with an extensive vocabulary is promised for next year, and a chrestomathy of the Coptic dialects. It seems probable that no English version of the revised Egyptian grammar will be published at present.

As to the pedagogic value of the book, the gain in clearness throughout is considerable, though none can say that Egyptian grammar bids fair to be an easy subject, even if the student confines himself to the 'classical' Egyptian here treated. The list of hieroglyphic signs, with their values, is considerably extended and improved, and the enlarged bibliography reflects the activity of copyists and editors of texts. The reading exercises have been cut down in view of the forthcoming chrestomathy, and many pages are gained by the glossary being printed in transliteration instead of hieroglyphic characters; this last change may give the student a little more trouble in identifying words that occur in the exercises, but the multitude of hieroglyphic sentences transliterated and translated in the body of the grammar will afford him all the preliminary practice that he requires in using the glossary.

The Semitic roots easily recognizable in Egyptian are not very numerous. The striking examples quoted in discussing the values of the alphabetic hieroglyphs may perhaps lead beginners to imagine the two vocabularies to be almost parallel, and a word of warning on this point would have been useful. Erman's list of Egypto-Semitic roots in *Z.D.M.G.* xlvi. may be consulted.

From a paper recently printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, it appears that there is an impression amongst certain lovers of things Egyptian that—(1) the use of the vowelless transliteration of hieroglyphic which originated at Berlin is still confined to a few pupils of Professor Erman and the teachers of a class of students in London and Oxford; (2) that the use of the rival systems is proscribed in all publications controlled by the former; (3) that even the proper names in works intended for popular use are rendered without vowels, and therefore in an unpronounceable form, by the followers of Erman. As these statements may create some prejudice in England against the 'New Egyptology,' the Society of Biblical Archæ-

[1] *Aegyptische Grammatik mit Schrifttafel, Litteratur, Lesestücken, und Wörterverzeichniss.* Von Adolf Erman. Zweite gänzlich umgearbeitete auflage (Porta Linguarum Orientalium pars xv.). Price 16s. 6d.

ology may be doing a service in calling attention to the matter. The third statement cannot bear a moment's examination, and the second is only so far true that very few of the contributors to the Berlin publications cling to the older systems. As to the first, the strictly Berlin school is now so large and powerful that it is difficult to say where it begins and ends; besides the large German contingent there are at least two active pupils of Erman Sethe and Steindorff in America, and one each in England and Denmark. A very promising French scholar, however, who I believe has had no training in Germany, namely, M. Lacau, of the Cairo Museum, has adopted the Berlin principles for his philological work this year. The rising generation of hieroglyphists throughout Europe and America must necessarily accept the methodical teaching of Berlin; the bulk of the recusants now are scholars of the old régime, who have little or no interest in grammatical research, however valuable their work may be in other directions. F. Ll. Griffith.

Note on Hosea vi. 2.

The resurrection on the third day was according to the Scriptures (1 Co 15^4, Lk $24^{44f.}$), or 'the scripture' (Jn $2^{20f.}$), whereby some understand Hos 6^2 '. . . in the third day *He will raise us up, and we shall live* in His sight.' Alford gives a reference to Hos 6^2 in the margin of 1 Co 15^4; and he writes 'see also Hosea vi. 2' at the end of his note on Jn 2^{22}. Compare Professor J. V. Bartlet's interesting 'Two Notes on the Fourth Gospel' in vol. xiv. p. 118 f. of The Expository Times (December 1902). The supposed application of the predicted raising up of the many to that of the One may be illustrated by St. Matthew's application of Hos 11^1, 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called My son out of Egypt.' So the Church is said to be the body of Christ.

Mr. W. H. Lowe, in his *Fragment of Talmud Babli Pesachim* (1879), has a note (p. 72) pointing out that Hos 6^2 may be adapted rabbinically to the use made, or thought to have been made, of it in the New Testament. (i.) Read, as with another pointing, *He shall raise Him* [or *it*] *up*. (ii.) Likewise read, *and He shall be made alive*, instead of *and we shall live*. In chap. 8 of Genesis Rabbah it is said on Gn 1^{26} נעשה, *let us make* man, that the ministering angels were discussing the question of the creation of Adam, when God created him and said to them, Why reason one with another? *he is made* already. St. Paul may or may not be alluding to Hos 6^2 when he associates the raising of the One with that of the many, as in 2 Co 4^{14}, 'knowing that He which raised up the Lord Jesus *shall raise up us*'; 1 Co 15^{22}, 'in Christ shall all be made alive'; 2 Ti 2^{11}, 'we shall also live with Him.' An idea first arrived at in some other way may be afterwards read into the Hebrew text, as an addition to its primary sense, by the method of אל תקוי, '*Read not* so but so.'

C. Taylor.

Cambridge,

Studia Sinaitica. No. 11.

Owing to a misunderstanding, my paper under the above heading in The Expository Times, last month, was printed without a final revision of the proof. There are consequently several press errors in the Syriac words, the most important of which are here corrected—

ܡܡܠܟ should be ܢܡܠܟ; ܠܟܡ should be ܥܠܟܡ; ܢ and ܙ should be respectively ܒ and ܕ; ܢܚܕ should be ܢܥܕ; and ܟܬܒܘܬܐ and ܡܟܬܒܢܐ should be ܟܬܒܘܬܐ and ܡܟܬܒܢܐ.

Albert Bonus.

The Two Greatest Miracles of the Gospel History.[1]

By the Rev. Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

It is a significant fact that the ancient creeds pass without notice the miracles of our Lord's ministry and the ministry itself, as if they had no place among the necessary *credenda* of Christianity. From the Birth of Jesus Christ the creeds proceed at once to His Passion, and it is rare to find in them the slightest reference to His marvellous life. The Church seems to have recognized that the events of the ministry were recorded for her instruction rather than as matters essential to her faith. On the other hand, there are two miracles which are confessed in every form of the Creed—the miracle of the Conception, by which the Incarnation was effected, and the miracle of the Resurrection, by which the victory of the Cross was consummated. These may be regarded as the fundamental miracles of the gospel, the ground upon which the ultimate battle between the assailants and defenders of miracles must be fought; and while I fully recognize that the whole of the gospel history is permeated by the supernatural, it is to these supreme instances that I shall limit my remarks.

i. The circumstances of the miraculous Conception are related in two of the three Synoptic Gospels. It is important to observe that the two accounts are essentially independent of one another, and belong to distinct stages in the history. The facts which appear in the Third Gospel are clearly prior to those reported in the First; the annunciation, Mary's visit to Judæa, her return to Nazareth, precede Joseph's discovery and dream, which follow appropriately upon the Virgin's return. In both these stories there is a reference to Is 7^{14}, but they have no incident in common; they refer to different sets of circumstances, and appear to have arisen in different circles. Thus the miracle of the Conception is attested by two separate but not inconsistent traditions which come to us from primitive times, and these may quite reasonably be regarded as preserving in substance the recollections of Joseph and Mary respectively. The alternative is to regard both stories as legends, independently based on the prophecy of Isaiah, and already credited in the Palestinian Church when St. Luke and St. Matthew wrote. So artificial an explanation would probably have found little favour with scholars if there had been no miracle to suggest it. It is too commonly assumed that evidence which would be good under ordinary circumstances is bad where the supernatural is involved.

If we ask what there is, apart from their miraculous character, to set against the independent statements of St. Luke and St. Matthew, the usual answer is that their witness is counterbalanced by the silence of St. Mark, St. Paul, and St. John. The objection would have more weight if St. Mark had not deliberately begun with the baptism of John, and if it had belonged to St. Paul's province to deal with the personal history of the Lord. As the case stands, the argument proves too much, for the silence of St. Mark extends to the Lord's thirtieth year, and St. Paul's one list of *credenda* (1 Co $15^{3ff.}$) begins with the Passion. St. John stands in a different position; a reference to the Conception might certainly have found a place in his prologue, *e.g.*, to the phrase 'the Word was made flesh,' he might conceivably have added 'of the Holy Spirit.' But apart from the question whether this would have been in harmony with the general purpose of the prologue, can St. John's silence have been due to ignorance? Is it possible that the author of the Fourth Gospel can have been ignorant of a tradition which had already been published in the Third and First—a tradition which, scarcely a generation later, is urged by Ignatius in letters to the Johannine Churches with an assurance which leaves no doubt that they shared his belief in it? Under these circumstances it is more than precarious to build on the silence of St. John. Whatever may have been his reason for not referring to the Conception, it can scarcely have been either that he did not know the story or that he disbelieved it.

It is not surprising that the miracle of the Conception should be felt to be both unnecessary and embarrassing by those who have lost faith in the Incarnation. But where the mystery of the Incarnation is heartily accepted, the miracle of the

[1] Read at the Northampton Church Congress.

Conception is seen to be a fitting corollary to it. We do not dare to say that the Incarnation could not have been effected by other means. Yet if Jesus Christ is the Eternal Word made Flesh, if He came to create a new order, to restore fallen humanity to sinlessness, a sufficient cause has been shown for a supernatural beginning to His human life. It is idle to point to examples of legendary heroes or of great religious teachers to whom the piety of followers has ascribed a supernatural birth. Legends of this kind merely testify to the craving of the human consciousness for the intervention of the supernatural in the origin of lives marked by what has seemed to be more than human greatness or goodness. This craving finds its realization in the unique life of the sinless Son of Man, who is also the only Son of God. Thus belief in the Incarnation and belief in the miraculous Conception will be found in the great majority of cases to stand or fall together. The Creeds pass immediately from confessing Jesus Christ to be 'the only Son of God' to the fact that He was 'born of the Holy Ghost,' and neither of these articles of the Catholic faith can be abandoned without disturbing the foundations of the other.

ii. The history of the Christ ends, as it began, with miracle. With one voice the Creeds of the Universal Church confess that the Person who was born of the Virgin Mary rose from the dead on the third day. The phrase is St. Paul's (1 Co 15^4), and, if the Gospels may be trusted, it came originally from the lips of Christ (Mt 17^{23}, Lk 18^{33}).

For the fact of the Resurrection there is certainly no lack of documentary evidence. Not to mention that it is assumed in almost every one of the New Testament writings, we have no fewer than five formal accounts—six, if we may regard the appendix to St. Mark as a separate authority. Four of these witnesses are to all appearances independent—St. Paul, St. Mark (16^{1-8}), with whom we may associate St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. The evidence falls under two heads: the empty tomb and the appearances of the Risen Lord. Time allows me to deal with the latter only, and I can touch but a few points. As the appearances are summed up by St. Paul, they seem to compel belief. Take, for example, the manifestation to 'above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now.' The Apostle could not have written thus in an open letter to a great centre like Corinth if he had not been prepared to substantiate his statements. If the Epistle is genuine, as most of our critics hold it to be, within twenty-five years from the Crucifixion there were still living more than two hundred and fifty persons who had seen the Lord after His death at one and the same time. How is this fact to be explained on the hypothesis that He did not truly rise? Much has been said of St. Paul's use of the same verb ὤφθη to describe both the pre-Ascension appearances, and the appearance which was the means of his own conversion. It is argued that since the latter was of the nature of a vision, the former must be held to belong to the same category. But the precise force of the verb must be determined in each case by the circumstances, and the circumstances of the pre-Ascension appearances, as reported in the Gospels, differ widely from those which attended the conversion of St. Paul. In the one case the Lord appeared from heaven; in the other He was seen in human form on earth, walking, sitting, giving Himself to be touched and handled, speaking as man to men, even eating in order to convince the eleven that He was not a mere spirit. It may be said, of course, that the Gospel narratives have suffered from accretion; that the incidents which suggest a bodily resurrection are no part of the original story, but represent the belief of the second generation. But in the case of St. Luke, at least, the probable date of the Gospel leaves no time for extensive accretions, even if St. Luke's candour and opportunities of information would have given them admission. Yet it is in St. Luke's Gospel that these indications of a bodily resurrection are most clearly marked.

Earlier efforts to minimize the force of the evidence have broken down, and one after another they have been abandoned by their authors or those who succeeded to them. The modified unbelief which now holds the field contents itself with the plea that the historical evidence is at least precarious, and that under the circumstances it is wiser and safer to be satisfied with the vital truth that the Lord has triumphed over death and is alive for evermore.

But the conviction that 'Jesus lives' is not the whole of the faith in our Lord's Resurrection which was committed to the Church. Whatever change may be thought to have passed over the Lord's Body, it is undoubtedly of faith that the

Resurrection was not merely a spiritual victory over death, but in some true sense a bodily resuscitation. The fact belongs not to the accidents, but to the very essence and heart of Apostolic Christianity, and a Christianity which ignores it must needs be immeasurably poorer by the loss. The Church will not listen to the voice of the charmer who bids her relinquish so important a part of the deposit, unless he can show that the old faith is untenable. On what grounds, then, are we invited to distrust the evidence of the Gospels in this matter of the Resurrection? In the first place, it is said that the accounts are incompatible; that in any case the facts cannot be fitted into a scheme. St. Matthew, with whom St. Mark must have been in substantial agreement, shifts the scene to Galilee; St. Luke detains the Apostles at Jerusalem; St. John adopts a middle course. Even the events of the Resurrection Day do not lend themselves easily to the art of the harmonizer. But in such a narrative difficulties of this kind will stagger no one who approaches it without prepossessions. They are such as might be expected in a collection of first-hand reminiscences. The excitement, the alternations of hope and fear, the hurried movements of the weeks that followed the Crucifixion are enough to account for even greater departures from historical consistency. Differences in detail suggest substantial truth; it is clear that no attempt has been made to harmonize. St. Luke, who is thought to have had St. Mark before him, goes his own way; and if the Fourth Gospel mediates to some extent, it does so in entire independence of both the earlier Gospels.

But admitting the fact of the appearances, it is said that they may be explained on psychological grounds. The apostles were so possessed with the belief that the dead Master was still amongst them in spirit, that it was natural for them to imagine that they saw His form in their midst. Such hallucinations are doubtless possible, but not under the circumstances described by all our authorities. The appearances began on the third day and ceased after the fortieth. Can psychology explain these limits of time? They were witnessed not only by individuals, such as Mary of Magdala and St. Peter, whose imagination might easily have got the better of their judgment, but by groups of people as variously constituted and circumstanced as the two on the way to Emmaus, the ten, the eleven, the seven by the Sea of Galilee, the five hundred on the Galilean hills. They were seen at all hours—in the early morning, in the broad daylight, as well as in the evening after sunset. They convinced men who not only disbelieved, but ridiculed the first reports of the Resurrection. Can psychology produce any similar record of manifestations shown to be illusory? As a last resource, anthropology has been appealed to; no verdict, we are now told, can be passed upon the matter until it has been ascertained 'in what ways the human mind works under conditions like those of the first disciples.' But what if the conditions were absolutely unique? What if in the whole history of the race there has been but one Man who, after death, has shown Himself alive by proofs such as the Gospels produce?

The Gospel story of the Resurrection is not without its perplexities. The evidence is, perhaps, not overwhelming, and it is certainly far from being complete; in some of the details it may be inexact. But the main fact that the Lord rose again on the third day has not been shaken by any argument hitherto adduced. The intellectual difficulty of believing the Resurrection of our Lord's body to be a baseless story will always be greater than the intellectual difficulty of believing it to be a substantial fact.

Difficulties of belief become infinitesimal when they are placed in the light of the Incarnation. It is not surprising that the miracle of the Resurrection, like that of the Conception, should be a stumbling-block to minds which have not grasped the mystery of the Word made Flesh. The ultimate decision has to be made, not between the acceptance and rejection of a particular miracle, however great, but between belief in a merely human Christ and belief in a Christ who is also truly Divine. If men are content to say that Christ has the value of God, they may be content to let both the miraculous Conception and the Resurrection in the stricter sense drop out of their Creed. For the moment it may seem that their hold upon the vital truths of Christianity has not been weakened by the abandonment of two of its earliest traditions. But the end of the present movement cannot be discerned as yet. It may result, as similar movements have resulted before, in a reaction in favour of the old faith. There is, however, an alternative

for which we must be prepared. A rejection of the fundamental miracles which the Church has from the first learned to connect with the Incarnate Life, if it takes a firm hold upon the thought of our time, cannot fail to issue in a widespread loss of faith in the central mystery of Christianity, and a corresponding loss of the higher life which that mystery inspires.

The Latest Mythological Theory of the Patriarchs.

By Professor Ed. König, Ph.D., D.D., Bonn.

In recent years two attempts have been made to give the narratives concerning Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and his sons a different meaning from that which they have in the first book of the Bible. In the first place, it has been maintained that the stories of the patriarchs had originally *tribes* in view, so that the experiences of bodies of people are recorded as if they had been those of individuals. This theory, which is held by a number of recent commentators on Genesis, is dealt with in my little work, *Neueste Prinzipien der alttest. Kritik* (1902), p. 34 ff. But, side by side with this main dogma, an attempt is being made at present by not a few scholars to show that the true meaning of the patriarchal history must be sought in the *mythology* of the peoples of Western Asia. This view has been of late maintained especially by H. Winckler, who recurs to it in his brochure, *Himmel und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker* (1901).

Winckler starts with the principle that the Babylonians constructed their astronomical system while the spring equinox was still situated in the sign of Gemini, and he deduces the following conclusion: 'Hence it is the Dioscuri myth by preference which forms the starting-point in legends which introduce a new period of history or relate the primeval history of a people. It lies also at the root of the relation of Abraham to Lot, for Abraham said to the latter, "If thou wilt go to the right, then I will go to the left."' Here we miss, first of all, any proof of the assertion that the Dioscuri myth emerges in this way outside Israel. But that by the way. Let us confine our attention to what Winckler says with reference to the Hebrew tradition. According to the above quotation, Abraham must be regarded as one of the Dioscuri. Thus Abraham and Lot come to be the two latest pendants to Castor and Pollux. And why? Because the tradition concerning these two men contains such forms of expression as 'If thou wilt go to the right, I will go to the left' (Gn 13^{9}). But are these words not perfectly natural upon a fitting occasion? Surely they are, and yet Winckler connects them with the mythological assumption that Castor and Pollux 'can never be found together; if the one is in the under world, the other is with Zeus' (p. 37). But this stroke at the O.T. tradition quite misses the mark. For Abraham and Lot *were* at first *together*, they migrated to Canaan in company. And, even after their territorial separation (Gn 13^{11}), were they not once more *together* when Abraham rescued his nephew from the Eastern foes (14^{16})? Besides, there is mention of two brothers of Abraham, namely, Nahor and Haran. What right then has any one to convert Abraham and Lot, the uncle and the nephew, into twins?

Another indication of the mythological character of Abraham is discovered by Winckler in Gn 20^{12}. Here he finds it asserted that the first patriarch was the husband of Ishtar or Astarte, since the latter, according to Babylonian notions, was married to her brother (p. 38). But in this passage Winckler has overlooked an important consideration. The words of Abraham to Abimelech run thus: 'And she is, indeed, truly my sister, the daughter of my father, *but not the daughter of my mother*, and she became—thus—my wife.' Accordingly, she whom Abraham had wedded was a half-sister or step-sister, and marriage with such a one was relatively natural. For, when a man had a plurality of wives, each wife along with her children constituted a separate family. This is brought before us very plainly in Gn $33^{6f.}$, where Leah with her children and

Rachel with her son Joseph pass by Esau as two separate groups. Also the unhappy princess Tamar in her words to Amnon (2 S 13^{13}) assumes the possibility of a marriage between a half-brother and half-sister. Tamar and her full-brother Absalom were the children of David's wife Maacah (13^{1}), while Amnon was the son of David by his wife Ahinoam ($3^{2f.}$). Consequently there is no need to look upon a marriage of Abraham with a half-sister as a trace of a mythological conception of this patriarch.

But the attempt is made, further, to resolve the form of Jacob into a mythological figure. In the above-named brochure Winckler says: 'In the east we have the prominent appearance of the three stars of the Belt [of Orion], which are also known as Jacob's Staff, in allusion to the words "for (only) with this staff I passed over Jordan"' (Gn 32^{11}). But can the designation 'Jacob's Staff' be traced back to primeval times? I find in older works the three stars of the Belt of Orion brought into connexion with Nimrod only. All that we find even in Rashi († 1105) in his commentary on Genesis is the remark (on 32^{11}) that Jacob, according to an ancient interpretation, smote the Jordan with his staff, so that its waters divided, as in the story of Elijah (2 K $2^{8.14}$). He cannot have supposed that this stroke was given by Jacob with the Belt of Orion. Moreover, the application of the title 'Jacob's Staff' to the three stars of the Belt does not imply the notion that these stars *actually* formed the staff of which Jacob speaks in Gn 32^{11}. It is much more natural to suppose that a staff-like constellation had the name 'Jacob's Staff' bestowed upon it on the same principle as that which gives us in the world of plants an 'Aaron's Rod,' the name applied to the beautifully flowering *Calla* (cf. Nu $17^{8\,(23)}$).

The main question, however, is whether the Old Testament itself has a mythological being in view when it uses the words 'for (only) with this staff I passed over Jordan.' This question is answered in the affirmative by Winckler, who writes thus: 'Jacob at his first crossing of the Jordan is thought of as the moon (in the spring time) which now returns again from the watery region and thus crosses the Jordan once more.' But a river separates two tracts of *land*. The crossing of a river cannot therefore be spoken of as a returning from the watery region. If it had been intended to express this last idea, Jacob must have been represented as coming from the sea and landing upon the shore.

But Winckler has still other grounds for his theory. He adds: 'Typical in favour of this spring myth are the two camps into which Jacob divides his flocks. The beginning of the year consists in the meeting of moon and sun in the same sign. The two have thus each a house or a camp of their own. Jacob and Esau, the latter being as Edom the representative of the southerners and then of the sun—hence he is hairy,—are thus presented as the vernal moon and the vernal sun.' But how is this 'spring myth' supported by the allusion to the *two camps*? These two camps or hosts of which mention is made in Israelitish tradition (Gn 32^{11}, etc.) are assigned to Jacob alone. They are *not* distributed between Jacob and Esau, as if these stood for the moon and the sun. Moreover, the two camps are connected not with the stars but with the name of a *city* (Mahanaim, v.^{32}). Again, Winckler's series 'Edom, southerners, sun' must be regarded as possessing an extremely weak middle link, and no chain is stronger than its weakest link. Finally, the quality of 'hairy' attributed in Gn 27^{23} to Esau's hands is expressed in Hebrew by *sā'ir*, a word which probably contains an allusion to the land of *Se'ir*, where Esau and his descendants settled. This is even *per se* more likely than the supposition that the 'hairy' is intended to suggest the sun's rays. The latter explanation is deprived of all plausibility by the statement that Esau looked 'quite like a mantle of hair' (Gn 25^{25}). These words might be used to characterize Esau and his descendants, the Edomites, as rough and wild-looking Bedouins, but a different form of expression would have been emlpoyed if Esau had been identified with the sun shooting forth its rays.

From the above it will be seen how rotten are the foundations on which the latest attempt to reduce the patriarchs to mythological figures is based, and yet one has the presumption to add that the biblical narrative uses the ancient myths *with full consciousness*, in order to obtain an investiture for occurrences of which no exact tradition was any longer extant (*l.c.* p. 48 f.). For this assertion there is not a single gleam of positive proof, whereas countless circumstances, in addition to what has been urged in this article, are opposed to its truth.

By Abraham, we are told, the Hebrew narrator *means* the moon. Well now, let any one read Gn 11^{26}–25^{6} and then say whether it is the moon that is in view. How admirably the narrative has succeeded in *concealing* its purpose! For surely the writer concealed the aim attributed to him when he illustrated the number of Abraham's posterity by *comparing* them with the stars (15^{5} and 22^{17}). Is it possible that he could so have forgotten the rôle he was playing? And he must have tripped in the same way when he made Jacob dream of a ladder which reached *from earth* to heaven (28^{12}). For the moon-god the ladder should have taken the opposite direction. Finally, with reference to Joseph, Winckler (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. [1900] 62 f.) remarks: 'If one of the sons of the moon comes into the hands of the sun-god, he becomes forfeit to the latter. Each time Joseph detains one. When he gets the youngest into his hands, the matter is at an end.' Yes, it would have been at an end if the history of Joseph had been written on the lines of Winckler's mythological prescription. But, as that history reads in the O.T., *the matter is not at an end* when Benjamin arrives, but Joseph now sends for his father, and causes 'the moon' to settle in the land of Goshen, etc.

The narratives of Genesis, then, give no occasion for the theories concerning the patriarchs which have been advanced by the friends of mythology.

Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology.

By A. H. Sayce, D.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.

In a sumptuous volume,[1] worthy of the scholar to whose memory it is devoted, the scattered contributions of Sir P. Le Page Renouf to Egyptological science have been collected and published by Professor Maspero and Mr. Rylands. No better editors could have been found than the most learned and accomplished of living Egyptologists and the indefatigable secretary of the Society of Biblical Archæology. Renouf was a scholar who, in these days of superabundant literary activity, wrote comparatively little, but what he once wrote never needed to be written again. The general public know him chiefly as a Hibbert lecturer, and, in his latter days, as keeper of the Oriental Department in the British Museum. It is, however, by his contributions to our knowledge of the ancient Egyptian language that he will be longest remembered in the world of science. The Book of the Dead was the special object of his studies, and here he had no rivals. He was printing a new and revised translation of it when death overtook him. Fortunately, the greater part of the text and commentary was already in type, and the manuscript of the remainder was in a sufficiently complete state to allow Professor Naville to edit it for the Society of Biblical Archæology.

Renouf was a good classical scholar, though a change of religion prevented him from taking his degree at Oxford. He had enthusiastically taken up the study of Comparative Philology at a time when it was a new pursuit, and, like many others of us, passed under the spell of Max Müller's mythological views. It was just this which gave his Egyptological work so much value; he was no narrow specialist, whose horizon was bounded by the little department of knowledge in which alone he was interested. He could look beyond the point of view of the mere Egyptologist, and bring the knowledge and experience acquired in other fields to his own favourite study.

One of his earliest literary productions, which is republished in the present volume, was an answer to Sir G. C. Lewis's famous assertion that a lost language could not be deciphered and read. The answer was complete and final, and time has proved that it was so. But it is a good thing that it should be reproduced in a form which will enable the general public to 'mark, learn, and inwardly digest' it. It points an object-lesson which is much needed to-day. The arguments of

[1] *The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf.* First Series, Egyptological and Philological Essays. Vol. I. Edited by G. Maspero and W. H. Rylands. Paris: Leroux, 1902.

the critic seemed unanswerable—at all events from the critical point of view, perhaps also from the point of view of common sense. He seemed to have sound reason in asking how it was possible to decipher inscriptions, the language and script of which had alike been forgotten, and to which, in the case of the cuneiform monuments, there was no bilingual clue. Surely scepticism was justified, if ever, in rejecting the results claimed to have been obtained by a few daring spirits whose Oriental scholarship was not above suspicion. Ten years after the publication of Sir G. C. Lewis's work, Nöldeke could still refuse credit to the 'discoveries' which the Assyriologists asserted they had made.

In his article, Renouf confined himself to Egyptian, and the examination and refutation of his opponent's arguments is a masterly piece of work. It settles the whole question once and for ever. It shows how the decipherment of the inscriptions has proceeded upon strictly scientific lines, and, like all other branches of modern science, must stand or fall with the inductive method. Only those could doubt it who were blinded by prejudice or hopelessly incapable of understanding what induction means.

The two articles on the system of Champollion which precede the reply to Sir G. C. Lewis, like most of the smaller articles in the volume, appeal mainly to Egyptologists. They are further examples of Renouf's logical clear-headedness and acquaintance with his subject, and will be read with profit by those who wish to know what is the real history of the decipherment of the Egyptian inscriptions, and why Champollion alone succeeded in unravelling their mysteries.

The later articles in the volume are of importance to the student of the Egyptian texts, who will learn from them that not infrequently the latest 'discoveries' in Egyptian philology have been forestalled by Renouf. But the English scholar did not think it necessary either to advertise himself every time he made out the meaning of a word, or to disguise the word itself under a transliteration which is neither sightly nor pronounceable.

Mr. King's new work[1] appeals as much to the theologian as it does to the Assyriologist. Indeed even that nondescript personage, the ordinary reader, ought to take an interest in it, at all events if he is acquainted with the Old Testament, or is interested in the early history of human thought. Since the publication of Mr. George Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, no such important work has appeared on the subject of which it treats. It not only adds largely to our knowledge of the Babylonian 'Epic of the Creation,' it also sets the relation of the latter to the first chapter of Genesis in a new light.

Mr. King has succeeded in filling up a considerable part of the missing portions of the Epic, partly with the help of 'Neo-Babylonian' tablets, partly by identifying a number of fragments from Nineveh in the British Museum, whose connexion with it had not been previously suspected. The result is the discovery that the original poem consisted of about one thousand lines, and, above all, that it was divided into seven tablets or books. That some relationship must exist between this division of the Epic and the seven days of Genesis is clear, more especially when we bear in mind the parallel pointed out by Mr. King 'between the Seventh Day on which Elohim rested from all His work and the Seventh Tablet which records the hymns of praise sung by the gods to Marduk after his work of creation was ended.' I believe there is an allusion to the latter in Job 38^{7}.

Among the more important facts resulting from Mr. King's discoveries is that the creation of light had nothing to do with the beginning of the great war between the older powers of chaos and the younger gods of law and order. It is true, that as reference is made to 'day' and 'night' at the very outset of the poem, light must have been conceived of as existing before the appointment of the heavenly bodies in their respective places, just as it is in the biblical account. But the war of the universe was begun, not by Tiamât, the dragon of chaos, but by Apsu, the primeval deep, whose wrath was aroused by the disturbance of his sleep, and whose plot against the gods, hatched in company with Mammu and Tiamât, was discovered by Ea. Here we have plainly a version of the story in which Ea, as creator, had not yet been displaced by Merodach of Babylon, and in which the 'deep' wherein his abode was afterwards fixed, was not yet transformed into Tiamât. The Epic of the Creation is really a combination of

[1] *The Seven Tables of Creation; or, The Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind.* By L. W. King. Two Vols. London: Luzac & Co., 1902.

cosmological legends of different origin, which have been amalgamated together in honour of Merodach.

Another still more important fact which we learn from the recovery of the opening lines of the Sixth Tablet is that the culminating act of the Chaldean story was the creation of man. We further learn that Berossos was strictly correct in ascribing the origin of the living element in man to the blood of Bel-Merodach himself, and that therefore Professor Hommel's ingenious conjecture that we must substitute Adapa for Bel is no longer necessary. 'My blood will I take,' says Merodach, 'and bone will I fashion: I will make man that man may [exist?]: I will create man, who shall inhabit [the earth].' The Assyrian word for 'bone' is *itstsimtum*, and, as Mr. King notices, it cannot be an accident that in Gn 2^{23} woman is called the *'etsem* or 'bone' of man.

Mr. King has spared no pains to make his book as complete as possible. An introduction, which contains everything that can be said about the tablets and their contents, is followed by a transliteration and translation of the texts. Then come transliterations and translations of other texts, which either relate to the creation or have been supposed to do so, as well as appendices on the Assyrian commentaries upon the Epic, the larger of which implies a Sumerian version of the last tablet, on some additional fragments of the poem, on the references to it in the astrological tablets, and on a long and interesting metrical prayer to the goddess Istar. There are full indices and glossary at the end of the volume, while the second volume contains the cuneiform originals copied with Mr. King's customary care.

The reviewer can find little upon which to exercise his critical craft. Lenormant's correction of the Thalath of Berossos into Thavath is, however, more probable than Robertson Smith's Thamte. It was not Zimmern, but myself, who first pointed out that a portion of the so-called Cuthæan legend of the Creation is preserved in a text published by Scheil (*Proc. S.B.A.* xx. pp. 187–189), and Zimmern is mistaken in thinking that it is not a Creation-legend at all. I have shown in my Gifford Lectures[1] that it really represents the cosmology of Nippur. On the other hand, Mr. King is certainly not right in believing that the inscription he quotes on pp. 197–200 has anything to do with the Creation. As I suggested years ago, in my Hibbert Lectures (p. 166), where I translated a portion of it, it must relate to the mythical foundation of the city of Assur. The words *rupustu sa tia*[*mat*], on which Mr. King relies, can only mean 'the breadth of the sea.' I gather from his transcription of the text that several characters have been lost since my copy of it was made.

[1] *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.* T. & T. Clark, 1902.

The excavations that are being carried on by Mr. Macalister for the Palestine Exploration Fund on the site of Gezer, have already had such important results, that all those who take any interest in the ancient history of Canaan, should see that they are not interrupted from lack of funds. Professor Petrie laid the foundations of the archæology of Palestine at Lachish; Mr. Macalister is completing the work at Gezer. The burial-caves he has found there, with their two layers of dead belonging to the neolithic and bronze ages, are likely to settle a good many questions as soon as the examination of the remains discovered in them is finished. Meanwhile, the Tel itself is revealing the past history of Canaan in a very remarkable way. Two of the mounds of which it is composed have been explored, the eastern and the central, the second of which turns out to have been the site of the original settlement on the spot. The settlers were neolithic troglodytes, whose tools were of stone and bone. They were followed by other neolithic settlers, whose state of culture was a little more advanced and who occupied the eastern as well as the central mound. To them belonged the flint implements and rude pottery met with here and there in Palestine. The third settlement was that of a different people, who were acquainted with bronze; their pottery is identical with that of the earlier settlement at Lachish, and we may see in them the Amorites before their contact with Egypt, but subsequent to the Babylonian conquests of Sargon of Akkad and Naram-Sin and the introduction of bronze into the west. Then comes a fourth settlement, the age of which can be fixed. We are still in the bronze age, but the Amorites are already at the height of their civilization, surrounding their cities with lofty walls and erecting temples of huge monoliths, one of which Mr. Macalister has found. In it he has also found an Egyptian stela of the Middle Empire recording the name of a certain Maatinef, as well as scarabs of the twelfth and

thirteenth dynasties. The period, therefore, to which the settlement goes back, will be roughly 2500–2000 B.C., before the Hyksos invasion of Egypt. At last a chronological starting-point for the archæology of Canaan has thus been discovered, and we can form some idea of the age to which the Amorite occupation of the country must reach back.

The fifth settlement is that of a population which used not only bronze but also iron. We may accordingly assign it to the period which lasted from the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty down to the reign of Solomon. It is distinguished by what has been called the 'lamp and bowl' pottery, and is the last settlement in the eastern mound. In the central mound, however, two more periods are represented. The first is that which is characterized by the jar-handles inscribed with Phœnician letters which belong to the age of the Jewish kings, while the second brings us down to the Persian epoch. Among other objects it has yielded is an inscription mentioning the Egyptian king Nef-aa-rut I. (339 B.C.). Naturally, iron takes the place of bronze in both these latter periods.

The Tel el-Amarna correspondence was carried on in the age of the fifth settlement, and we may therefore expect that cuneiform tablets will be discovered among its remains, probably in the western mound. This, too, must have been the settlement which witnessed the Israelitish invasion of Canaan, and perhaps the delivery of the city by the Pharaoh to Solomon. Here, at Gezer, consequently, if anywhere, we should find the answer to the question: When and how was the Phœnician alphabet brought to Israel?

The Great Convocation.

By the late Rev. W. A. Gray, Elgin.

'But ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn, whose names are written in heaven, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.'—Heb. xii. 22, 23.

In this great passage (and in all Scripture there is scarcely a greater or a grander) the intention of the writer is to strengthen and to stimulate the Hebrew Christians, who were under special temptations to apostatize. Many of these Christians had to fight their battle and maintain their testimony all alone, deprived of human sympathy and deprived of human aid. It was a new and a trying experience, taxing to their perseverance and testing to their faith, and, as I say, the apostle takes account of it while he writes. Already in this chapter, he had directed them to one great ground of support. He had directed them to Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith. He had reminded them of His cruel contradiction. He had reminded them of His bitter cross. And he had incited them to courage in their own trials by the thought of the greater severity of His. And now in the verses before us, he passes to another ground of support, passes from the idea of a past example to the idea of a present society. And he unveils for these Hebrew Christians—all so lonely as they thought themselves—the great and goodly fellowship they belonged to. What though an infidel world might scoff? They had the presence and assistance of a multitude who were not of this world, with whom their hearts and their aims were one. Greater were they that were for them than all they that were against them. No one believer, amidst all the scattered elect, need find himself solitary. However remote his post, however desolate his lot, he was encircled with a countless host, who sought what he sought, felt what he felt, loved what he loved. A thought, a prayer, a silent withdrawal within himself, and he was one on the instant with the throngs that surrounded him, included in their shining ranks, sharing in their sacred privileges. Consider then

two subjects: (1) the place of assembly, and (2) the component parts of the assembly itself.

1. First, then, the place of assembly. 'Ye are come,' says the apostle, 'to Mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.' The words are suggestive of a contrast. And a contrast with what? With Mount Sinai, of which the writer has been speaking just before. 'Put these two together,' he says; 'look on this picture and on that, and see the difference between them.'

There is a difference as to *aspect*. As to Mount Sinai, it is threatening and dark, with the thundercloud resting black on its brow and the lightning playing red on its crags. As for Mount Zion, it is tranquil and bright, standing bare in the shadowless sunshine of God.

There is a difference in the next place as to *occupation*. As for Mount Sinai, it is desolate and bleak, rising high in the lone clay tracts of the wilderness. As for Mount Zion, it is populous and busy, the towers of a city adorning its slopes, the streets of a city encircling its sides, while a river flows down in the midst of it, whose falling waters make it glad.

There is a difference, too, as to *accessibility*. As for Mount Sinai, it is forbidding and repellant, —fenced by barriers, protected by warnings. As for Mount Zion, it is unrestricted and free. Its gates are continually open. Its paths are everywhere wide. Whosoever will, may drink of its living waters, and he who does the commandments of its King, shall have a right to its Tree of Life.

Such are the differences described. And, for the Hebrews addressed, what did they mean? They meant all the distinction between Law and Gospel—legal threats and gospel promises, legal isolation and gospel companionship, legal bondage and gospel liberty. And they mean the same things for us, — the distinction between a God that is known in law and a God that is known in grace. For as often as the change is made from a state of conviction by the law to a state of reconciliation by grace, so often is a change made like the change made here, from the shadow of Mount Sinai that genders to bondage, to the brightness and beauty of Jerusalem above, which is the mother of us all, with its solemn troops and sweet societies, made up of the blood-washed and forgiven. Is it not a great thought this, of the kingdom of God as a city — carried on through Old Testament prophecy and echoed and expanded in New Testament experience, — this radiant vision of prosperity and peace, that dawned on Israel, grew brighter to Paul and John, and fired the minds and inspired the songs of confessors and martyrs thereafter, as often as loneliness depressed or persecution assailed? And still, amidst all the dividings of space and creed, and the still more mysterious dividings of death, the thought is the one thing that cheers. It is true that one-half of the city lies up towards the top. There they see God face to face. There they serve God day and night. There the song is louder. There the robes are purer and more white. Yet the city after all is one. Down from the shining heights sweeps the same great rampart, with its walls of salvation and its gates of praise, winding down through the lowlier suburbs of earth, and encircling in its strong stout arm the path of many a weary climber, whose way is lonely and whose heart is faint. So the boundary line between here and yonder is obliterated. The partition wall between time and eternity is broken down. And as in Christ there is neither male nor female, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither bond nor free, so in Christ there is neither earth nor heaven, for both have become one.

2. But pass in the next place to the component parts of the assembly itself. What, let us ask, are these?

(1) First the Angels. We are come, says the writer, to an innumerable company of angels. We are with them in sympathy, with them in touch.

Angels—the fellowship of angels. Is it not strange that a doctrine so clearly laid stress on in Scripture, yes, and we may also say, consistent with religious philosophy, as the doctrine of angels, is it not strange that that doctrine has so little real hold on us? For it is most scriptural. All through the sacred history, from Genesis to Revelation, the Bible is full of them—the glimmer of their garments, the rustle of their wings. Why this unconsciousness of privilege? Why this indifference to facts? Is it the idea, present though unexpressed, that though association with the angels existed once, it exists no longer now? We live in a world more dull. We travel in

ways more prosaic. Is that the impression of some? But when did the change take place? The fact is, the teaching of Scripture is all the other way. Instead of the interposition of angels diminishing with gospel institutions and with gospel light, the promise is that it will be more closely intimate, more tenderly and richly complete. 'Hereafter ye shall see heaven opened, and angels ascending and descending on the Son of Man.' And not only on the Son of Man, but on those that are heirs of His great salvation. 'So,' says the apostle, 'we in these last gospel times are come to the angels.' We are come to them now more than ever. Yes, and we are come for evermore.

'But we cannot see them,' so says another who doubts. 'We cannot see them.' And science that ransacks the universe makes it certain they are not there to be seen. In the farthest nooks, through all the subtlest ether, it has not detected an angel,—not the vanishing train of an angel's garment, not the lingering echo of an angel's voice.

But what has science got to do with the matter? Can the material reveal the immaterial, the instruments of sense the realities of spirit? There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy. The telescope reveals the worlds. But the God that has made the worlds, what telescope has ever shown the image of Him? The scalpel reveals the tissues. But the life that quickens the tissues, what scalpel has ever pierced to that? And yet there is science and science, and it is not so long since I read the words of a scientific man, who declared that even from a scientific point of view he could conceive of places to be filled and of functions to be exercised by the angels. 'But,' you say, 'I cannot individualize them, associate them with their separate personalities, assign them their special characters. If I could, I would think of them oftener. As it is, they are so alike, massed together like the midnight star dust that illumines the far-off sky.' Is that what you feel? Ah, but even among these there are distinctions, and one star differs from another star in glory. Just so with the angels. View the firmament of Scripture and you will find that the angels differ also. Yes, and they differ to such an extent that you may make this one or that one the object of your special contemplation, this one or that one the recipient of your special love. 'Which of the angels would you most like to see?' So said a profound theologian, who thought much and talked much on the deep things of grace. I mean the late Professor Duncan of Edinburgh. 'I know,' he continued, 'which *I* want to see.' 'Tell me,' said his hearer. The answer was profound and impressive. 'Not Michael, the angel of zeal—zeal for God's glory; not Gabriel, the angel of announcement—announcement of God's purpose. No, but the angel that strengthened Christ in His agony,—the gratitude of a world to *him*.'

And so, among the privileges of Mount Zion, there is *this* privilege for one thing, most practical, most helpful, most stimulating, of communion with the elder sons of God's family, who do God's commandments and hearken to the voice of His word, as they have been doing and hearkening from the beginning. As friends that serve us, as examples that teach us, as witnesses that confirm us, as fellow-students that inspire us, while together we gaze on the deep things of God, the truths of redemption, the mysteries of the Cross, in all these ways and with all these ends, we are come unto the angels.

(2) But, again, as a second company in this great convocation there is the General Assembly and Church of the Firstborn. 'The Church of the Firstborn'—who are they?

Are they the Church of the Old Dispensation, the Church of patriarchs and prophets—the Firstborn in point of time? Scarcely. Doubtless we are come unto *them*,—come in spirit, come in standing to the great cloud of witnesses just described, whose faith encourages, whose footsteps guide. Doubtless, I say, we have come to the Church of the patriarchs and prophets. But not of these does the apostle speak. Not to these does the apostle refer. He would never have said of the patriarchs and prophets, that their names were written in heaven. And that for a very good reason,—the reason that they themselves were in heaven with the spirits of the just made perfect, whom the apostle refers to in the words that follow. No, it is not of the Church of the Old Dispensation in heaven that the author is thinking when he writes. It is rather the Church of the New Dispensation on earth,—the saints of God, as they struggle and sorrow below. Are not these God's Firstborn, everyone of them? All have

the calling, all have the glory of the Firstborn children. They are heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ. In them runs the line of the old twin privilege—the kingdom and the priesthood. Their names are written in heaven, among the archives of eternity, in the Lamb's Book of Life. But their persons are still on earth, while they work their own salvation out, and make their patent of nobility sure. They are justified, but not yet perfected. They are princes, but not yet crowned. They are sons and daughters of the Most High, but they wait the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body.

And to this General Assembly and Church of the Firstborn the apostle says we are come. They may be scattered far and wide, divided by race and place, by diversities of creed and diversities of worship. But the matters that unite them are far more important than the matters that separate them. And in the love of God, in the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the communion of the Holy Ghost they are all one. It is something, is it not, to be joined with them? It is something, is it not, for a lonely toiler at any time to know and remember that even one, though in unseen quarters or a distant land, is toiling and battling as he is,—swayed by the same great interests, bent on the same great ends? And by how much is the encouragement increased when, instead of one, we realize there is a multitude? Oh, this thought of a common life, common in effort, common in suffering, and therefore common in spirit and common in sympathy, should do more to comfort and constrain us than it does! Do you say, 'But how shall I realize it? I believe in the communion of saints, but how shall I actually feel it?' Well, brethren, do you know what it is to have communion with the saints that are nearest you? Then, and then only, shall you know what it is to have communion with those that are farthest,—get the consciousness of their sympathy, feel the impulses of their life! The sea is one, but the arms of the sea are many. Up through the inland mountains, far through the inland fields, these sea-arms reach and wind. Some are narrow, some are broad; some are hemmed in by bare beetling crags, others lie open to the sunshine and blue sky, where the emerald meadows and rosy orchards slant gently to the water's edge. But amidst all this variety of circumstance and of scene there is one thing that is common to all, they thrill with the motion of the tide. The broad rolling sea may be far away—not a patch or a thread of it seen. But its influence and impulses are near, near as the heaving that rocks your boat, near as the wavelets that break at your feet. Even so with the Church. Do you know what it is to have fellowship with the two or three met locally? It is thus in your own particular religious corner, at your own particular religious place, you will have fellowship with the throng universal,—even the General Assembly and Church of the Firstborn. Seize such opportunities, whether special or ordinary. They are opportunities of consolation. They are opportunities of strength.

Let the following narrative illustrate:—Some time ago a Canadian missionary and a group of companions were encamped by the side of a great Western river. Night dropped down: the landscape became dark. And as they sat by the gleaming watchfires, they heard a sound as of singing. Softly by snatches it came over the flood—the words of a Christian hymn, from a company of Red men just opposite. They raised an answering strain, the strain of another Christian hymn, and then across the river there was silence. Only for a moment, however, for sound came again,—this time lower, deeper, more muffled. It was the sound of intercession, and of intercession for them. Was that not significant? Did not the missionary and his friends feel encouraged by the token? For a token it undoubtedly was, a token and a symbol of the communion of saints, even fellowship most full and free with the faithful of every tongue that are scattered on earth,—the General Assembly and Church of the Firstborn.

(3) But the mention of the river reminds us of another river—a river with a darker current, a river with a deeper bed, and the company that is gathered on the farther bank of *that*. Surely here at least is division, division of person and division of state—a division that makes fellowship impossible. 'No,' says the writer to the Hebrews, 'as we are come to the General Assembly and Church of the Firstborn on earth, we are come, despite the river, to the spirits of just men made perfect in heaven. And joined to the Church that is militant here, we are joined to the Church that is triumphant yonder.' But what is this? Communion with those gone home—how is it represented, how is it realized? Well, the

Christian view is far enough off from the worldly superstitious view. That goes without saying. Compare the spiritualism of the Bible with the spiritualism of other creeds,—compare it with the spiritualism that is sought and resorted to by many in the present day,—how vast the difference! No pandering to idle curiosity, no encouragement to those who intrude upon things invisible, vainly puffed up by their fleshly minds—striving to force with picklocks the doors of which Christ keeps the keys. On the contrary, what reticence and reserve! And if the reticence and reserve are broken, what fitness of occasion, what dignity of speech!

And yet, while the relation here spoken of, the relation of the saints on earth to the saints above is far from familiarity, it is equally far from mere figure. Do not water it down, do not explain it away, as some do, as if all we had to do with the spirits of the just men made perfect were a utilizing of their example, a contact with their influence. It is true that in this symbolical sense their spirits are with us still, and in doing what they did, and in withstanding what they withstood, we may be said, in a sense, to come to them. So, in this symbolical sense, the spirit of a Raphael may be said to linger in the world of painting, the spirit of a Handel in the world of music, the spirit of a Shakespeare in the world of poetry, the spirit of a Howard or a Wilberforce in the world of beneficence. The good that men do is not in all cases interred with their bones. The spirits of our mighty dead still rule posterity from their urns. And to love what they loved, to seek what they sought, to follow what they followed, is, in a sense, to be one with themselves. And following out the thought on these lines, one might say that by every altar where sacrifice awaits us we are come to the spirit of Abraham, who offered his only son, accounting that God was able to raise him from the dead. By every corner where temptation lurks ready for us, we are come to the spirit of Joseph, who said, 'How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?' By every sickbed, where the limbs are weak and the head is aching, we are come to the spirit of Job, who, when smitten of God and afflicted, refrained from sinning with his lips or charging his Maker foolishly. To all these, and a multitude besides, the believer has come. Not a spot in his pilgrimage but is peopled by their memories. Not an experience in his life but is sanctified by their pattern. All this is true. And yet, in saying it, I might really be going no farther than any moral and high-minded sceptic. It was George Eliot, who declared she found God unknowable and immortality incredible; it was George Eliot who said, in words that might pass for those of a Christian hymn, 'Oh may I join the choir invisible, the mighty fellowship of the immortal dead!' But her choir was a choir of shades, and the song that they seemed to sing was a song of echoes, that played in the corridors of the long gone past. But the spirits of just men of whom the author here speaks are something else than mere phantoms, they are living personalities, conscious and intelligent, with the same old interests and the same old loves they possessed while here upon earth.

And to these, not as they have been but as they are, the apostle says we are come. We may not be able to explain. This mysterious fellowship with the spirits of the just men made perfect when all by which we knew them on earth is gone,—the hands whose touches we felt, the faces whose expressions we watched, the eyes whose clear depths of light we looked into, we cannot explain it. But it is real notwithstanding. It is the doing of the Saviour's wonder-working Spirit. It is the fruit of His redeeming sacrifice. For Christ has died for us, that whether we wake or sleep (that is, whether we are alive or dead) we should live with Him, and not only live with Him, but live with Him together. I was once in the company of that great and good man I have quoted already—Dr. Duncan of Edinburgh. He was speaking with a much tried brother minister, over whom wave after wave of successive bereavement had rolled, ere the midtime of his life. Said this minister, recalling his experience, 'How utter the separation that death makes,—one moment here, another out in the mystery.' His feeling, you see, was the feeling of the poet—

> I wage not any feud with death
> For changes wrought in form and face;
> No lower life that earth's embrace
> May breed in him, can fright my faith.
>
> For this alone on Death I wreak
> The wrath that garners in my heart;
> He put our lives so far apart
> We cannot hear each other speak.

I remember the answer as the speaker relapsed

into the old Scotch tones of his early days: 'Division—na, na. Upstairs and doonstairs are no so far apart!' Two storeys, but one roof! Two chambers, but one house! Blessed are the saints that live in the Lord. Blessed are the saints that die in the Lord. And if they make their home in the same Lord, they cannot be far from each other. Yes, brethren, we may say, though in a different sense, of the saints in glory what we say of their living Head, 'Who shall ascend into heaven,—that is, to bring them down from above? Who shall descend into the deep,—that is, to bring them up from the dead?' For they are nigh, mystically but really nigh, to all whose hearts are engaged in the same worship, to all whose love goes forth to the same Lord. For in worship and in love are the true means of fellowship, and there are no means elsewhere. Let the worship be holy. Let the love be warm. And in spirit we shall see our departed, in spirit we shall recover our dead. And of this we have a figure in Nature. I look up to the heavens by day. No stars in the vast dome yonder,—the space is empty, the blue is bare. But I lean on the parapet of some ancient well. And there, in the watery mirror, where the sky reflects itself, one star swims out, and another, and another, orbs which though hitherto hidden had been shining all the time.

So with the spirits of the just men made perfect. Though they shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever, they are often hid,—hid from sight and hid from sense. But stand by the brink of some well of salvation. And there, in the living water of a gospel worship, gospel ordinance, gospel truth, their images gradually steal forth to cheer, enlighten, and bless. You will realize that just where you look they look, though they look from more tranquil homes, though they look with serener eyes,—to the self-same facts of redemption, to the self-same mysteries of grace. And thus you are brought together.

> Oh blest communion, fellowship Divine!
> We feebly struggle, they in glory shine,
> Yet all are one in Thee, for all are Thine,
> Hallelujah.

At the Literary Table.

THE GREAT MARQUESS.

Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 10s. net.

Many are called to the office of writing history, but few are chosen to be historians. In Scotland there has recently arisen an army of writers who have made their own country their theme, but as yet we can scarcely point to any who have made a name to live. Mr. Willcock promises well. Lately he wrote the history of Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie, and managed a difficult subject with unquestionable skill. Now he has attempted a far more trying task, a task which none of us can estimate the difficulty of; he has undertaken to restore the Marquess of Argyll to the place which he ought to occupy in the esteem and affection of his countrymen.

One test of a great historian, as of a great poet, is the choice of a worthy theme. Mr. Willcock's is worthy. For various reasons, some purely accidental perhaps, the Marquess of Argyll has never come by his own. We call it accidental that the writing of the secular literature of our country has been largely in the hands of those who have felt no sympathy with the cause with which Argyll was identified. Sir Walter Scott starts to one's mind at once. It was accidental, not that Sir Walter Scott wrote and was so popular, but that his sympathies were on the other side. What he would have made of Argyll had he believed in Argyll's policy, we can guess. It is certain that he made less of Argyll than impartial history demanded, and he has been diligently followed and surpassed. So there was need for this book; its theme is great enough and urgent enough.

Another test of a historian's greatness is his faith in his theme. Mr. Willcock has faith in his theme. He believes that God and the nature of things are with him. This man was on the side of righteousness, he believes; on the side of what makes a nation great. He believes that he suffered for righteousness' sake, and by the temporary triumph of the evil that is in the world

(seen, incarnated almost, in that most perfidious and pernicious monarch, Charles the Second). So, in restoring Argyll to his rightful place, Mr. Willcock serves the cause of progress for which Argyll stood.

A third test is courage. Mr. Willcock has bravely avowed from the start his intention of doing the best he can for Argyll. He has laid himself open to the enemy's retort that he is an advocate and no historian. And he has gone against the stream. It is all the other way with the hopeful historians of Scotland at present. With the most confident of them at least, the Covenant and all it stood for is an abomination, Melville is a sneak and Knox a liar.

And then, last of all, Mr. Willcock has proved his competency, his impartiality, and his good judgment, by seeking the sources of his history for himself, by acknowledging the good where he finds it in the enemies of Argyll, even in Charles the Second, and by never flagging in the use of that grand style which a great subject demands of the man who has the outlook and the insight to handle it worthily.

THE SHROUD OF CHRIST.

Constable, 12s. 6d. net.

Is it possible in these days to believe in a relic? In the year 1898 an exhibition was held at Turin. It was an exhibition of Fine Art, and everybody felt that it would lack its greatest ornament if the Sacred Shroud was not shown. But the Sacred Shroud had not been seen for thirty years. It lay in a metal casket, secured by many locks, and could not be taken out except at the express command of the King of Italy and with the consent of the archbishop. It was last seen at the marriage of Prince Humbert in 1868. Nevertheless, the king ordered, the archbishop consented, the Shroud was exhibited, and unexpected consequences followed.

The keepers of the Shroud claim that it is the very linen cloth in which the Lord's body was wrapped when He was taken down from the Cross. They believe that it then received and still retains the impress of His body, His very features being traceable upon it. So they call it the Shroud of Christ.

You laugh at this. So did nearly all sensible scientific persons, until the Shroud was exhibited at Turin. But then the Shroud was photographed. It was a bold adventure on the part of the Royal House of Savoy, its custodians since the middle of the Fifteenth Century. But the result justified it. When the photograph was taken, it was found that the picture on the Shroud was a photographic *negative*. Now, suppose that it is an imposture, no representation of Christ's features but a picture painted in the Middle Ages whence it certainly has come down—where was the painter then who could paint it? And how could he produce a pictorial negative?

The matter got wind, reached scientific circles, was denied, affirmed, debated, discussed, and then after a year and half Dr. Paul Vignon (a D.Sc., understand) produced a book about it, showed himself a firm believer in its authenticity, and sought to make proselytes. His book has been translated. It is published in this country by Messrs. Constable in most sumptuous fashion, with all the plates and other illustrations.

Now, what we feel about it is this. It is like Verbal Inspiration. Those who believe in Verbal Inspiration hold that not our present text but the original autographs of all the books of the Bible were inspired. But if so, if God took such care with the words of the Bible as that, why did He not continue His care over them and see that they passed uncorrupted down the centuries? Once there occurred a fire where the 'Shroud of Christ' was kept. As it lay in the box in its many folds, the fire burned a corner. Hastily it was snatched and hastily dashed with water. And now when it is all unfolded we see the marks of the fire, in lines all over, which correspond with the folds, and we see the marks of the water in spots that lost their colour. If God was so careful that this linen cloth should receive the impression of the features of our Lord, why did He not preserve it from fire and water? It is scarcely possible to see the impression now; and if it had not been for the photograph, and its 'negative' result, it would have been restored to its box without our ever hearing of it.

But about this negative? Dr. Vignon has no explanation of the negative to give, except that it is a genuine impression. And that leads him at once, by a rapid movement which it is not easy to follow, to the conclusion that the impression on the Shroud is the impression made by the body of Christ when He was taken down from the Cross.

THE ENGLISH THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY: HOOKER'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. BOOK V.

Macmillan, 10s. 6d. net.

There is first of all a welcome piece of news, just received from the publishers. In order to bring the Library within the reach of candidates for ordination, and others, it has been decided to reduce the price of each volume. So Hooker, Book V., which was published only a few days ago and marked 15s. net, is to be sold at 10s. 6d. net; Butler at 4s. 6d. net for each of the two volumes; Laud's Controversy with Fisher, and Law's Serious Call, each at 4s. 6d. net; and Wilson's Maxims at 3s. 6d. net. Only they who have seen the volumes know what these prices mean, only they who have studied them know that this is now the cheapest series of standard theology in our tongue.

The Fifth Book of Hooker fills an octavo volume of 862 pages. The text is printed from the *editio princeps* of 1597, with the punctuation and the spelling made modern. All Keble's notes are retained, the Greek and Latin quotations in them being translated. When a passage of Scripture is referred to, the passage is generally copied out, for Mr. Ronald Bayne (we should have said that this volume is edited by the Vicar of Holy Trinity, Greenwich) does not believe that men will turn up the references for themselves. The quotations are made from the Geneva Bible of 1560 (Mr. Bayne gives 1562 as the date, but that is the date of the second edition, in folio), which was probably the version Hooker had before him. When they are not copied out, a sufficient explanation is given of the reference. Mr. Bayne adds notes of his own, distinguishing them from Keble's. They do not greatly swell the volume's bulk, but they greatly increase its value. He also gives us an Introduction of 124 pages, containing a Life of Hooker, the Appendix to the Fifth Book, the style and characteristics of Hooker, Disciplinarian Puritanism, and Hooker's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. And he closes the volume with a glossary.

Of Hooker's style Mr. Bayne says this in a footnote: 'The second volume of *Modern Painters* was written when the influence of Hooker's style upon Ruskin was strong and fresh. The reader who is not interested in theological controversy, and inclined to think Hooker hard, will be helped to understand the beauty of his style by Ruskin's imitation. The modern has been nobly sensitive to the music of his master and to his felicities in the use of language, but when by Ruskin's help we have learned to appreciate Hooker, the modern style, by the side of the gravity, strength, and simplicity of its older parent, seems self-conscious, voluble, and florid.'

Mr. Bayne's conception of his own work is expressed in this way: 'In all editorial matter an effort has been made to maintain a strictly historical method. To recover the mind and meaning of a great writer of our greatest time will help us more in all our difficulties, than any weak and useless attempts to read our own feelings into his words, and to get him on the side of our own particular party in Church or State.' In the light of these words read any of the notes or dissertations, but read especially the invaluable brief account of Hooker's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Study the First Book of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* first, and of course in Dean Church's edition. Study the Fifth Book next, and (equally of course) in Mr. Bayne's edition.

BIBLICAL AND LITERARY ESSAYS.

Hodder & Stoughton, 6s.

Professor Paterson has edited another volume from Professor A. B. Davidson's papers. It contains thirteen essays, five of which we have seen before in the *Expositor*, while the rest are published for the first time now.

It is a notable book, as all Dr. Davidson's books must be. The range of subject is very wide, and so is the range of time. From a popular paper on Mohammed and Islam, it passes to a searching interpretation of the 72nd Psalm; from 'The English Bible and its Revision,' written before the Revised Version was heard of, it comes down to 'The Uses of the Old Testament for Edification,' a recent College lecture. In this range lies one of its chief uses. We see this rich mind, not developing, as we should expect, and leaving the things which are behind, but settled and grounded at the very beginning, never wavering in its own convictions, and never needing to cry shame upon its own past. We may have left some of these subjects, we may not be interested in them now, but he is the same, seeing into the heart of things and saying what he

sees, throughout the years, and over all the range of topic.

The paper that has touched us most is the next to last, on 'The Rationale of a Preacher.' For in spite of all that has been said, in spite of all that he himself said, Professor Davidson was a preacher first and a preacher most. In the preacher we found the man. And here he tells us quite simply, and all the more impressively, what a preacher has to be. 'The preacher who, being a Christian, is most a man, will be the best preacher. If I could venture to say so, humanity is before Christianity; it is not broader, but it is prior.' But the book had better be read, and this paper especially.

Books of the Month.

SUNDAY MORNING TALKS. By Frederick Hall Robarts (*Baptist Tract and Book Society*, 3s. 6d.).—Sermons to children, and nothing else. Therein lies their greatness. No one can preach to children and at the same time prove how great a preacher he is. He must preach to children and do nothing else just then. Mr. Robarts did so and made himself great, and we are all children again and delighted as we read him.

The Baptist Tract and Book Society has published *Studies in Romans*, by Margaret F. Bean. The Epistle is dissected, as Professor MacLellan, who introduces it, says; dissected in every paragraph and verse, that no one may read for mere reading's sake.

MAN'S PLACE IN THE COSMOS. By A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, LL.D. (*Blackwood*).—The new edition of Professor Pringle-Pattison's volume of essays is enlarged by the addition of two new papers, and the old papers have been revised. The new are (1) 'The Venture of Theism,' a review of Professor Campbell Fraser's Gifford Lectures; and (2) 'The Life and Opinions of Friedrich Nietzsche.' The second is the best short account of Nietzsche we have seen. It is short, but it is quite sufficient.

The Church Newspaper Company has published a commentary on the Apocalypse by the Rev. T. W. Peile, M.R.A.C., calling his book *The Revelation of Jesus Christ Unveiling the Divine Purpose of the Ages* (3s. 6d.). We read and were considerably impressed by the book as it appeared in chapters in *Church Bells*. But it is very difficult to explain the Apocalypse.

The yearly volume of *Morning Rays* (R. & R. Clark, 1s. net) just missed last month's notices. It is as healthy as ever.

The centre of all apologetic is the Person of Christ—not His theological 'Person,' but the impression of His Person—of Himself—which the Gospels make upon us. That is the centre of Mr. Frank Ballard's book on *The Miracles of Unbelief* (4th edition, 6s.); and, being urgently entreated, Mr. Ballard has published that chapter by itself—*Jesus Christ: His Origin and Character* (T. & T. Clark, 6d. net). For the hundreds and thousands of doubting and inquiring young men this is the thing.

DAY BY DAY OF THE CHRISTIAN YEAR (Oxford: *At the University Press*, 2s.).—Published with all the taste—the almost unapproachable taste—of the Oxford Press; prepared with an unerring feeling for the true and the abiding in devotional thought, this book stands apart from the numerous books of Daily Readings. It is to be chosen at once and ever afterwards appreciated.

THE EARLY EUCHARIST. By W. B. Frankland, M.A. (*Clay*, 5s. net).—Mr. Frankland received the Hulsean Prize in 1900 for an essay on the Eucharist in the First Two Centuries. He has now expanded and revised the essay, and published it through the Cambridge Press. He has changed its title to *The Early Eucharist*, because he goes no farther than Irenæus. The ground he covers, then, is 30–180 A.D.. His method is first of all to print the text and his own translation of all the passages within that period which bear upon the Supper of the Lord. He next analyses the evidence thus laid before us. Then he draws his conclusions from it, under the name of 'Synthesis of Evidence.' And, last of all, he discusses some difficult matters in four Additional Notes.

Mr. Frankland is stronger in analysis than in synthesis. When he draws his conclusions, it is

impossible to agree with him always, for he is not always consistent. Now he is cautious to futility, now positive to perversity. He insists upon the literality of Christ's, 'This is My body; this is My blood,' with Lutheran vehemence. Still, there is no book we can think of which gives us the opportunity of drawing our own conclusions as this does. It rises out of the mass of recent literature on the Lord's Supper as something that we cannot do without.

WORDS OF COUNSEL. By the late H. W. Dearden, M.A. (*Deighton*, 3s. 6d.).—This volume of Pastoral Theology—if we may impose so imposing a name on a delightfully free and easy series of addresses to students—has greatly charmed us by its toleration, combined with conviction. Ah! to be able to 'know and be persuaded' and yet to 'speak the truth in love,' as Mr. Dearden did. After all that has been written about Evolution, the two chapters in this book will be found worthy of the attention both of expert and ignoramus.

Dr. E. W. Bullinger is one of the most acceptable evangelical writers of our day. He writes often in pamphlets,—the only kind of literature, they say, that has a future,—and his pamphlets have a great circulation. The latest is on the Intermediate State, and the union of subject and treatment will secure it a very wide welcome. The title is *The Rich Man and Lazarus; or, The Intermediate State.* It is published by Eyre & Spottiswoode.

Messrs. Gibbings have published an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* (6s.), which will win attention in the crowd of editions which every year brings forth. Its feature is its illustrations. They are by Charles Bennett. Every figure is a type, and yet every figure is an individual. This is the very triumph of art—seen in poetry in Browning and scarcely in another: seen in art as rarely as in poetry. As 'pictures' the illustrations are nothing. They are mere outlines, without background or perspective. But as suggestions they are everything. You meet no man just like 'Timorous'; for this, as Bunyan intended, is a type; and yet you feel you might meet him round the corner; for this, as Bunyan also intended, is a man.

MANUAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY. By G. Maspero, D.C.L. (*Grevel*, 6s.).—Professor Maspero's *Manual*, translated into English by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, was published in 1887. 'I foresee,' said Miss Edwards, in issuing the first edition, 'that *Egyptian Archæology* will henceforth be the inseparable companion of all English-speaking travellers who visit the valley of the Nile'; and her prophecy has been fulfilled. Consequently, four editions have been used up, and this is the fifth.

Professor Maspero has not himself revised the fifth edition, but his English editor has done so, and done it thoroughly. He (or is it not *she*? is it not Miss Bradshaw?) has also added a chapter, which Professor Maspero has read and annotated. This chapter records the results of the last five years' work, most momentous years, most important work. So now the book is up to date again, and ready for the next batch of 'English-speaking travellers who visit the valley of the Nile.'

SOJOURNING WITH GOD. By Robert Rainy, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 6s.).—Those who desire to know the greatest living Scotsman, and cannot see him at the annual General Assembly, should buy this book. It is only a volume of sermons, but they are such sermons as are published only once or twice in a generation, and so are worth securing for their own sake. And they are characteristic; Principal Rainy is found in them. They are such sermons (for they are like himself, and he is such a man) as persuade you to be and to do *anything* for Christ's sake. Read them: they will move you to the best you are fit for. Yet you may never be able to tell what is the secret of their power with you. It is the secret of personality. This man has consecrated the might of his humanity to Christ, and now photographs himself in his sermons. There is in some of the sermons, notably in the sermon on the 'Child Element in Christianity,' an insight into the gospel so original and so true that we are driven to ask whether direct revelation has really ceased to be made to man.

THE THEOLOGY OF CHRIST'S TEACHING. By the Rev. John M. King, D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*).—Dr. King was Principal of Manitoba College, Winnipeg, from 1883 to his

death in 1899. The chapters which form this book were class lectures. Their subject was not Theology, and not Biblical Theology, but, more limited and manageable, the Theology contained in the Teaching of Christ. Professor Orr, who contributes a helpful 'appreciation,' points out that the lectures do not take account of the criticism of the Gospels, nor separate the Fourth from the others. He admits that their method is old-fashioned. But he is right to claim that still they have much merit. And those who are familiar with recent criticism can disallow the use of this passage and that which may be less strongly 'attested,' or separate the Fourth Gospel texts for themselves; while those who have not followed recent criticism are wise to let it alone and accept this method as still the best for them.

Dr. King calls his work the *Theology* of Christ's teaching. That means no more than that the sayings of our Lord are gathered under great theological headings—God, Miracles, the Person of Christ, Sin, Life, Prayer, and the like—and so set forth for acceptance; not discussed, never disputed, simply exhibited, that they may be seen and obeyed. It is admirably done. Dr. King is free from the fetters of system surprisingly; he is always intelligible; he nearly always convinces us that he has the mind of Christ.

FIFTY-TWO CHEERY CHATS. By M. von Hochfeld (*Houlston*, 2s. 6d. net).—Too much good advice is worse than none, so read but a little of this book at a time. And good advice has to find the right person, and find the right person in the right mood, so see that you discover your own chapter and wait till you are ready for it. The advice is plentiful and it is excellent. What a knowledge of the world M. von. Hochfeld must have, or else how *one* the women of the world must be. The 'chats' are all for women (old and young), no mere man has a moment's consideration in them.

THE POETRY OF PLANTS. By Hugh Macmillan, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E. (*Isbister*, 6s.).—How rare a gift has Dr. Hugh Macmillan, to be able to see in Nature Nature's God and never lose the naturalist in the theologian! And more than that, to be able to make us see what he sees himself. Even on the cold printed page we rejoice with him in the exhaustless beauty and truth of the things that are around us. His new book stands out of the month's production as the book to sit down with first and finish.

It is a sign of the times, we are not sure if it is a good sign, that Wesley's *Journal* should be published in selections, each selection being as short as possible and introduced by a catching title. We will not read the *Journal* as it stands then? Why not? Its good is got only when it is persevered with and read through. Are selections, however interesting, edifying? Do they make us? Do they train the intellect, steady the will, lay open the life to spiritual power? They do not. We have got into the way of reading for the moment's indulgence. The innumerable host of sensational magazines have done it. And Wesley's *Journal* has no chance now of being read unless it is published in snatches, with titles like 'Wesley in Danger,' 'A Mob at Wednesbury,' 'Bonfires Everywhere,' 'A Shower of Stones,' 'A Terrible Dream,' and all the rest of it. If we will have it so, the publishers (Isbister in this case) say we may. And even Augustine Birrell's 'Appreciation' is cut up into twelve sections with catching titles, though it occupies only as many pages.

THE WISDOM OF JAMES THE JUST. By the Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D. (*Isbister*, 5s.).—'Choice extracts,' says Bishop Boyd Carpenter, 'are well enough in their way, but they can never take the place of complete works'—(an apposite commentary on the book just noticed from the same publishers). Accordingly, he writes a complete exposition of the Epistle of James, sends it first to *Good Words* in monthly portions, and then publishes it in this volume. Now the Bishop of Ripon can both speak and write intelligibly. We may not always agree with him, but we always understand him. More than that, he can write emotionally. And when we find simplicity and emotion combined in prose writing, we have our sincerest joy in reading. Bishop Boyd Carpenter is neither a mystic nor a theologian. He could not expound either John or Paul to our fullest satisfaction. But James suits him. He is practical and he is poetical, as the General Epistle of James is.

In front of the exposition he has given us four chapters to prepare for it: 'The Self-Revelation

of the Writer,' 'His Philosophy of Life,' 'His Thoughts about God,' 'The Writer and those to whom he Wrote' are their subjects. Under the first he says that after some of St. Paul's outbursts the words of St. James sound cold and tame, but it is due to his restraint and reticence, not to any coldness of nature or lack of love for the Lord. Let him but mention the name of Jesus and he too can overflow with devotion and delight.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK. Edited by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D., Litt.D. (*Macmillan*, 15s.).—This is the second edition. Commentaries on the Greek text, commentaries which cost so much money, do not always, and do not often, reach a second edition. Dr. Swete's *St. Mark* is, however, apart. It is the best commentary on St. Mark in existence, in any tongue. It is also a pattern to other commentators, so faultless is the scholarship, so rich the spiritual insight, so catholic the doctrine. For the new edition the new literature has been used—Dr. Swete names Dr. Chase's and Dr. Salmond's articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, the second volume of Zahn's *Einleitung*, Sir John Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*, and Mr. P. M. Barnard's *Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria*. Reviews also have been read, and letters, and everything has been reconsidered. It is a new edition in respect of minutiæ, the spirit and the personnel of the book are unchanged.

AN ANCIENT HISTORY FOR BEGINNERS. By G. W. Botsford, Ph.D. (*Macmillan*). —In spite of being told so often that we cannot hope to know everything before we die, we all hanker after universal knowledge. No book will be more popular when it comes than a well-written universal history of the world. Men will give money for it. It will be found in working men's cottages. Professor Botsford has taken the step next to that. He begins with the first dawn of civilization, and he closes with Charlemagne and 800 A.D. He has not the grand style which the Universal History when it comes will have, but he is delightfully easy to follow, never forgetting that he writes for those who know nothing about it; and the moment the ear is tired the eye gets in, with a freshly coloured map or a deep-cut ancient illustration. It is a book for beginners, he says. He means scholars at school. And for them are the black-type divisions, the 'topics for reading,' and other things. Let it be read in schools by all means, it will be found most 'teachable,' we believe; but let it also be read by the hearth; it is a pleasant book, and may be depended on for accuracy.

The annual volume of *The Monthly Visitor* (Edinburgh: 'Monthly Visitor' Office) should have been mentioned last month, but was missed. Its contents are strikingly original. We pass 'tracts' by when we are searching for literature. But these tracts, bating no jot of their intense gospel insistence, are written by scholars and men of letters—Newman Hall, F. B. Meyer, D. M. M'Intyre, James Wells, and others.

THE CELTIC CHURCH IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By H. Zimmern (*Nutt*, 3s. 6d. net).—Professor Zimmern's article on the Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland in the *Realencyclopädie für prot. Theologie und Kirche* was a contribution to Church History of much independent value, and Mr. Meyer was well advised to have it translated into English. No historian dared neglect it before; now no reader of British history need be ignorant of it.

MORE BIBLE STORIES WITHOUT NAMES. By the Rev. Harry Smith, M.A. (*Oliphant*, 1s. 6d.).—This is the way to teach the Bible. This is education, not instruction. Captivating story catches the attention, and as soon as the mind is alert, it is set to think out problems and search out answers for itself. The questions are here and (in an appendix for the teacher) the answers also.

The Master of the Science of Right Living is the grand title of a little book of practical Christian ethics by that popular American author, Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis. *The Majesty of Calmness* is more advanced, and more exacting. Both rest their ethics on the sure foundation, and both are made possible for us all. The second book is written by Professor W. G. Jordan. Both are published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

THE RELIGION OF A MATURE MIND. By George Albert Coe, Ph. D. (*Revell*, 5s. net).—A discussion took place recently in the Upper

House of Convocation on the dearth of Candidates for the Ministry. The Bishop of Exeter held that the determining cause was scepticism. He said that the decision had to be made at an age when the intellect was supreme and probably tyrannical. Its difficulties were not yet met and balanced by the experience of life. Get them to wait ten years, and they will enter the ministry. But they cannot be got to wait. So the next best thing is to lay before them the experience of others. This is what Professor Coe has done. He is very honest and very capable. He writes in a fine temper. He does not let things essential slip through his fingers, nor does he demand assent to things non-essential. He gives the intellect its place, but refuses to accept its tyranny. There is more in man than mind. But, above all, he invites young men to read history. It is not any single man's experience, all history says that a liberal loving Christianity is the great power on earth. And he analyses a liberal loving Christianity. It is a living thing; it is always under process of transformation; but it always means essentially a sense of sin and a Christ of personal experience.

THOUGHTS FOR SILENT HOURS. By John Edgar M'Fadyen, M.A. (*Revell*, 2s. 6d. net).—We have all some thoughts that are worth publishing. If we are preachers, we put them into our sermons, and sometimes the sermon is too long to listen to, and the thought is lost. Professor M'Fadyen publishes his thoughts apart. They are just such thoughts as sermons are made of. They are biblical and experimental. And being published apart, in clearness and conciseness, they will be read by everybody.

PROPHETIC IDEAS AND IDEALS. By W. G. Jordan, B.A., D.D. (*Revell*, 3s. 6d. net).—Here is a new book on the Prophets, and beside all the books on the Prophets we possess, we must find room for this one. It has all the attraction of 'some new thing,' and it has the worth of that which 'liveth and abideth for ever.' For its novelty is in its antiquity. It catches the spirit of the ancient prophet so sympathetically, that it makes the prophet himself new to us. Listen to the titles of some of the chapters: 'The Prophet's Defence' (Amos), 'The Prophet's Comprehensive Word—Mercy' (Hosea vi. 6), 'The Prophet as Disciple' (Zephaniah), 'The Prophet as a Failure' (Jer. xviii. 18–23), 'The Prophet's Protest against Smallness' (Jonah).

Miss Jessie M. Oliver has gathered a bookful of 'Thoughts' from the 'teachings' of the late Rev. H. R. Haweis, and Mr. Elliot Stock has done his part as publisher most perfectly.

The Rev. N. Dimock, M.A., made a sensation at the Fulham Conferences by his unfaltering Protestantism and by the learning with which he upheld it. He has just written a book on *Christian Unity* (which Mr. Elliot Stock has published), the purpose of which is to prove that 'while we may not throw overboard or lightly disregard the just claims of Episcopacy, yet we are not warranted in regarding a connected chain of unbroken Episcopal succession as essential to the *esse* of a Christian Church.'

FEELING AFTER HIM. By Basil Wilberforce, D.D. (*Stock*, 5s.). — In this volume of sermons, mostly preached in Westminster Abbey, Archdeacon Wilberforce has been brave enough to handle some of the everlasting problems of our life. The very first two sermons in the book are on Predestination and Free Will. The old problems are handled in the new spirit. So new is the spirit that the antiquity of the subject is sometimes disguised in it, as in the third sermon on Auto-Suggestion, and in the fourth on 'Universalizing the Christ.' It is also a patriotic volume. Dr. Wilberforce had the courage to preach, and now has the courage to publish, a sermon on 'All things, even war, work for good,' and another on 'Thanks to the Canadian Contingent.' Touching once more the 'Spirits in Prison,' Dr. Wilberforce demands the literal old-fashioned interpretation. Christ did descend to Hades while His body lay in the sepulchre, and He did preach the Gospel of the Grace of God to the spirits of men whom He found there. 'When you can argue the sun out of the heavens, you will succeed in eliminating from the hearts and hopes of men the lesson of this incident. It is direct, intelligible, historical, conclusive.'

THE AMEN OF THE UNLEARNED. (*Stock*, 5s. net).—The articles in this volume were contributed by M. C. E. to the *Spectator*. M. C. E. is a layman. So there is a conscious detachment

from profession and even creed, a detachment that is not only felt, but indulged and rejoiced in. This makes the book easy reading to easy readers, but wearisome reading to students, and worthless to all. It is the theology of the 'man in the street,' which judges angels and men with equal impartiality and infallibility. 'Many of St. Paul's arguments about the relative value of faith and works have not much interest for us now—seeing that in the present day no one imagines himself to be justified by the ceremonies of the Jewish law. In the eternal question of free will and predestination, also, men have lost interest. On that subject the world has settled down to believe two opposite things.' Has it? Let M. C. E. read the first two sermons in Archdeacon Wilberforce's *Feeling after Him*, issued by the same publisher on the same day. There is certainly nothing offensive in the book, no cheap laughter at theology and theologians. Its tone is reverent and its creed orthodox. But it is too easy-going.

THE SEVEN SIGNS. By A. Allen Brockington, M.A. (*Stock*).—He is a clever man who can say something new about the miracles in the Gospels. Mr. Brockington has done it. He has taken the seven which St. John records, and after showing what St. John means by calling them 'signs,' he lays them alongside the seven 'songs' in the Apocalypse, so that, as in a parable, we see new and beautiful things. Then he takes each 'sign' by itself and interprets it. The book is quite small and inexpensive; buy it and let us have your gratitude for telling you of it.

THE OLD GOSPEL AND ITS NEW LAW. By the Rev. John Philip, M.A., D.D. (*Stockwell*).—Where could a writer go for a finer subject than this? Dr. Philip has always chosen his subjects and his titles felicitously. Nor is he nervous to be for ever saying something novel. He is well content if he brings home the old gospel to the heart and commends the new Law to the conscience. The writing is simple and the faith secure. For old and young the book is suited. It is one of the smallest but one of the most welcome and most helpful of all the books Dr. Philip has given us.

THE MAN THAT WAS BORN BLIND. By the Rev. John Stuttard (*Stockwell*, 2s. 6d.).—There is no incident in all the Bible told with greater minuteness than this, yet Mr. Stuttard tells it with greater minuteness still, drawing from it also many modern lessons, and making many pungent reflexions.

Mr. Stockwell's unbound books this month (all in attractive stiff boards) are: *The One Christ* by William Moxam (9d. net), *Visions of the Master* by Horatio Pack (1s. net), *Life Stories of a Village Pastor* by H. W. Baker (6d. net), a new edition of Spurr's *Jesus is God* (1s. 6d.), and the first volume of a new series of sermons, to be called the 'Shilling Pulpit,' being *The True Ritual* by the Rev. B. J. Gibbon.

CHRIST THE CARPENTER. By the Rev. Ira Boseley (*Stockwell*, 2s. 6d.).—The humanity of Christ has been the especial study of our generation, and it is not done with it yet. The humanity is studied in all its details—even to the entrance into the carpenter's shop in Nazareth, with the naming of the tools which Jesus handles, and the very articles of furniture which He turns out. It needs a little travel and a little imagination, and when it is not overdone it is interesting and inoffensive.

The second volume of the 'Free Church Pulpit' is *Hush and Hurry*, by the Rev. Arthur Mursell (*Stockwell*, 2s. 6d.). There is the message that the gospel is good for the home as well as the church in all the sermons, the encouragement also to make it tell there first of all.

SERMONS ON LIGHT AND LOVE. By John Page Hopps (*Williams & Norgate*, 2s. net).—This daintily bound, gilt edged, oblong volume of sermons is not, perhaps, very orthodox, but it has to be read and reckoned with. For this is the way in which the multitude are walking in things theological, being led into it by the writers of religious novels and the like. Take the beginning of the sermon on Is 30^{18}. The words of the text are, 'For this will the Lord wait—that He may be gracious unto you; blessed are all they that wait for Him.' Mr. Page Hopps says: 'The ancient writer meant this in all simplicity. To him, God was a kind of monarch, and He acted like one. He intervened or delayed, was gracious or angry; and it was well with those who would "wait."

And, right up to our own day, this thought of God has prevailed; and still devout persons think it right to speak of a wet season, or a scorching season, or a pestilence, or even of some personal malady, as coming from God; and still the mother prays for the life of her dying child, and loyal subjects pray for the recovery of their king. For good or evil, that vision of God will have to go. The world has drifted from it, and the Church will have to follow.'

THEOLOGY IN RECENT SERIAL LITERATURE.[1]

JUNE TO DECEMBER 1902.

ABLUTION in Israel, *Ch. and Syn.* iv. 183 (Oesterley).
Abraham's Tolerance, *JQR* xv. 104 (Kohut).
Acts, Early Problems, *BW* xix. 410 (Knowling).
,, of Thomas, *JTS* iii. 481 (Burn).
Adam in RV, *AJT* vi. 758 (H. G. Smith).
Adult Schools, History, *PDP* v. 257, 304, 345, 386.
Agape, *Guardian*, 1853.
Ambrosiaster on 2 Cor., *JTS* iv. 89 (Souter).
Amos and the Monarchy, *BW* xx. 361, 457 (Betteridge).
Angels, Guardian, *BSt.* vi. 241 (Warfield).
Antioch, *BSt.* v. 274, 326 (Davis).
Apologetics, *BW* xix. 403.
Apostles' Creed, Text. Rec., *JTS* iii. 481 (Burn).
Argob, *BW* xx. 248 (Robinson).
Ark, Earliest Representation, *JQR* xiv. 737 (Jacobs).
Arnold (Matt.), *HJ* i. 62 (Brooke).
Aryans, Origin, *Class. Rev.* xvi. 413 (Hempl).
Ascension, *BW* xix. 410 (Knowling).
Assurbanipal, Chron., *PSBA* xxiv. 235 (Johns).
Assyrian Letters, *PSBA* xxiv. 293 (Johns).
Assyriology, Recent, *Crit. Rev.* xii. 387 (Sayce); *Cath. Univ. Bull.* viii. 522 (Driscoll).

[1] ABBREVIATIONS.

ACSSM=Amer. Church Sun. Sch. Mag.
AJP=Amer. Journ. of Philology.
AJT=Amer. Journ. of Theology.
ASST=(Amer.) Sunday Sch. Times.
Bib. Sac.=Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSt.=Bible Student.
BW=Biblical World.
CEP=Church of Eng. Pulpit.
CPQ=Cumberland Presby. Quarterly.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CUB=Cath. Univ. Bulletin.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
IER=Irish Eccles. Record.
JBL=Journ. of Bibl. Literature.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JTS=Journ. of Theol. Studies.
LQR=London Quarterly Review.
PDP=Present Day Papers.
PEFSt.=Palestine Explor. Fund Statement.
PM=Preacher's Magazine.
PMQR=Prim. Meth. Quart. Rev.
PRR=Presbyterian and Reformed Rev.
PSBA=Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology.
WMM=Wesleyan Meth. Magazine.

Assyro-Bab. Religion, *PSBA* xxiv. 220 (Boissier).
Atonement, Pauline Doctrine, *BSt.* vi. 97, 151 (Vos); *CEP* liv. 50 (Wilkinson).
,, among Shiahs, *PRR* xiii. 440 (Wilson).
Augustine's City of God, *PMQR* xxiv. 569 (Lindsay).
Authority in Religion, *LQR* viii. 343 (Leckie).
Azekah, Site, *PEFSt.* 218.

BAALBEC, *LQR* viii. 209 (Macmillan).
Baal-worship in Israel, *Ch. and Syn.* iv. 128 (Sinker).
Babylonian Tablets in Greek Transcription, *PSBA* xxiv. 143 (Burkitt).
Barjesus, Name, *JTS* iv. 127 (Burkitt).
Barnabas, *Expos.* v. 409, vi. 28 (Bartlet); *BSt.* v. 262 (Greene).
Beatitudes, *PM* xiii. 241, 308, 358 (Lloyd).
Bible, Balance in, *Bap. Mag.* 449 (Ford).
,, English, *LQR* viii. 119 (Lockyer).
,, in France, *Pilot* vi. 211.
,, in Italy, *Pilot* v. 585.
,, Study, *BW* xix. 323, xx. 163, 243, 298, 303; *Guardian* 1472.
Book of the Dead, *PSBA* xxiv. 135, 195 (Naville).
Brotherhood, Early Chr., *BW* xx. 31 (Mathews).
Bruce (Rev. Robert), *Pilot*, vi. 8 (Lang).
Bushnell as Theologian, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 601 (Foster).

CÆSAREA, Topography, *JQR* xiv. 745 (Kraus).
Caiaphas, House, *PEFSt.* 294 (Wilson).
Calf, Golden, *ASST* xliv. 368 (Du Bois).
,, Worship in Israel, *BSt.* vi. 71 (Kyle).
Camel, Egypt. Representation, *PSBA* xxiv. 309.
Canaan in Fifteenth Century B.C., *BW* xx. 25, 113 (Paton).
Catastrophes and Moral Order, *HJ* i. 114.
Cathedral Builders, *CUB* viii. 405 (Shahan).
Catholicity, *CEP* liii. 257 (Rainsford).
Certainty, Basis of Chr., *Expos.* vi. 334 (Stalker).
Chariot, Egyptian, *PSBA* xxiv. 308.
Charity in Nineteenth Century, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 501 (Perry).
Chedorlaomer, Identity, *Union Mag.* ii. 506 (Pinches).
Chivalry, Lit., *CUB* viii. 317 (Johnston).
Christ, Birthday, *Life and Work*, 274 (Cowan).
,, Cleansing the Temple, *Expos.* vi. 196 (Garvie).
,, Divinity, *Ch. Eclectic* xxx. 115, 211 (De Bary).
,, Faith, *BW* xx. 278 (Hayes).
,, and the Heathen, *Bap. Mag.* 406, 436, 485 (Maclaren).
,, Home, *Expos.* vi. 106 (Garvie).
,, Ministry, Scope, *Expos.* vi. 296 (Garvie).

Christ, Miracles, *Expos.* vi. 353 (Garvie).
,, ,, of Healing, *PDP* v. 329 (Garvie).
,, and Nature, *CEP* liv. 218 (Reith).
,, Occupation, *LQR* viii. 44 (Harris).
,, Passion, Places, *PEFSt.* 293 (Wilson).
,, Pre-Existence, *JBL* xxi. 78 (Barton).
,, Proverbs, *Expos.* vi. 441 (D. Smith).
,, and the Rulers, *Expos.* vi. 196 (Garvie).
,, Sanctification, *Record* xxi. 747 (Webster).
,, Self-Consciousness, *BSt.* vi. 50 (Cullen).
,, Self-Disclosure, *Expos.* vi. 37 (Garvie).
,, Temptation, *Expos.* v. 435 (Garvie); *BSt.* vi. 356 (Warfield).
,, Virgin-Birth, *AJT* vi. 473, 709 (Hoben); *Guardian* 1672, 1707, 1741; *PDP* v. 408 (Drummond).
Christian Doctrine, Basis, *HJ* i. 5 (Gardner).
Christian Science, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 682 (Caverno); *CEP* liv. 65.
Christianity, Essence, *BSt.* vi. 181 (G. M. Smith).
Chronicles, *BW* xx. 48 (Harper).
Church, *CEP* liv. 74 (Bartlett), 90 (Home).
,, in NT, *Scot. Congregationalist* xvi. 300, 334 (Garvie).
,, of Eng. in Eliz. Reign, *CQR* liv. 339.
Churchmanship, *CEP* liii. 266 (Ingram).
Citizenship, Good, *CEP* liii. 242 (Henson).
City of God, *PDP* v. 229 (Kendall).
Clement of Alex., Creed, *Hermathena* xxviii. 25 (Hitchcock).
,, ,, and Tertullian, *Expos.* v. 401, vi. 13 (Mayor).
Codex Bezæ, Date, *JTS* iii. 501 (Burkitt).
Communion of Saints, *Record* 806 (Drury).
,, Evening, *Record* xxi. 669.
Confession, *Guardian* 1475.
Coptic Lectionaries, *PSBA* xxiv. 186 (Gilmore).
,, Psalter, *JBL* xxi. 92 (Prince).
Conversion of Children, *ASST* xliv. 532 (Schauffler).
Corinth, Paul's Visits, *Hermathena* xxviii. 79 (White).
Cornelius, *BSt.* v. 253 (Stevenson).
Creation Days, *IER* xii. 141 (Coffey).
Creeds, Eastern, *AJT* vi. 518 (Bishop).
Criticism in Sunday School, *BW* xix. 329.
,, Intuitional, *AJT* vi. 507 (Mead).
,, OT, *Expos.* vi. 401 (Streatfield); *Union Mag.* ii. 388, 436, 485, 532; *BSt.* vi. 306 (Davis).
,, Radical and Literal, *BW* xx. 3.
Culture and the Church, *Guardian* 1699.
,, Spiritual Value, (*Am.*) *Treasury* xx. 273 (Cadman).
Cyprian's 'Ad Donatum,' *JTS* iv. 86 (Ramsay).
,, Treatises, Order, *JTS* iv. 103 (Chapman).
,, MSS, *JTS* iii. 576, 579 (Turner).

Dante's 'Commedia' and Goethe's 'Faust,' *Pilot* vi. 391, 456 (Fearon).
Darwinism and Weismann, *CQR* lv. 24.
David, Ancestry, *BSt.* vi. 338 (Flournoy).
Davidson (A. B.), *BW* xx. 167, 288 (G. A. Smith).
Dead (Faithful), Where? *Anglo-Cath.* iv. 470 (Drake).
Dead Sea, *PEFSt.* 297, 406 (Masterman).
Decalogue and Chr. Ethics, *BSt.* vi. 43 (Jenkins).
Deification in Islam, *BW* xix. 345 (Curtiss).
Deluge, Geol. Confirmations, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 537, 695 (Wright).
,, Locality, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 579 (Adams).
Deuteronomy, Animals, *ASST* 468 (Tristram).
,, Structure, *BSt.* vi. 255 (Lampe).
Diaspora, *BSt.* vi. 349 (English).
Diocletian's First Edict, *AJP* xxiii. 68 (Goodspeed).
Dissent, Advantages, *Sun. Mag.* xxxi. 765.
Divorce, *Anglo-Cath.* iv. 360 (Hardcastle).
Dogma, Need, *AJT* vi. 753 (MacComb).

Education (Religious) Abroad, *Guardian* 1578, 1614, 1649.
,, and Religious Liberty, *CQR* lv. 169.
Egyptian Book of Dead, *PSBA* xxiv. 268, 313 (Naville).
,, Dwelling-Houses, *PSBA* xxiv. 146 (Pleyte).
,, Exploration, Recent, *Crit. Rev.* xii. 387 (Sayce).
,, Ideas of Future Life, *BW* xix. 384 (Schmidt).
,, Queen Aah-hetep, *PSBA* xxiv. 285 (Newberry).
,, Transliteration, *PSBA* xxiv. 273, 355.
Election, *WMM* cxxv. 563 (W. B. Selbie).
Enthusiasm, *Guardian* 740, 795, 867.
Ephod, *JBL* xxi. 1 (Foote).
Epicurean Theology, *Class. Rev.* xvi. 453 (Masson).
Episcopacy, Origin, *AJT* vi. 417 (McGiffert).
Esau, *BSt.* vi. 222 (Edgar).
Eschatology of N.T., *AJT* vi. 666 (Stevens).
Esdras III. in Hexapla, *PSBA* xxiv. 147 (Howorth).
Ethics, Recent Lit., *PRR* xiii. 676.
Eucharist, Early Practice, *PDP* v. 196 (Bartlet).
,, History, *CQR* liv. 257, lv. 76.
Eusebius, Edd. and MSS, *JTS* iv. 93 (Headlam).
Exploration, Recent Oriental *ASST* xliv. 264, 356, 560, 637 (Hilprecht).
Ezekiel, *Union Mag.* ii. 400 (Thomson).
Ezra and Neh. (Bks), *BW* xx. 134 (Harper).

Fall, *LQR* viii. 291 (Brown).
Family Exclusiveness, *PDP* v. 339.
,, in Paul's Writings, *BW* xx. 123 (Mathews).
Fatherhood of God, *BSt.* v. 292 (Tenney).
Fear in OT, *BSt.* vi. 139 (MacVicar).
Forgiveness of Sins, *PM* xiii. 289, 346 (Findlay); *Record* 779 (Pearce).
France, Bible in, *Pilot* vi. 211.
,, Cath. Reaction, *CQR* liv. 296.
,, Church in 19th Cent., *JTS* iii. 528 (Urquhart).
,, Religion and Politics, *CQR* liv. 423.
Franciscans, Third Order, *CQR* lv. 117.
Freewill and Psych., *PRR* xiii. 427 (Johnson).
Future of Wicked, Jesus on, *PM* xiii. 503.

Gath, Site, *PEFSt.* 219.
German Universities, Theology, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 575.
Gethsemane, *PEFSt.* 293 (Wilson).
Gezer, Excavations, *PEFSt.* 317 (Macalister); *BW* xx. 389 (Wright).
Gezer, History and Site, *PEFSt.* 227 (Macalister).
God, Knowledge of, *Expos.* vi. 161, 260 (Fairbairn).
Goel in OT, *BSt.* vi. 333 (Ramsay).
Golgotha, *PEFSt.* 282, 376 (Wilson).
Gospel in 1st Cent., *Bib. Sac.* lix. 744 (Bradshaw).

Gospels, Early Modifications, *HJ* i. 96 (Conybeare).
,, Haskell MS., *JBL* xxi. 100 (Goodspeed).
,, Modern Criticism, *LQR* viii. 308 (Milligan).
,, Trustworthiness, *Ch. Times*, Dec. 5, 12, 19, 26 (Gore).

Habakkuk, *Union Mag.* ii. 254 (Wells).
Haggai, *Union Mag.* ii. 348 (Adam).
Hammurabi's Code, *PSBA* xxiv. 301 (Pinches).
Hebrew (New) and its Lit., *JQR* xv. 23 (Wijnkoop).
,, Papyrus, Pre-Mass., *PSBA* xxiv. 272 (Cook).
,, Questionable Plural, *JTS* iv. 124 (Gray).
Hebrew-Chr. Church, *Ch. and Syn.* iv. 141 (Kelk).
Hebrews, Gospel according to, *BW* xx. 196 (Schœmaker).
Hexateuch, Priestly Narr., *BW* xx. 443 (Harper).
Hindu Missions, *CQR* liv. 402, lv. 98.
Home Religion, *Guardian* 1469.
Hosea and the Monarchy, *BW* xx. 361, 457 (Betteridge).
Hus, Last Letters, *LQR* viii. 25 (Workman).
Hyksos in Egypt, *Biblia* xv. 237 (Walker).
Hypatia, Murder, *CUB* viii. 441 (Schœfer).

Immortality, *CEP* liv. 98 (Rashdall); *LQR* viii. 140 (Salmond); *Ch. Eclectic* xxxi. 33 (M'Knight).
Incarnation, *BSt.* v. 310 (Cullen); (*Am.*) *Treasury* xx. 612 (Downe).
Infinite, Concept, *HJ* i. 21 (Royce).
Inspiration, *CEP* liv. 62 (Cremer).
Isaac, Sacrifice, *PSBA* xxiv. 253 (Oesterley).
Israel, Composite Character, *BW* xx. 432 (Patton).
,, Our Duty to, *Ch. and Syn.* iv. 93 (Dalman).
Italy, Religious Condition, *CQR* lv. 44; *LQR* viii. 273.
,, Theology, *Pilot* v. 585.
Iteration, Unconscious, *Class. Rev.* xvi. 256 (Cook).

Jacob, *BSt.* vi. 342 (Edgar).
Jannarius (St.), *ACSSM* xxx. 128 (Peters).
Japan, Christianity, *Record* 847, 866, 890 (Hutchinson).
Jeremiah, *Union Mag.* ii. 448 (Strachan).
Jerusalem, Market-place, *Sun. Mag.* xxxi. 936 (Lees).
,, New and Old, *ACSSM* xxx. 250 (Peters).
Jew and Auto de Fe, *JQR* xiv. 698 (Adler).
Jewish Year, *Ch. and Syn.* iv. 128 (Box).
Jews and Eng. Law, *JQR* xiv. 653 (Henriques).
Joel, *Union Mag.* ii. 543 (Eaton).
John in Ephesus, *LQR* viii. 75 (Adeney).
,, 2nd Ep., *Expos.* vi. 228 (Gibbins).
John the Baptist and Christ, *BW* xx. 441 (Falconer).
John's Gospel, Governing Idea, *Expos.* vi. 161, 260 (Fairbairn).
,, Prologue, *Expos.* vi. 161 (Fairbairn).
Jonah, *Union Mag.* ii. 502 (Davidson).
,, Sign *BW* xx. 99 (Bacon).
,, Theology *BW* xix. 378 (Caldwell).
Jordan, *BW* xx 422 (Leeper).
,, Crossing, *ASST* 504 (Wright).
Joshua (Bk), Ideas, *BSt.* vi. 263 (Taylor).
Judges (Bk), Ideas, *BSt.* vi. 269 (Schodde).
Julian's Early Life, *IER* xii. 92 (Scannell).

Kingdom of God, *CQR* liv. 322.

Leo xiii., *CUB* viii. 263 (Shanahan).
Leviticus, Structure, *BSt.* vi. 134, 189 (Hœdemaker).
Life and Immortality in St. Paul, *Expos.* v. 428 (D'Arcy).
Literature and Science, *CUB* viii. 429 (Egan).
Liturgies, Recent Lit., *JTS* iv. 142 (Brightman).
Liturgy, Amer. Episc., *Ch. Eclectic* xxx. 220 (Gummey).
Lotze's Influence on Theology, *Crit. Rev.* xii. 291 (Mackintosh).
Love, *Guide* iii. 91 (Stalker).
Luke, Gospel, Recent Lit., *Crit. Rev.* xii. 483 (Plummer).
,, Medical Lang., *BW* xx 260, 390 (Knowling).
,, Trustworthiness, *BW* xix. 419 (Knowling).

Maeterlinck, *CQR* liv. 381.
Magnificat, *JBL* xxi. 48 (Wood).
Man, Primitive, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 730 (Upham).
Manichæans, *Pilot* vi. 319.
Manna in OT and NT, *BSt.* v. 39 (Marquess).
MSS, Transpos. of Words, *Class. Rev.* xvi. 243 (Headlam).
Mareshah, *PEFSt.* 219, 393.
Marriage in Syria, *Contin. Presbyterian* 14 (Christie).
Mazarin Bible, *Ch. Eclectic* xxx. 547 (Hadden).
Mephaath, *PEFSt.* 260 (Clermont-Ganneau).
Mercy in Isr. Law, *BSt.* vi. 286 (Nichols).
Messianism of Paul, *BW* xix. 370 (Mathews).
Ministry, Education, *LQR* viii. 97 (Findlay).
,, in Early Ch., *HJ* i. 172 (Lindsay); *CEP* liv. 102 (Henson).
,, Quaker Ideal, *Indep. Meth.* xxxvi. 230 (Frith).
Miracles, *Guardian* 1194, 1435, 1467, 1494.
Mithraic Mysteries, *Open Court* xvi. 522 (Cumont).
Monotheism in Israel, *Expos.* vi. 93 (Oesterley).
Morals, Evol., *PDP* v. 205 (Richardson).
Mormonism, *Bib. Sac.* lix. 434 (Lunn).
Moses, Character, *BSt.* vi. 227 (Reed).
Mysticism, *PDP* v. 142, 174 (Angus).
Mythological Text from Memphis, *PSBA* xxiv. 206.

Names in OT, *PSBA* xxiv. 242 (Offord).
Naphthar, *PEFSt.* 390 (Hanauer).
Nature in Browning, *Good Words* xliii. 339 (Brooke).
Nehemiah, LXX Text, *PSBA* xxiv. 332 (Howorth).
New Test. Criticism, Recent, *CPQ* i. 131 (Bone).
Nietzsche, *Guardian* 994 (Pickard-Cambridge).
Novel, Modern, *CQR* liv. 357.
Numbers among Aryans, *Class. Rev.* xvi. 413 (Hempl).
,, in Sib. Or., *Class. Rev.* xvi. 211 (Fowler).

Old Test. and Excavations, *AJT* vi. 685 (Budde).
,, New Translations, *Expos.* vi. 321 (Driver).
,, Religion, *ASST* 341 (Trumbull).
Origen's Ephesians, *JTS* iii. 554 (Gregg).
Otherworldliness, *AJT* vi. 439 (Lovejoy).
Oxford Religion, *CQR* lv. 1.

Palestine, Meteorology of 1901, *PEFSt.* 250, 255 (Glaisher).
,, Summer in, *BW* xx. 89 (Bliss).
Patrick (St.), Life, *Hermathena* viii. 172 (Bury).
Patriotism, *ASST* 344 (Mead).
Paul, *Expos.* vi. 8, *ASST* 252 (Ramsay).

Paul, Conversion, *BW* xix. 412 (Knowling); *Expos.* vi. 176 (Ramsay).
,, Fascination, *ASST* 708 (Ramsay).
,, Friendships, *ASST* 292 (Black).
,, Life, *PM* xiii. 260, 311, 394, 449, 542 (Pearse).
,, Messianism, *BW* xix. 370 (Mathews).
,, Miracles, *BW* xix. 416 (Knowling).
,, Poetry, *ASST* 320 (Buckham).
,, Social Teaching, *BW* xix. 370, 433, xx. 31, 123, 178 (Mathews).
Peace, Doctrine in OT, *BW* xix. 426 (Barton).
Peniel, *PSBA* xxiv. 185 (Pilcher).
Personality, *PRR* xiii. 505 (Griffin).
Peter, First Ep., and Enoch, *Expos.* vi. 136 (Clemen).
,, ,, Paulinism, *BSt.* vi. 197 (Tigert).
,, Second Ep., *Expos.* v. 459, vi. 47, 117, 218 (Falconer).
Petra, Discoveries, *BW* xx. 469 (Hosknis).
Philosophy and Rel., *Bib. Sac.* lix. 637 (Lindsay).
Pilate, Report and Death, *JTS* iv. 83 (Abbott).
Pilgrimage, *Indep. Meth.* xxxvi. 110 (Rendel Harris).
Pottery of Palestine, *PEFSt.* 221, 333, 356.
Poverty, *Chr. World* No. 2359; *CEP* liv. 146 (Dolling).
Prætorium, *PEFSt.* 295 (Wilson).
Prayer, *Guardian* 1480.
Pre-Existence of Messiah, *JBL* xxi. 78 (Barton).
Presbyterian Saints, *Pilot* vi. 8 (Lang).
Prophecy, Fulfilment, (*Am.*) *Treasury* xx. 25 (Gregg).
,, Nature, *BSt.* vi. 315 (Moorehead).
Prophet and Priest in OT, *BW* xx. 83.
Prophets, Chr., *Expos.* vi. 390, 462 (Selwyn).
,, OT and Christ, *ASST* 660 (König).
,, True and False, *BW* xx. 272 (Walker).
Protestant (Word), *Guardian* 884; *Record* 686; *Ch. Times* xlvii. 795, xlviii. 142.
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Inter Alia.

No stranger phenomenon has been seen in our day than the struggle that is now going on between the Higher Critics and the Archæologists. Dr. Selbie has more than once referred to it. Professor König deals with it this month.

It began with an address which Professor Friedrich Delitzsch (son of the great Franz) delivered by request before the Emperor in Berlin. When and where it will end no one can tell. But the strangeness of it consists in this, that the Archæologists are attacking the Bible, the Higher Critics defending it.

Just as we write there comes the report of another address before the Emperor by Professor Delitzsch, and yet more startling things said than in the first. Professor Delitzch said, according to the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*, that there could be no greater mistake of the human mind than the belief that the Bible is a personal revelation of God; that the Song of Solomon has lyrics which celebrate worldly delight; that the Book of Job contains passages which verge on blasphemy; and that beyond the revelation of good which every man finds within himself, we need no other. At the close of the lecture the Emperor presented the lecturer to the Empress.

Among the startling things which Professor Delitzsch said in the presence of the Emperor of Germany was one which touched very closely the origin of the Law of Moses. He said: 'Long before the time of Moses there existed in Babylon a well-ordered State based on law, and possessing legislation in which we find all the provisions which Moses enforces.'

The reference is to Hammurâbi's Code, the discovery and decipherment of which is the greatest event in Biblical Archæology for many a day. A translation of the Code, done by Mr. Johns of Queens' College, Cambridge, the highest living authority on this department of study, has just been published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, in a cheap and attractive booklet. The Code was discovered by de Morgan at Susa. Winckler says it is the most important Babylonian record which has thus far been brought to light.

Principal Salmond's *St. Mark* (T. C. & E. C. Jack) brings the New Testament part of the Century Bible to an end, and does so worthily. So well has the 'Bible' been received that an Old Testament series has been determined upon, and Professor Adeney is in search of competent Old Testament scholars.

Professor Sayce's new book on *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* has been received in a very gratifying way, and it deserves it. One wonders what Professor Sayce is thinking about this 'Babel und Bibel' business in Germany. In the new book there is scarce a jibe at the Higher Critics. But that does not mean that he has 'gone over'; it means that the book has been lifted to too high a plane of literary and scientific interest for that.

The Editor promises to write some Notes next month on Mr. Bond's list of Commentaries. It is to be noted that Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, which has received more votes than any other commentary, has just passed into a new edition (the fifth) with a new preface.

Speaking of the recent gains in the study of New Testament Greek, Dr. Sanday says in this preface, 'It is the less necessary to go into details about these, as an excellent account is given of all that has been done in a series of papers by H. A. A. Kennedy in The Expository Times, vol. xii. (1901). Dr. Kennedy was himself a pioneer of the newer movement in England with his *Sources of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh, 1895).'

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

WHAT is it that has sent the doctrine of the Atonement into a subordinate place in the thinking and theology of our day? The late Mr. Andrew Jukes believed that it is the incredible and untrue doctrine of Substitution with which it is evangelically identified.

In one of his Letters newly published—the book is elsewhere noticed—Mr. Jukes describes 'the popular pseudo-Evangelical' doctrine of Substitution. It is the doctrine 'that Christ took our place *that we should not take it*, and died *that we should not die*, and suffered *that we should not suffer*.' He entirely dissents from that doctrine. He says that it is opposed not only to Scripture but to fact and experience.

Yet Mr. Jukes holds that there is a doctrine of Substitution, and that there is no doctrine of the Atonement without it. What is the true doctrine of Substitution then? we ask. What is the true meaning of *substitute*? Mr. Jukes asks in return. A substitute in the literal sense is one who *stands under*. Christ was our Substitute because He stood under our burden. But He did not stand under it instead of us. He stood under it along with us. He stood under it because we are under it. He identified Himself with us in our curse, in order that we might be identified with Him in His deliverance from the curse. He died with us, that when He rose we also should rise with Him to newness of life.

And that is only half the doctrine of Substitution. Christ stands under our burden still. He identifies Himself with us now. When He came to earth and became our Substitute, He stood under the burden of our sin. When He ascended to heaven He left Himself free to stand under the burden of our care. He took our sins upon Him on the Cross, and there is no more offering for sin. He takes our care upon Him in heaven, and He carries it every day.

The Journal of Theological Studies for April last contained an article by the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., on 'The Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist.' Mr. Box sought to show that the Lord's Supper was not a Passover, nor was ever meant to have any relation to the Passover. It was the Jewish weekly supper called Kiddûsh.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for the current quarter the Rev. John C. Lambert, B.D., replies to Mr. Box.

Mr. Lambert begins by showing that the first

business of one who would set aside the connexion between the Lord's Supper and the Passover is to produce strong reasons against that connexion. Mr. Box recognized that as his first business. He produced his reasons. But Mr. Lambert counts them anything but strong. 'It is precisely at this important preliminary stage that the weakest links in Mr. Box's argument are to be found.'

The Synoptic evidence, said Mr. Box, is self-contradictory. The words of the Synoptic Gospels are 'on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover.' But they did not sacrifice the Passover on the first day of unleavened bread. The first day of unleavened bread 'has always been understood by Jewish writers, both ancient and modern,' to refer to Nisan 15th, whereas the Passover lamb was always sacrificed the day before. This contradiction alone settles the connexion between the Lord's Supper and the Passover for Mr. Box. His words were, 'This argument seems to me to be absolutely decisive.'

Mr. Lambert acknowledges the difficulty. But he points out that Mr. Box has scarcely been fair in stating it. He gives the credit for its complete exposure to 'the veteran Dr. Chwolson,' but he does not say that Chwolson himself finds a way out of it. Chwolson holds that there is a slight, a very slight, textual error, and that the original text in Mt 26^{17} ran, 'The day of unleavened bread drew near, and the disciples drew near to Jesus.' In this way the self-contradiction is removed. And with this way of removing it Mr. Lambert points out that in an article in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for April, the Rev. Willoughby C. Allen agrees with Dr. Chwolson.

But Mr. Box has other arguments. He points to the 'significant' omission of any mention of the paschal lamb. Mr. Lambert sees nothing significant in it. The evangelists had already indicated quite unmistakably that the meal to which Jesus and His disciples sat down was a paschal meal. It was no part of their purpose to give an account of the progress of the meal. All passovers were alike. What they were concerned with and what they reported, 'were those new and significant acts and words of Jesus by which He instituted that holy sacrament, which sprang indeed out of the preceding paschal meal, and yet completely transcended it.'

But Mr. Box points out, further, that only one cup is mentioned. In the Passover supper every person had his own cup: here one cup is partaken of by all. Mr. Lambert answers that again Mr. Box s confusing the Passover with the Eucharist. If at the Passover supper each man had his cup, what is there in that to prevent Jesus, when He came to the institution of the Eucharist, to take one cup and pass it round to each of His disciples?

Mr. Box's last argument is the discrepancy which he discovers between St. Luke's account of the Supper and that of the other Synoptists. But the discrepancy is there only when the shorter form of St. Luke's narrative, the form found in Codex D, is taken as St. Luke's proper account, and called 'the true text.' Mr. Lambert does not believe that it is the true text. Westcott and Hort certainly accepted it, and their 'deservedly great authority' has weighed heavily in the matter, especially with English students. But Sanday and Plummer, while still accepting it, no longer speak of it dogmatically as 'the true text.' And on the Continent the tendency of recent critical opinion is in favour of the received reading as the true one after all.

Thus Mr. Lambert removes Mr. Box's 'difficulties' out of the way. And when he has removed the difficulties to associating the Lord's Supper with the Passover, he finds no reason for associating it with the weekly Kiddûsh, and no cogency in the arguments by which Mr. Box attempts to do so. Before closing his paper, however, he returns to the date of the Eucharist,

on which he has something new and important to tell us.

The great difficulty is, and always has been, the discrepancy between the Synoptists and St. John as to the day on which our Lord ate His last Passover and instituted the Lord's Supper. The old way of removing the discrepancy was by discrediting St. John. Mr. Box rejects the Synoptists. There is a way, Mr. Lambert now thinks, whereby St. John and the Synoptists can both be shown to be right.

A small book was recently published by Messrs. Sands, and noticed in our pages on its publication, called *The Anglo-Jewish Calendar for every Day in the Gospels*. Its author was the Rev. Matthew Power, S.J. In that book Mr. Power claims to have discovered the secret of the working of a rule which prevented the Passover from ever falling on a Friday. The rule is known by the name of 'Badhu.' Its working was carefully concealed by the Jewish calendarists from generation to generation. We cannot tell why. Mr. Power suggests that it was to avoid the admission that the Jewish calendar could ever be subject to exception. The new moon governed the liturgical year. That was the rule, and there must be no confession of exception to that rule. However, Badhu is there, and Mr. Power claims to have discovered its secret. Its secret is that when the Passover would fall on the Jewish Friday, one day was added to the eighth month of the preceding year, so that when the Passover came round it fell, not on the Friday, but on the Saturday.

Mr. Power shows that the Passover would have fallen on a Friday in the year that Christ was crucified. But Badhu came in. A day was added to the previous year, and the Passover fell on the Saturday. Our Lord, however, did not recognize Badhu. He held the Passover on the day upon which it properly fell. And thus the Synoptists are right when they say that Jesus and His disciples ate the Passover upon the night before He died, while St. John is also right when he says that the Passover was eaten by the Jews on the day following.

In the month of October last the President of Queens' College in Cambridge read a paper at Sion College, London, on the Supernatural elements in the Gospels. Dr. Chase was surprised when at the close of the paper those who were present came to him and requested him to publish it. He had written it, he says, under a deep sense of responsibility, but not for publication. But he agreed to publish it. Meantime there arose a great discussion throughout England over some words of Dean Fremantle on the Virgin-birth of our Lord. Professor Chase's paper included the Virgin-birth. Should he publish it now or should he not? He resolved to publish it still.

We may not be able in these notes to prove that Dr. Chase did right to publish his paper. If not, the fault will be ours. Let the paper itself be read and no doubt will linger with any one. It touches the questions that are most deeply exercising the minds of men at the present moment. It touches them and no more. But every sentence is well chosen and in its place. What is said, however briefly, is said with power.

The title of Professor Chase's paper is *The Supernatural Element in our Lord's Earthly Life in Relation to Historical Methods of Study* (Macmillan, 1903, 1s.). The fulness of the title is due to the fact that the pressure of the questions with which the paper deals arises from that method of studying the Bible which belongs to our day, and is called the historical method. It is a method of study that is applied, not only to the Bible, but to all past history. It is a new method. It produces new and often very perplexing results.

The student of the past who used the old method made it his business to glean from early

records a picturesque or a majestic story. The student who uses the new method is more precise. He analyzes his authorities; he compares them; he weighs them in the balances of his critical judgment. He considers what forces, both of thought and imagination, were at work in the period with which he deals and in the authorities for that period which have come down to him. If the authorities are contemporary with the events, then the same forces were at work in both. If they are later, then he has to consider what effect the writer's own environment may have had upon him. And when the subject involves social customs and religious beliefs, he claims the alliance of the anthropologist. For there is truth in Koheleth's words that there is nothing new under the sun, but that which hath been is that which shall be. Man is man for a' that.

The student of the historical method has one aim and only one. It is not grandeur, or pathos, or artistic beauty. It is historical truth. He may not always obtain it. His very method compels him often to be content with probability. There is a sense, says Professor Chase, in which it may be said that he can never gain results that are more than probable. For he deals with the past, and the nature of his evidence makes it impossible to obtain such certainty as is yielded by mathematical demonstration.

And with all this some men have no patience. They miss the attractive, the beautiful, the romantic in the past. They say—

> Our meddling intellect
> Misshapes the beauteous forms of things:
> —We murder to dissect.

They find no footing for their faith in probabilities. They must know and be persuaded. Dr. Chase is not without sympathy for their impatience. But he believes that the historical method is both right and will obtain the best results in the end. Time will redress the seeming wrong, he says. Let science work on in the belief that in the end there will come a great reward in pure and trustworthy knowledge.

The historical method of study has already been applied to the Old Testament. Ten or fifteen years ago its application drew attention to the Old Testament in such a way that the New Testament seemed almost to be forgotten. But the New Testament had not long to wait. To-day the centre of interest is Christ and the Gospels. The problems that rivet the attention are those associated with the so-called physical resurrection of our Lord, His miracles, and His supernatural birth.

It is true, we are not all interested in these matters. Many of us find the use of incense in divine worship a far more absorbing topic of interest. The President of Queens' College turns upon us at the beginning of his paper. 'I ask my brethren in the ministry,' he says, 'with all the earnestness of which I am capable, to rate at their true value disputes which, however violent, do but ruffle the surface of the Church's life, and seriously to ponder questions, the burden of which God seems to lay especially on our generation, and which must permanently affect the deep currents of religious thought and life.'

Now, there are certain new conditions which every generation has to take into account as it sets out to ascertain the reason of the hope that is in it. The conditions which our generation has to take into account are these.

First, the work of physical science. Physical science has emphasized the uniformity of nature. It has also startled us with its revelation that beneath the surface of this familiar world there are forces, hitherto unsuspected, ever ready to operate when we have learned the secret how to set them in motion. And one department of physical science, called psychology, has been teaching us to allow a larger province than men once allowed to the will of man as an agent in the

world of men, and perhaps also in the world of nature.

Next, the work of criticism. The criticism, that is the comparative study, of the Gospels is still in its infancy. It is premature to speak of final results. But certain conclusions seem to Dr. Chase to be already beyond reasonable doubt. There are different strata in the Gospels. Two main sources have been exposed. The one contains the story of the life of Jesus, and is in the main identical with St. Mark's Gospel. The other comprehends sayings or discourses of the Lord. That is the one conclusion. The other is that 'each evangelist edited and arranged the materials on which he worked, sometimes interpreting them, sometimes giving them greater point or fulness, sometimes adding information which he derived from some authority unknown to, or unused by, the others.' Dr. Chase should have printed the second conclusion in italics. We shall return to it.

The last condition that has to be taken into account by this generation in studying the Gospels is the work of anthropology. The Gospels present us with the miraculous. 'No class of phenomena is a more constant concomitant of the story of the rise and progress of religions than the miraculous.' So Professor Gardner reminds us, somewhat insistently. And we must consider whether the supernatural in the Gospels is the result of idealization on the part of the early disciples. Did Christ really rise from the dead; did He really work miracles during His earthly life; was He really born of a virgin mother: or did His disciples feign all these things?

Professor Chase takes these three things in order. But before we follow him into them we must return to what he said about 'editing' the Gospels, and discover what he means. He leaves us in little doubt of his meaning.

What Professor Chase means when he speaks of the evangelists 'editing' their materials, he explains by three concrete examples. The first is found in Mt 27^{34}. St. Mark says that 'myrrhed wine' was given to our Lord to drink as He hung upon the cross. St. Matthew says it was 'wine mingled with gall.' Dr. Chase says that the change in St. Matthew's account was made 'plainly in order to connect the incident with the words of Ps 69^{21}.'

The second is taken from St. Luke. Six times besides the garden agony St. Luke refers to our Lord in prayer (3^{21} 5^{16} 6^{12} $9^{18\text{-}28\text{f.}}$ 11^{1}). In five of these cases he is in agreement with the narrative in St. Mark, except in regard to the prayer. St. Mark does not mention prayer. Had St. Luke more precise information in each case? Or did he introduce the references to prayer in order to give 'vivid and concrete expression to what was certainly a characteristic of our Lord's whole life that he was ever holding communion with the Father'? Dr. Chase counts it more natural to suppose that he introduced them.

The third example is in St. Matthew. It is the statement (Mt $27^{51\text{ff.}}$) that upon the death of Jesus many bodies of the saints arose and made their appearance to many persons. The difficulties of the statement are obvious. It has no parallel in the other Gospels, and no support from them. Professor Chase supposes that St. Matthew 'has incorporated in his Gospel a story which was current among some early Christians, the true basis of which, in fact, it is impossible to conjecture.' Professor Chase had little occasion to say that his conclusions are not apologetic.

We turn with greater interest now to his views on the supernatural in the Gospels. He takes the Resurrection first. The earliest witness is St. Paul. The earliest reference is in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians (1^{10}). 'His Son from heaven, whom He raised from the dead,' are the words. This Epistle was written little more than twenty years after the Passion.

But what did St. Paul mean by 'raised from the dead'? Does it demand an empty grave, or is it satisfied with spiritual appearances to the disciples? The question is comparatively new, but once asked it is persisted in. 'Did the apostle,' asks Harnack in his *What is Christianity*? (p. 161), 'know of the message about the empty grave?' He thinks it probable that he did. But he cannot be sure about it, and, in any case, he is certain that what the disciples regarded as all-important was not the state in which the grave was found, but Christ's appearances. Dr. Chase cannot understand how Harnack should hesitate. That St. Paul knew 'the message about the empty grave' is put beyond doubt by the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. There the burial and the Resurrection are placed together; the third day is mentioned; and the inference is drawn as to the future resurrection of the bodies of men from the resurrection of the body of Christ.

But what evidence had St. Paul for the resurrection on the third day? Not the appearance of the glorified Christ to himself. That could not create the historical event, though it might confirm it. For the historical fact he had to go to others.

Now, in enumerating the witnesses to the Resurrection, St. Paul mentions two individuals by name. They are Peter and James. Why does he name these two? An incidental notice in the Epistle to the Galatians tells us. St. Paul had paid two visits to Jerusalem (Gal $1^{18f.}$ 2^{9}), and on both occasions he had conversed with Peter and with James. On the first occasion, indeed, he went up for the express purpose of 'seeing Peter,' and stayed with him a fortnight, and he and James were the only apostles he then saw. It is reasonable to suppose that he learned the details of the Resurrection on these occasions, and from these apostles. It is reasonable to suppose that he desired to see Peter for that very purpose. Now the first visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem 'must be placed from five to eight years after the Passion,' so that we have here the clearest evidence, 'from documents which no reasonable critic disputes,' that within ten years after the death of Christ, Peter and James believed in His bodily resurrection. And when we turn to the Epistle to the Romans and read what St. Paul says to the church of Rome, a church which was not founded by him or any of the apostles, we find that he could take the belief in the Resurrection for granted. Thus the Epistle to the Corinthians proves the belief in the Resurrection to have been primitive; the Epistle to the Romans proves it to have been universal.

That is the result of the most strict historical criticism. We have already seen that Professor Chase binds neither his nor our belief to all the details of the Resurrection story. As he left the rising of the saints an open question, he now also leaves open the 'mysterious saying' recorded by St. Luke (24^{39}), 'A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.' But the fact is attested. The evidence is both very early and very wide in favour of the 'physical resurrection.'

And there are two things more. Professor Chase does not love the phrase 'physical resurrection.' Certain writers use it with a note of disparagement in it. The resurrection of Christ from the dead is not simply the rising from the dead of Christ's body. It is the reconciliation of spirit and matter. It is an act which is on a level with creation. To believe in the Resurrection is to believe in the unique relationship which Jesus claimed to bear to God and man.

That is the first thing. And the second is, that to get at the whole case for the Resurrection, we must take into account its sequel. The Resurrection explains the Church. 'On the one basis of a belief in the Resurrection, the Christian Society arose and has lied, at times seeming to sin against its first principles, yet surviving; again and again, in the hour of its apparent decrepitude

renewing its youth, proving itself a moral power able to regenerate men of every type and of every race.'

Such is the historical evidence for the Resurrection of Christ from the dead. 'It is, I solemnly believe, adequate,' are the words of Professor Chase. And Professor Chase is no apologist.

The second subject which Professor Chase undertook to investigate was the miracles of our Lord's earthly life.

Now it is waste of words to answer arguments that are no longer advanced. So Professor Chase does not answer the old rationalistic view that the miracles are due to deliberate fraud either in Christ or His followers. The new rationalistic position is that Christ did works of healing which were then, at any rate, regarded as truly miraculous; but that the other miracles, the miracles that give Him credit for superseding the laws of Nature, by walking on the water and the like, are inventions. Or rather they are adaptations of similar stories told of other heroes and founders of religion.

To which Dr. Chase replies: (1) We can draw no distinction between words of healing and 'nature' miracles. Both are found in the oldest stratum of the Gospels, and critically they stand or fall together. (2) In all the New Testament, outside the Gospels, there are only two references to Christ's miracles. Both are in Acts (2^{22} 10^{38}). St. Paul alludes to 'signs and wonders' wrought in apostolic times, and so does the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But upon the miracles of our Lord the silence is complete and unbroken. This fact is most significant. 'In my opinion,' says Professor Chase, 'it constitutes a strong historical argument against the position that in the days when the Gospels were written there was a tendency at work among the disciples which impelled them to decorate the story of their Master's life with fictitious miracles.' (3) In all the records of Christ's miracles in the Gospels the motive is the same. They are not regarded primarily as enhancing His dignity. They are looked upon as part of His proper work as the Saviour and Restorer of the whole of man's nature. (4) The great difficulty which science has raised turns on the impossibility of any of the laws of Nature being suspended. Science has lately been removing that difficulty herself. She has been enlarging our conception of the power of man's will. And so the 'uniformity of Nature' as a law blocking the way is itself suspended. For we have no experience of the power of a will which never has been weakened by sin, and has been strengthened by constant communion with God.

The last subject is the Virgin-birth. It is the most agitated, and it is the most difficult of the three.

Apart from its inherent improbability, two things which historical criticism has to take account of, are against the fact of the Virgin-birth. It is not found in the primitive Gospel, its story being confined to St. Matthew and St. Luke. And there is no tradition in the Church independently of these Gospels.

Nevertheless Professor Chase believes in the Virgin-birth. He lets the First Gospel go. It is critically anonymous. We have no clue to the source of its author's information. But he holds to St. Luke. For he believes that the Third Gospel was written by the companion of St. Paul; he believes that its writer not only visited James, the Lord's brother, in St. Paul's company, but spent the whole or part of the two years in which St. Paul lay in prison at Cæsarea in or near Jerusalem; he believes that during that time he gathered much of the materials for his Gospel; and he believes that, regarding the birth of Jesus, he derived his information from James and other members of the Holy Family.

Three little items of internal evidence are in favour of St. Luke's narrative. His general accuracy as a historian must be allowed its weight here. Again, the difficulty of the Census or Enrolment has been, by Professor Ramsay, advanced many stages toward historical probability. And, finally, the Christology of the passage is not post-Apostolic nor even Apostolic, but pre-Christian. 'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end'—that resembles the Messianic language of the Psalms of Solomon. It cannot be the invention,—Dr. Chase does not say of the Gentile companion of St. Paul,—but even of any believer in the Messiahship of Jesus, after the Jews had rejected Him, and after His Resurrection and Exaltation had raised the conception of His Messiahship to the height of a spiritual and universal sovereignty.

Is the evidence in favour of the Virgin-birth slight? Dr. Chase admits it. But there are other considerations. There is this. Christianity gained its victories as a power making for truth. In the first age it could not afford to be in conflict with its own first principles. 'I know,' says Professor Chase, 'that there are many surprises in the history of religion. But I confess that I find it hard to believe that in the inner circle of the earliest disciples—that is to say, at Jerusalem, and within forty years of the Passion—there grew up and took shape, not poetical and idealized adjuncts to the story of the Lord's birth, but a story itself wholly fictitious.'

'Who then is this?' There are four chief answers. The first, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' and the second, 'This is my beloved Son,' and the third, 'This is indeed the Saviour of the world,' have already been dealt with. The last answer is, 'My Lord and my God.'

It is found in St. John's Gospel (20[28]). It is the climax of that Gospel. When St. John set out to write the life of Christ, he set out to write it in such a way that we might believe that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God. And when he had so described the Person, that it was possible for one to say of Him, 'My Lord and my God,' and when at the same time he had so traced the history that at last one actually did say that, St. John's work was done. After that he had only to bring his history to a swift conclusion. That was the last word that had to be spoken.

It was spoken by Thomas. It is the greatest word that can be spoken of Christ, and it was spoken by doubting Thomas. Well, we are not so much astonished at that as our fathers would have been. The doubter has been having his day. Tennyson has let him have it—

> You say, but with no touch of scorn,
> Sweet-hearted you, whose light-blue eyes
> Are tender over drowning flies,
> You tell me, doubt is devil-born.
>
> I know not: one indeed I knew
> In many a subtle question versed,
> Who touched a jarring lyre at first,
> But ever strove to make it true.
>
> Perplext in faith, but pure in deeds,
> At last he beat his music out.
> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds.

So we are not so much astonished now that Thomas should have said it.

Nor need we be astonished. Thomas was just the man to say it. For Thomas never was the doubter that we think. What he wanted always was reasonable evidence, and when he got it he never refused to believe and to do.

Four sentences from the Gospels make up the history of Thomas. The first he spoke when Jesus told the disciples that He was going to Judæa again. 'Master,' they urged, 'the Jews of late sought to stone thee, and goest thou thither

again?' But when He would go, Thomas said, 'Let us also go, that we may die with him.' It was not the utterance of despair. It was the firm expression of determination. The evidence was clear enough. Jesus was going straight to death. When Thomas saw what he had to do, he did not hrink from doing it.

The next was in the Upper Room. 'Whither I go, ye know,' said the Lord, 'and the way ye know.' This was the opportunity for Thomas. He did not know. If he knew, he would do or suffer with the best of them. 'Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way?' If Jesus could have told him the way—told him so that Thomas could have seen it—he would not have been of the number of those who forsook Him and fled. But Jesus could not tell him yet.

The third was after the Resurrection. Thomas had not been with the disciples when first the Lord appeared to them. He has been much blamed for not being with them. But the disciples did not blame him, and the Lord did not blame him. And we who blame him so freely know nothing of the reasons why he was not with them. He was not with them, that is all we know. And when they told him, 'We have seen the Lord,' he said, 'Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe.'

This is why we call him 'Doubting Thomas.' But surely he had a right to doubt so much as that. Have any of us ever doubted less? He wanted evidence. And faith is never opposed to evidence, but rests upon it. He wanted evidence where evidence could be given. He wanted all the evidence that could be given. And then, the moment that he got it, he said, 'My Lord and my God.'

When Thomas asked for evidence, Christ gave it him. He never refuses evidence where evidence can be given. He sends us deliberately to look for evidence. He tells us never to be satisfied till we have all the evidence that can be had. And then, when evidence can go no farther, it is the man who has given himself the trouble to find the evidence who proves himself the man of faith. Thomas said, 'Except I see'; and so it was Thomas who could say, 'My Lord and my God.'

It is true that Jesus said, 'Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.' And we think that means that Jesus gently reproved His doubting disciple. He did not reprove him. But He said that the time was at hand when this evidence would no longer be available. Thomas was blessed that upon his evidence he was able to rise to such a sublimity of faith. They too will be blessed, they will even be more blessed than he, who, upon less evidence, can reach the same sublimity.

How did Thomas reach it? The Samaritans made a great leap of logic when they said, Because He is our Saviour, He is the Saviour of the world. This was as logical a leap and farther into the unknown. How did he make it? 'My Lord' was easy. In the earthly life Jesus had claimed to be Lord and Master. 'Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am.' It was given to Him then by courtesy or by affection. They called their religious leaders Rabbi; they were willing to call Him Rabbi also. But now He had the right to it. He had risen from the dead. In raising Him from the dead, God had set to His seal that all that Jesus claimed was His due. 'My Lord' was inevitable. But how did he reach 'My God'?

He reached it by the Cross. He reached 'My Lord' by the Resurrection from the dead: he reached 'My God' by the death itself. For Jesus had not only proved His right to rule, He had proved His power to love. And that is the only

revelation of God. 'God is love'—that is His character. But that is more than His character, it is Himself. It is His revelation. When we see God we see love. And when we see love we see God. '*God* commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, *Christ* died for us.'

'My Lord and my God'—it is the last word we need; but we need it all. 'My Lord' will not do. We may call Him Lord, Lord, and yet do not the things which He says. 'Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, . . . and then will I profess unto them, I never knew you.' 'Lord' gives right; but 'God' gives power.

Evangelicalism.

By the Rev. W. P. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Aberdeen.

I. Its Standpoint and its Power.

The English use of the name 'evangelical' is much narrower than the German. In Germany it is commonly used as the antithesis of Catholic, and as a positive synonym for Protestant. It is claimed with equal assurance by theologians who uphold a rigorous Lutheran orthodoxy; by others who resolve the Christian doctrines into a few philosophical tenets; and by yet others who see little in Protestantism save a duty of criticism and of deference to the religious spirit of the age. The classification into theological schools comes later. At this stage all can be described as evangelical in that, on the one hand, they reject the Roman theory of salvation, and that, on the other, they base their hopes of salvation—with whatever variety of thinking in theological detail—on some conception of the mercy of God in Christ. And for the usage which thus identifies Evangelical with Protestant there is much to be said. It meets the want, often keenly felt, of a term which will bring clearly out that Protestantism is not a mere 'dissidence of dissent,' but that it has a positive message, which can be detached from its criticism of the Catholic system. It also serves to make clear the fact that Protestant theology is not, as is often alleged, a welter of doctrinal chaos, but that there is a deeper unity which underlies the antagonisms of the leading schools. In Great Britain the name 'evangelical' has long ceased to be the common property of Protestants, and has been set apart to designate one of the party-divisions of the Protestant Church. In accordance with our wont, the party-names have been popular and memorable, rather than expressive formulas for the precise fundamental distinctions. In the Eighteenth Century the Evangelical was contrasted in Scotland with the Moderate,—the implication being that the one was thoroughly in earnest, the other only half-hearted, in the publication of his message; while the antithesis of principle was rather between the preacher of saving faith and (if such existed) the mere moralist. In the Nineteenth Century parties were popularly distinguished, especially in England, as High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church. This classification has the merit of using a single and important principle of division, namely, the attitude of different schools towards ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith and worship, but it leaves it quite undetermined what is the difference of Low and Broad. It seems to suggest, what would often be quite unjust, that the Broad Churchman is one whose beliefs have been so beaten out, and have in consequence become so thin that he discounts the authority of the Bible as well as of the Church, and is properly to be labelled as a rationalist. Again, when evangelical is used as synonymous with Low Church, there is some reason to complain of a private appropriation of public property. Apart from the fact that many a 'Broad Churchman' honestly claims to be evangelical, it is probable that the evangelical aspects, and the evangelical doctrines of Christianity, are at present proclaimed in the 'High Church' pulpits of England and Scotland with a clearness and a fervour which it might be difficult to match in the

average 'evangelical' pulpit. But while, for these reasons, a protest may be made against the perfect felicity, or even the justice, of the use of the common title of evangelical as a party name, it is clear that the religious school that claims it is one which, by reason of its definite and distinctive attitude towards the great fundamental questions of Christian theology, must be regarded as an independent, and even classic, manifestation of the life of the Protestant Church. What the test questions are, by which the standpoint of a Church or school stands revealed, may now be briefly indicated.

In catechizing a religious movement as to its peculiar principles, the first question must be, 'What tribunal do you accept as authoritative in matters of faith?' Here the genuine antagonism is between Reason and Revelation, but when this point has been settled, we have not travelled far in the differentiation at least of British sects and theologies. The distinction crops up at the later stage, when we ask how we make use of Revelation. Do we depend on the Bible to speak for itself, or do we depend on the Church to interpret the Bible? If the Bible is our authority, do we accept it as a whole, or do we distinguish some paramount authority within the Bible, *e.g.* the teaching of Christ? The second cardinal question is, 'What do we take to be the essence or fundamental content of Christianity.' Various conceptions have ruled at different times, but doubtless the most radical antithesis is represented by those who see in it only a sublime code of morality, and those who discover in it the provision of a divine salvation which has been gratuitously provided for sinful and mortal man. When it is heartily accepted as a salvation, a further division emerges, according as the most characteristic feature is conceived to be a divinely revealed philosophy, or a gospel of justification, or the grace-dispensing institution of the Church. The third searching query is, 'What is the ideal of the Christian life to which we adhere?' Is its characteristic note renunciation of the world or victory over the world?

The party or division of the Protestant Church to which in Britain the name 'evangelical' has been appropriated, was marked in past times by a very definite and consistent attitude towards these test questions of theology. First, as regards the seat of authority, its testimony was definite and unwavering. The Bible, the inspired Word of God, was heartily and unreservedly accepted as the source and norm, indeed, the only rule, of our knowledge concerning God and divine things, and also as an infallible teacher in regard to every province upon which light might fall from its inspired page. As touching the contents of the Christian religion, the evangelical school professed a blameless orthodoxy in regard to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ which had been elaborated in the Catholic Creeds; but its cardinal interest lay in the Augustinian tenets of sin and grace. For it the cardinal doctrines of the gospel comprised what Matthew Henry calls the three R's of religion —the Ruin in which we are involved by descent from Adam as subject to an imputed guilt and an inherited corruption of nature, and as expecting the manifestation of divine wrath in everlasting punishment; the Redemption accomplished through the death of Christ in our room, whereby He made propitiation for our sins, while by His active obedience He procured for us a righteousness which is imputed to us on the ground of faith; and lastly, the Regeneration, issuing in sanctification, which is wrought by the Holy Spirit in those who are enabled to rest by faith upon the saving ground of Christ's finished work. The conception of the Christian life cherished by Evangelicalism, while subject to some variation in different countries, also exhibited common fundamental features. The chief difference obtained as to the extent to which the Christian might interest himself in the tasks of culture, and especially in the problems of the political and civic sphere; and in this connexion British Evangelicalism, inheriting as it did something of the spirit of the Puritan and the Covenanter, on the whole escaped the reproach of quietism and obscurantism which has attached to other developments of the same religious type. But in spite of minor variations, the evangelical ideal of character and life has been identified by the two prominent notes of rigorism and spirituality. Negatively it was rigorously unworldly—avoiding the pursuits, but especially the recreations, in which the distinction between the Christian and the worldling tended to be obliterated, or in which the Christian was in serious danger of compromising himself, and imbibing the insidious spirit of the world. Positively it sought spirituality—the development of those graces of the soul which blossom out toward God, and which may be called

the peculiar manifestation of the life of the Holy Ghost.

By Evangelicalism, as a historical school, we here understand the re-embodiment of these principles which took place during the Eighteenth Century in the form of a spiritual upheaval of international compass. Heralded in Germany by the rise of Pietism, it convulsed and permeated England in the Wesleyan Revival, and indeed made itself felt in every branch of the Protestant Church. In no country, perhaps, was its influence more deeply and lastingly felt than Scotland, where the evangelical faith reasserted itself, partly as a renewal of the most powerful strain of its historical religion, partly as the effect of English influences.

The seceding Churches of the Eighteenth Century drained away much of the evangelical life of the Church of Scotland; but notwithstanding these repeated losses, the evangelicals continued to grow in numbers and influence, until in the early decades of the Nineteenth they had become, under the leadership of Thomson, Chalmers, and Candlish, the dominant party in the courts and pulpits of the Church. This period we may describe as the golden age of Scottish Evangelicalism. The people welcomed its message as the music of heaven. The great cities hung on the lips of its notable preachers, and their rich men hastened to lay at their feet the money required for their schemes of Church extension and philanthropy. The learned world paid it homage, and society even took it up and made it fashionable. The next noteworthy event was the Disruption, in which a large section of ministers and members, representing the main current of evangelical life, was diverted into the new and rapidly expanding communion of the Free Church. But in spite of this desertion, the law of evangelical recrudescence soon made itself to be again felt within the pale of the Establishment. Recent religious history had left upon her mind the impression that evangelical preaching had proved itself the power of God upon heart and conscience, as no other type of teaching could do, while, on the other hand, the fact was patent to the constitutional mind, which at least respected statutes and legal obligations even when it was not very cordially religious, that the Westminster Confession, to which preachers were bound by the subscription of their name, enshrined as its kernel the doctrines of sin and grace. At all events, Evangelicalism was soon again strongly represented, both in numbers and influence, within the Established Church, and for some time back it has gained more and more assured recognition as at least its official type of doctrine and piety. And while it thus possessed its special symbols and organs in the signally prosperous dissenting Churches, and registered a further triumph in the re-leavening of the Establishment, Evangelicalism has recently received from without two impulses, which have, to some extent, reinforced its confidence in itself and in the power of its message. The first proceeded from the mission of two American evangelists, who in the 'seventies awakened multitudes out of the life of nature to the life of the Spirit, and raised up enthusiastic recruits, of whom many continue to this day, to labour in church, or hall, or at the street corner, for the salvation of souls. The second is the movement associated with Keswick, which furnishes the striking spectacle—striking at a time when most people use their liberty to become 'half-day hearers,' and there is a clamour for the shortening of sermons to the irreducible minimum—the spectacle of hundreds, and even thousands, sitting out for hours and days together a succession of addresses upon the higher life, which start from the old familiar basis of the redemptive work of Christ for us, and the sanctifying work of the Spirit in us, and operate, in frank defiance of modern biblical criticism, with the assurance of the infallibility, in all its parts, of the written Word of God.

The history of the evangelical movement in Scotland has unquestionably been, at least down to recent times, a story of abounding vitality and of signal achievement. While in England during the latter half of the century evangelicalism was eclipsed, and even terrorized, by the High Church party, in Scotland it held its place as the most distinctive and influential religious force of the century. In explanation of this historical fact we can point to various causes, some of a temporary and accidental kind, others deeply rooted in the nature of things. Among the subsidiary causes of the ascendency of Evangelicalism in the earlier period was the circumstance that it was represented by a group of preachers and theologians, who by virtue of their talents and accomplishments, their eloquence, and their weight of character, profoundly impressed the imagination, and warmly engaged the affection and admiration of the contemporary world. At one

period, also, it gave added momentum to the movement that the evangelical party was the champion, in the ecclesiactical sphere, of the principle of popular government so dear to the Scottish heart. But while these factors go some way to explain the hold of evangelicalism upon Scotland during the century, there are other and deeper lying causes which must be recognized in any just appreciation of the history.

1. The first reason which may be given for the deep evangelical colouring of the religious life of Scotland, is that Evangelicalism is really a religion. As the result of recent work in the history and philosophy of religion, one thing which has become clear is that nothing will be accepted as a religion which has not in a real sense the character of a great deliverance or a salvation. Every religion which has deeply struck root upon the earth, and won the allegiance and the confidence of millions, has proceeded on the recognition that there are dire evils by which man is menaced, that there is a sovereign good to which he may aspire, and that by conforming to its conditions he may escape the evils and secure the good. Within the pale of Christianity there are two systems which conspicuously undertake this essential practical function of providing a salvation. One is Roman Catholicism: the menacing evils are Hell and Purgatory, the deliverance from the torments of Hell and the mitigation of the pains of Purgatory are promised to those who make due use of the treasures of grace, which have their custodian and administrator in the divine institution of the Church. Another is the evangelical system which, premising that man is by nature in a position of spiritual distress, which slopes downward to everlasting ruin, holds out the promise of reconciliation to God and of eternal life on the sole condition of a living faith in the once crucified and now risen Lord. In some types of professedly Christian teaching, on the other hand, it is not made very clear that the average human being is menaced by any particular danger beyond his chance of the calamities incident to our condition, while such help as is proffered consists of little more than a volume of good advice and consolatory platitudes which, in St. Paul's phrase, are quite unable 'to make alive.' To put it briefly, nothing can be a success as a religion which does not attempt the business of a religion. It is therefore not wonderful that a religious people should have turned away from conceptions of Christianity which saw in it little more than a moral ideal, to the evangelical conception, which offered a redemption from a doom of bondage and death into the glorious liberty, and the enduring inheritance, of the children of God.

2. The evangelical school, moreover, puts in the forefront of its message the most distinctive and essential feature of the Christian religion. In modern times there has been much discussion, often from a quite detached standpoint, of the nature or essence of the Christian religion; and there has come to be very general agreement that nothing is more vital in Christianity than what may be called the evangelical note and the mediatorial note. The evangelical, reduced to its simplest expression, is to the effect that the deliverance vouchsafed in Christianity is offered, not by way of payment for merit or work done, but on terms of pure grace, or by way of the spontaneous favour of God. The mediatorial note is to the effect that, in some real deep sense, we are dependent for the blessings of a graciously initiated and bestowed salvation upon the work of Christ, and our personal relationship to Him. And if it be the case that Evangelicalism, as is evident, correctly apprehended what we may call the genius of the revelation of God in Christ, it cannot be surprising if it evoked from the heart of the multitude a corroborative testimony of the Holy Ghost to its essential truth.

3. Again, the ascendency of evangelicalism during the period under review was further promoted by observation of the effects produced by the evangelical message. In the first place, it routed the unbelief of the Eighteenth Century. This was the age of the production of classic vindications, based on the analogy of nature or the testimony of eye-witnesses, of the divine origin of Christianity; but it is safe to say that the conservation and revival of Christian faith was due, not to the dialectics of Butler and Paley, but to the revival of spiritual life which followed upon the rediscovery and republication of the central message of the gospel. Evangelical religion, again, was to prove the chief spring of missionary enterprise. Foreign missions, if they derive some support from all sections of the Church, are the darling project of the evangelical section, while within the lesser sphere of the congregation by far the largest proportion of energetic and enthusi-

astic church-workers profess their attachment to the specifically evangelical creed. The money-test gives practically the same result: while Christian liberality is capable of being evoked by many motives of greater or less religious value, its amount is on the whole proportionate to the evangelical zeal of the Church or congregation. Finally, not to multiply evidence, evangelicalism was seen to be, or to operate with a force, which was able to mould a definite, strong, and elevated type of character. It is a type of character, indeed, upon which criticisms have been passed, and no doubt with some justification; but in any case it is a creation which stands high above the level of what is produced by the natural influences of education and custom, and which in its best examples easily stands comparison—in respect especially of earnestness and energy—with the best of other types of Christian character. And in view of this manifold evidence of the presence in evangelicalism of inspiring, energizing, and moulding power, we discover additional reason why it should have widely won the allegiance of a practical people that knows a force when it sees it, and that appreciates a real force in a world so full of mere noises and shams.

Saint Augustine and his Age.

Saint Augustine and his Age. By Joseph M'Cabe. Duckworth. 6s. net.

THERE is sometimes significance in a book beyond itself. In this book there is such significance, significance beyond its size, its interest, or its worth. It belongs to a movement, and that movement deserves recognition; it also demands attention.

The title promises well. After a few pages, however, one begins to wonder if the 'Saint' printed in full splendour is serious. Mr. M'Cabe has no habit of calling people 'saints.' He cynically refers to Jerome as a 'saintly cynic'; and he publicly separates himself from the company of theologians and 'ecclesiastical' persons of all kinds, including those who give or receive the name of 'Saint.' 'Gibbon,' he says, in a footnote to page 384, 'Gibbon has said that the real difference between Augustine and Calvin was invisible even to a theological microscope. He should have said *except* to a theological microscope. I was once the happy possessor of such an instrument, and I perceived the difference.' In an earlier note he speaks of 'reputable theologians and journalists' as *these people*; and he takes great delight in handling humorously that blessed word 'ecclesiastical.' So the title promises one thing, and we receive another. The title promises a book by one of these ecclesiastical people; the book is written by one who has left Christianity behind him and wonders that 'reputable theologians and journalists' should count it 'a grave offence against propriety and honour for a man to turn and rend the institution or sect he has just quitted.'

If Mr. M'Cabe has quitted Christianity, why does he write a book on 'Saint Augustine and his Age'? Because he believes that St. Augustine can be detached from Christianity. The Christian Church has claimed St. Augustine as a great glory and ornament. Mr. M'Cabe says that he was a good pagan spoiled. The one blunder of his life was his conversion—Mr. M'Cabe would call it a crime rather than a blunder. Before his conversion Augustine was a thinker from whom civilization had much to expect. After his conversion he became fettered in thought and shifty in principle. Mr. M'Cabe has a genuine admiration for Augustine; it grows upon him as he goes; and he does not grudge the homage that belongs to intellectual and moral greatness. But he hates Christianity; and ever the 'saint's' gain is his Church's loss.

It is not surprising that in pursuing such a task Mr. M'Cabe should sometimes be a little inconsistent. On one page he calls it 'a popular impression' that in the fourth century Christianity's serious rival was the ancient Roman religion.

'Certainly,' he says, 'what was already being called "Paganism" was dying. For many centuries it had sheltered Rome, but corruption was eating into its heart, and the yellow leaves were falling on every side. Either Platonism or Mithraism formed the core of whatever religion the cultured pagan still retained.' But on a later page he contradicts himself and calls the old pagan religion 'the chief rival of Christianity.' Still more forgetful is he in his references to Romanianus. On page 176 he tells us that Augustine wrote his fine treatise *On the True Religion* 'for the purpose of converting to Christianity his friend Romanianus, who tarried in an eclectic theism.' On page 179 he says 'Romanianus declined to follow him into Christianity.' On page 185 he repeats that the treatise *On the True Religion* 'was written for the purpose of converting his wealthy friend Romanianus, who had, we gather, remained in an eclectic frame of mind, favouring Christianity, Platonism, and Manicheeism.' And on page 186 he says 'Romanianus responded to the appeal, and became a Christian.'

Such inconsistencies, however, are not so serious or so numerous as might have been expected. It must not for a moment be supposed that Mr. M'Cabe is a loose thinker or a careless writer. He belongs to the new school of 'rationalism.' It has only begun to make its existence known. But such volumes as Mr. Robertson's *Christianity and Mythology* (which Mr. M'Cabe calls an 'able and conscientious study') reveal its presence and its character. No member of the old school would have thought of writing a life of St. Augustine; no one could have written a life like this. The inconsistencies that occur are almost all in the description of the character of Augustine himself, and they are due to the effort (which turns out to be an impossible one) to separate St. Augustine from his faith.

It is a curious study. Here is a passage which ungrudgingly gives Augustine his greatness, let us take it first: 'When Augustine had protested, with tears, against his ordination, many thought, says Possidius, that he felt the bitterness and poverty of the position they offered him. We may be sure there was no such thought in Augustine's mind. . . . His resistance would undoubtedly have been greater if the See of Carthage had been offered to him. And when he did eventually submit to ordination, it was with the one thought that he was entering upon a sacred duty.' That on the one side. That is Augustine himself.

On the other side are the very outspoken sentences — and they are not few — regarding Augustine's mistress. And the point in regard to them is that Mr. M'Cabe never condemns Augustine for this illicit connexion of his early life. Does he *not* disapprove of it? On one page of his book he speaks of 'the peculiar and awful penalty of logically applying the ascetic Christian view of marriage.' In any case, it is not the illicit intercourse, it is the termination of it, that Mr. M'Cabe condemns, and that was due to Augustine's Christianity. For once he is distinctly and even grossly unjust to Augustine, when he says, 'It does not seem likely that Augustine's mistress was a slave; though he tells us nothing of her beyond the facts of her introduction to his home and dismissal from it, after a faithful attachment of fourteen years, that he might marry one who seems to have been richer.'

In short, Augustine deteriorated from the ill-fated moment of his conversion. Of the conversion itself Mr. M'Cabe says, 'They who picture the last struggle in the conversion of St. Augustine, the best known page in his life, as a struggle with sin, miss its real significance.' What was it then? It was simply a struggle as to whether he should marry a wife or not. If he remained a pagan he could marry—the moral choice of marriage *or* concubinage was not in it: if he became a Christian he could not. For Christ had made self-denial the test of discipleship.

He became a Christian. And then: 'The moral reaction of his mind after conversion, and the incessant brooding on the least humane dogmas of early Christianity, perverted his moral judgment and feeling. . . . For the first ten years of his mature life he was impelled by an extraordinary craving for knowledge. . . . Then came the reaction on his humane ardour, and a growing contempt for secular knowledge.' And: 'later, as his mind narrows, we shall find him make truth synonymous with a knowledge of what the Scriptures tell concerning God and the soul.' 'In his twentieth year . . . the stern voice of Paul of Tarsus, denouncing philosophy as folly and the simple demand for evidence in a world of lies as arrogance, repelled him. There came a day when Augustine found deep and accurate science in

Genesis, a "mystic" beauty in the lives of the patriarchs, a surpassing eloquence in the Gospels, and a supreme reasonableness in Paul's demand that we shall close our eyes and obey him.'

Thus Augustine degenerated until, at last, also under the influence of Christianity, he formed a system of theological thought. Mr. M'Cabe does not trust himself to describe Augustinianism. He quotes the description which M. Nourisson gives in his *Philosophie de Saint Augustin*. But when he has quoted it, he adds, 'Each point in that indictment can be rigorously substantiated.' This is M. Nourisson's description: 'Taken literally and in certain pronouncements, though these are usually episodic and have been abused, his teaching destroys liberty of conscience, justifies slavery, shakes the foundations of private property, reduces history to special pleading, enthrones theocracy, and at the same time, in various respects, discourages toil and the love of glory, hampers the march of civilization, and paralyses the energy of all science, especially of the physical and natural sciences.'

Thus wrought Christianity with Augustine. Yet Mr. M'Cabe rarely denounces Christianity. Rarely does he appear as its open antagonist. He strives to make us think that it is Christianity that is bad, not Mr. M'Cabe that dislikes it. In the graphic description of the Eternal City in the fourth century, Christianity and Paganism are placed side by side and there is little to choose between them. 'At one moment the sun glitters on the jewelled fingers and buckled and perfumed locks of a Christian priest, and the next it flashes on the painted face and the gay tunic of a sexless priest of Cybele or the shaven head and face of a votary of Isis.' 'Perhaps it was a day of religious feasting, and they flocked to the temples—Christian as well as pagan—and gorged themselves with food, and reeled with intoxication, in honour of any god or goddess that chanced to have wealthy admirers.' But sometimes Christianity is charged with special and deliberate ills. The decay of patriotism is partly due to the effect of Christian teaching on some of the best spirits of the time. In the moral life the Christian religion was no improvement on the pagan. 'It is probable,' says Mr. M'Cabe in one place, 'that Manicheeism did no more than Christianity towards the purification of the empire.' And in another place he boldly states that although by the time that the Vandals arrived in 429 Christianity had virtually conquered Africa, 'it had not conquered, but had been conquered by, its vices.' The chaste Vandals remedied in a day the corruption that Christianity had failed to overcome. And when he remembers that the Vandals were by this time Christians themselves, he explains in a footnote that 'no one questions that their zeal for chastity was a survival from their paganism.' This was Christianity, and this was Christianity always. Contrary to current opinion the fires of persecution had no purifying influence. 'One naturally assumes that the Christian clergy who survived the last of the great trials of the Church must have been exceptionally chastened. No assumption could be farther from the truth.' And it is not any fourth-century perversion of Christianity that was so evil and so incapable of improvement, it is the Christianity of Christ. Mr. M'Cabe rarely allows himself to mention the name of Christ. But when it occurs it occurs in this way. 'The pivot of Augustine's optimism must be transferred to heaven, and then the earth and all the children of men could be freely handed over to the damnation of original sin. *The ascetic teaching of Christ fully harmonized with this theory.*'

Gibbon was puzzled with the progress of Christianity. Had he read Mr. M'Cabe's *Saint Augustine and his Age* he would have been more puzzled. Gibbon gave reasons to account for it. Have they ever been considered sufficient? Mr. M'Cabe gives reasons to account for it also. They are fewer in number than Gibbon's reasons, but he himself is satisfied. The first is that it was a lucky chance. 'If Constantine had chanced to stake his fortune on Mithra instead of Jesus in his decisive battle, it is difficult to say what might have happened.' That is one reason. The other is more serious—or more absurd. Humanity makes progress. Its religions make progress with it. 'Be it God, or nature, or the world-soul that grows through the ages, that inspires those views of man's life and destiny which we call religions, this much is certain—they improve from age to age.' Christianity beat paganism because it came after it.

One deplorable result of Mr. M'Cabe's dislike of Christianity is that he never speaks without contempt or bitterness of one whom the Christian world has learned to love and reverence even

more than Augustine himself. His mother Monica is 'a simple, ignorant woman,' 'an uneducated woman'; the wisdom that Augustine found in her 'is not impressive'; the Church has 'put many more disputable models of maternity on the roll of the canonized'; when Augustine became a Manichæan, 'Monica was profoundly troubled about the lapse, she seems to have accepted his "companion" without a murmur, but the descent into heresy was an unpardonable depth.' Monica was the expression of the Church's simplest and sincerest form of piety. That seems to be the only reason for Mr. M'Cabe's dislike of her.

But we must not end with that. In spite of his opposition to Christianity, Mr. M'Cabe has written a life of Augustine for which we thank him. His purpose seems to have been to discredit 'ecclesiastical' Christianity. He has not succeeded in that. For he has shown that Augustine was great, not in spite of, but by reason of, his faith in Christ.

The Code of Hammurabi.

(B.C. 2285–2242.)

By C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Lecturer in Assyriology, Queens' College, Cambridge.

It is evident that some of the laws in the Books of Moses are very similar in style to those which were enacted by legislators who could scarcely have known the Hebrew Scriptures. Hence, while men have been accustomed to illustrate particular enactments by reference to the legislation of other nations, we have been careful to note that similar laws naturally arise at similar stages of civilization. But, where direct intercourse can be shown, there we are led to suspect borrowing. Now, if we recall that Abraham came from Ur of the Chaldees, that the Israelites, on entering Canaan, found Babylonian literary influence in full power, and that the Jews who returned from Babylon must have brought with them some knowledge of the laws under which they had lived in exile, we are compelled to regard a Babylonian code of laws as of the highest importance for illustration of the Mosaic Code.

It would lead too far and anticipate too much now to enter into any discussion of parallels. But we now have a dated code of laws, extremely full and clear, with the certainty that it was known in Ur in the days of Abraham, and still in full force in Babylon to the days of Cyrus. To give some account of this Code may be helpful to many.

First, briefly, as to the monument itself. It was found at Susa by the French exploration in December 1901 and January 1902. The fragments were readily pieced together, and give some 3600 lines of text. This was superbly published by the French Ministry of Instruction in the fourth volume of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, with an admirable transcription and translation by Professor V. Scheil. It at once excited great interest in America and Germany, and Dr. H. Winckler promptly produced a version in *Der Alte Orient*. The general impression seems to be that, quite apart from its biblical interest, it is one of the most important monuments of the ancient history of the human race.

Considered as a code of laws, it presupposes a very highly advanced state of civilization. On all hands appear a crowd of officials with highly specialized functions, a settled landed gentry, a populace widely possessed of fair wealth, a vast army of slaves. We see numerous trades, and occupations, a well-established commerce, making distant journeys by land and river, to trade and exchange produce, a regular justiciary, a firmly established central government, with considerable local and district devolution of responsibility. But, above all, we have the duties and liabilities of each class set out, regulated, and co-ordinated. Fees, fines, wages, rents, prices are fixed by statute.

This is not all new. A great deal was known, and more conjectured, from the thousands of legal documents already published, chiefly, of course, on the civil side. Even fragments of the Code were known from Assyrian copies of the seventh century B.C. But the criminal law was little

known, and much was obscure. Now we have a full code. That is to say, the code was full; but the monument itself lacks five columns, polished smooth by some king of Elam, who had carried off the stone as a trophy, and intended to inscribe his name and deeds to the glory of his gods.

The Code well deserves its name. It is most systematically codified, a triumph of legal precision and order. Its start is amazing enough. The two first sections are directed against witchcraft, and that in the home of magic and sorcery. The section which stands second introduces us to ordeal by water. Then we have a long series of enactments against crimes punished by death. Going to the fountain-head of justice, the three sections which follow deal with offences against the purity of justice, tampering with witnesses, jury, or false judges. Theft comes next, and is analyzed into degrees of guilt. Stealing and receiving are ranked alike. Inducing a slave to run away, harbouring him, or a fugitive from the levy, a conscription for public works or the army, appropriation of goods found, housebreaking, highway robbery are all treated as theft. Each crime was to be gone into carefully by judge and jury, witnesses heard on oath, and sentence given according to law and evidence.

The officials responsible for local administration, tax-collecting, furnishing quota to army or forced labour, the postal system, and local order are then dealt with. The duties are defined, privileges set out, penalties fixed. It is clear that the retainers of the king were endowed with estates, and responsible to him for the order of a subject population.

The Code next deals with contract. The relations of landlord and tenant, creditor and debtor, canal and water rights, trespass and waste, undertaking, house tenancy, the relations of the principal and agent in commerce, licensing, carriers, forwarding goods, distraint, warehousing, slander, are all regulated.

Then come the family relationships, marriage, divorce, desertion, separation, adultery, incest, courtship, breach of promise, inheritance, adoption, foster nurses, filial rebellion, are a few of the subjects dealt with, and followed out into minute detail, too long to summarize.

Then we have various kinds of assault. The law of retaliation is very much in evidence. Eye for eye and tooth for tooth actually are the words of the Code. But the law is not crude retaliation. Composition is allowed in many cases, and injuries are appraised on a regular sliding scale. The doctor's fees are fixed and charged to the right person. He is made responsible for lack of skill or care in treatment of a case.

Apart from the wonderful modernity of its spirit the next most remarkable thing about the Code is its high antiquity. The great interest of its study will be in tracing its influence beyond Babylonia. It would be premature to pronounce directly upon such matters. They are matters for careful study. But not only do the regulations at once remind lawyers of Mediæval, Roman, or Greek law, the whole tone and phraseology are so suggestive of Old Testament that we can hardly avoid using the phrases so familiar in the Law. Each section begins with 'if,' and the penalties are strikingly similar. We do not meet with such a regulation as the care of an enemy's ox, but there are many humanitarian laws. The agent who cheats his principal is made to repay threefold, but the principal who overcharges an agent is mulcted sixfold. An invalid wife has to be maintained as long as she lives. The mesquin, or poor man, continually has exceptions made in his favour; lower fines, lower fees, but also, it is true, lower damages if he is injured. We may regard death as penalty for theft rather severe, but it is not long since men were hung in this country for sheep-stealing; men are still hung in America for horse-stealing. There is no provision at all for murder as such, except as it arose out of highway robbery, quarrels, or intrigue.

We learn that Sarah's treatment of Hagar was legal up to the point of sending her away. We learn what Jacob's proper relations were to Laban, and where he was within his rights in his methods of acquiring his flocks. We learn what were the customs which explain the Parable of the Talents. Nor do we only get light on legal affairs. The position of Ilu as supreme God, at least in the ideas of Ḫammurabi, is certain, despite recent dicta that there is no trace of a supreme El in Babylonia. We get the earliest mentions of Nineveh and Assyria as places subject to Ḫammurabi.

But this notice is all too long. The interest of the subject will, doubtless, lead to a considerable literature, which every student of Old Testament and of ancient history will make himself acquainted with.

Point and Illustration.

THE old debating-society problem, whether it is our duty to utter the truth everywhere and always, is raised again in the short biography which Mr. Jeaffreson has written to introduce the Letters of the late Andrew Jukes.[1] The first book which Mr. Jukes wrote on Universal Restoration was circulated in manuscript among a few persons; 'but for a long time he refused to publish it, *not doubting its truth, but doubting whether the truth was one which was fitted to those times*.'

Was Mr. Jukes right? He acted so always. Mr. Jeaffreson says that he came to know Mr. Jukes in 1873, and 'it is characteristic of him that for a year at least he never spoke to me on the subject of Restitution, thinking that "I had enough on hand without it. *There is a time for everything*."' But when God reveals a truth to man, is the time not come for the truth to be made known? God does not reveal His truths too soon.

The book is mostly made up of letters or abstracts from letters. Some of them have been kept till they are commonplace—which is another reason, though a more personal one, for our uttering a truth as soon as we have got it. But some of Mr. Jukes' ideas are fresh still, and they are always expressed intelligibly. For instance—

The Church Visible.[2]

You speak as if you had now found rest in the bosom of that which you call your true mother. But is the Church of Rome indeed your mother? Did she really bear you? Was it at her breasts that you were nursed? Is she indeed 'the mother of us all'? 'Jerusalem *which is above* is the mother of us all,' who nurses us even while we are in the flesh, but who is little known till heaven really opens to us. And, indeed, if the Church could be seen, why put it into the Creed? Why say, 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church'? For faith, surely, is the substance of things hoped for and unseen. If we see this Holy Catholic Church, why put it into the Creed among the unseen verities which faith alone can deal with?

The two great eschatological 'heresies' are Universal Restoration and Conditional Immortality. Mr. Jukes was a conspicuous advocate of the former, Mr. Edward White was yet more closely identified with the latter. The same month that sees the Letters of Mr. Jukes published sees also the publication of the Life and Work of Edward White.[3] Edward White was a stronger man than Andrew Jukes, and relied on stronger arguments. He was much troubled that Universalism, 'with its washed-out message of general consolation, confounding salvation and damnation under one definition,' had become so popular, and he blamed Mr. Spurgeon for it. 'Stiff, immovable, Calvinistic orthodoxy,' he said, 'with its everlasting torment in hell (think of it!) for the non-elect of all ages and of all nations, including youthful sinners, has been widely one provocative cause of prevailing heresy.'

He was at one with Mr. Spurgeon, however, in many things, and especially in the interpretation of Scripture. He wrote to the *Christian*: 'It is reported of Mr. Spurgeon, on one occasion when some inquiring Christian, who had been brought up under a system of perverse "spiritualizing" of Holy Scripture, asked him to explain some passage in the prophecies of Isaiah bearing upon the future kingdom of Christ, that he replied, with emphasis, *Why, it means what it says*.'

And perhaps the popularity of Universalism was due as much to its own intelligibility as to Mr. Spurgeon. Mr. White never realized the difficulty which ordinary people had with his doctrine of Conditional Immortality. They surprised him to the end by confounding it with Annihilation. Inherently it is difficult; Mr. White was a clear enough expositor. There is no part of his subject which gives Professor Denney so much trouble in his recent book on *The Death of Christ* as the connexion between sin and physical death. And Mr. White's biographer has wisely given space in this book to explanations of the doctrine. One of them is in a letter to Dr. Gloag of Edinburgh—

Conditional Immortality.

I never think of this discussion as dealing necessarily or chiefly with the destiny of the *lost*, but with that of the

[1] *Letters of Andrew Jukes*. Edited by Herbert H. Jeaffreson. Longmans, 1903. 3s. 6d. net.

[2] From a letter to F. W. Faber after he had gone over to Rome. Faber and Jukes were at Harrow together

[3] *Edward White: His Life and Work*. By Frederick Ash Freer. Stock. 6s. net.

saved. I cannot but think that if so astounding an idea as that every man is a natural coeval of the Eternal had lain at the basis of revelation, it would have found clear and frequent expression in Scripture. Whereas the ordinary language of both Testaments naturally lends itself to the idea that the Fall involved man in total mortality, and that it is redemption that brings to light 'Life and Immortality' for the regenerate part of mankind alone, here or hereafter.

One result of the new study of the New Testament by Jews—a study led, and so generously, by Mr. Claude Montefiore—is the discovery of parallels to the words of Christ scattered through the voluminous sayings of the Rabbis. And once more Feeblefaith will cry out that the originality of Jesus has been taken away and he does not know where to find it. Mr. Silvester Horne, in his new volume of sermons,[1] shows that he understands Jesus better than that—

Jesus and Darwin.

The more I study the life of Christ, the more it grows upon me that His laws are not laws He *invented*, they are not even new laws He *promulgated*. They are laws He discovered to men as governing the very foundation of their thinking and living. Darwin was as innocent of inventing the laws of evolution, as Jesus of inventing the law of Faith. Darwin said, Here is a great law in operation, a law which might speak to you, O man, and say, 'I have girded thee, though thou hast not known me.' Jesus uttered in the hearing of the world the great laws of its highest life. 'These,' He seemed to say to humanity, 'these are the laws that have guided you, though you have not known them.'

Then Mr. Horne produces an illustration. It is the Law of Having. He shows that as Christ expressed it, the Law of Having runs through life. It is the law that he that believeth hath. The French proverb says, to see is to have. Exactly. And not to see is not to have. It runs through life. And we do not quarrel with it until we are required to carry it into the religious sphere. Then it become unrighteous. We are excluded from life for lack of faith. The basis of the exclusion is not moral, we complain, but credal.

When Mr. Horne has preached to the adults in his congregation, he turns and preaches to the children. He preaches on the same subject; sometimes from the same text, sometimes not. In this instance his adult text was, 'He that believeth hath eternal life'; his children's text, 'Whosoever hath, to him shall be given.' It is a difficult text for children.

The Law of Receiving.

If I were to go round to all you boys and girls, and ask you how much money you had got, and then were to say to you, 'Now, I will give more money to the boys and girls who have got most, but nothing at all to the boys and girls who have got none,' you would think me very unkind. What, then, did Jesus mean, when He said, 'Whosoever hath, to him shall be given'?

Suppose I came round to see your teacher and have a talk about you. 'Who learns most?' The teacher points to this girl and that boy, 'Oh, they learn things almost too fast; but then you see they are very quick and bright *naturally*.' So if God finds you a quick bright mind, to you is given knowledge beyond the rest. To him that hath is given.

But I say to your teacher, 'Is not this a bright boy? Why does he not get on?' 'He has got all the ability,' says the teacher, 'but he doesn't use it.' Every boy and girl who has faculty and does not use it, does not really *have* it. When you get a little older, you will begin to think about some words of Jesus concerning possessing your souls. It is only to him that *hath* in this high sense, to him that uses his soul, and brings it all to God's service—it is only to him that God gives abundantly.

[1] *The Soul's Awakening.* Being Twenty-four Sermons delivered at the Kensington Chapel during 1901–2, with Twenty Addresses to Children. Passmore & Alabaster. 2s. 6d. net.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Early Arabic Poetry.[2]

Every Arabic scholar will be pleased to find that the distinguished editor of this work, after the completion of his gigantic and monumental catalogue of Berlin MSS, has returned to the study of Arabic poetry, in which some decades of years ago his name counted as the first in Europe. The volume before us consists of a text with annotations of a collection of early poems made by a grammarian of enormous fame,

[2] *Sammlungen alter Arabischer Dichter.* I. El-Asma'ijjāt nebts einigen Sprachqaṣiden. Herausgegeben von W. Ahlwardt. Williams & Norgate, 1902.

Al-Aṣma'i, tutor to Harun Al-Rashid's son, and whose death-date falls about 212 A.H. He lived at a time when the collecting of old poems from Arabs who were supposed still to remember them, was an important business; and though his collection never became popular 'owing to the few rare words which it contained and the want of a detailed chain of authorities,' modern scholarship will give it a place beside the Ḥamasah, the Mufaḍḍaliyyat, and other collections of early efforts of the Arab muse. Not all these poems are printed here for the first time; but even where they are already familiar, it is an advantage to the scholar to have them in the form and with the readings approved by the great grammarian. To the original collection the editor has added some poems of which the purpose is to illustrate the use of rare words; and to these the very necessary glossary is appended. The notes to the Aṣma'iyyat contain such biographical notices of the authors as the editor's wide reading has enabled him to bring together, and references to other printed texts, where such exist. The editor's name is a guarantee for faultless accuracy of scholarship; and the type employed, though not quite Oriental in appearance, is exceedingly clear.

To those who are interested in the Arabized Jews who suffered so severely by the rise of Islam, this collection will recommend itself by the reproduction of some of their poems—one by the famous Samau'al, or Samuel, whose name was proverbial for honesty, and another by his brother Shu'bah. Of the former, some verses at least were already known. Samau'al would seem to have had the same difficulty in pronouncing the Arabic *th* as troubles many of the natives of Syria and Egypt still; and this mark of genuineness is very necessary, since otherwise we should be disposed to regard Samau'al's poem as made up from scraps of the Koran, which is evidently the mode in which some of the poems of Umayyah, son of Abu Ṣalt, have been reconstructed. Samau'al gives (in the style of the Koran) a brief account of the physiological history of man, expresses his belief in a future life, his satisfaction about what has been told him of the realm of *Dawud*, and his determination at all times to be honest. In fact, Samau'al says exactly the sentences which a pious Moslem would be likely to put in his mouth; whereas the powerful lines ascribed to him in the Ḥamasah appear to breathe a different spirit from that which gives itself vent in these commonplaces. Hence it is, after all, probable that Samau'al's poem belongs to the poetry which early Mohammedan grammarians invented *ad libitum*, sometimes in order to justify careless statements that they had made, at other times in order to mislead persons who had given them offence. The poem of his brother, which is in the same rhythm, has a rather better chance of being genuine.

The poems ascribed to Arabs are in the style rendered familiar by the Ḥamasah, echoes of which are heard in the Arabic verse of all times, though the time at which the sentiments expressed had some flavour of reality did not extend beyond the first century of Islam, if indeed it lasted so long. To distinguish one of these poets from another by his style would require an unusually fine taste; they say much the same things in nearly the same language. On the other hand, very careful reading sometimes enables the reader to draw important inferences concerning early Arabian customs and folk-lore, and hence the early poetry has been largely utilized by Wellhausen and other authorities on Arabian antiquity.

A remarkable poem is that which is numbered 53, and is attributed to Salamah, son of Jandal, who, says the editor, belongs to the century before Islam, but must have been converted to that religion, as is shown by the verses in which he speaks of the Raḥman (one of the Koranic names of God) doing what He will, and binding the broken bone. The little which the Arabic genealogists were able to discover about this poet brings him into connexion with persons of such remote antiquity that we can scarcely adopt the editor's explanation of his religious sentiments. M. Cheikho's doctrine, that the early Arabic poets were mainly Christians, might seem slightly more likely; and there is an even greater probability that the poem is either wrongly ascribed or interpolated with post-Mohammedan matter. This last explanation would account for the fact that the poem contains a large number of names, both local and personal, which seem a decided indication of genuineness of a sort; whereas if the praises of the Raḥman had really been sung so eloquently in pre-Mohammedan verse, we should have difficulty in understanding why the Meccans of Mohammed's time so persistently denied that

they had any acquaintance with this name for the Deity. M. Cheikho, it is said, will ere long publish the demonstration of his thesis, and the matter collected by him may throw light on questions of this sort.

Dr. Ahlwardt has left the task of indexing and commenting on these verses to younger scholars, who are likely to find much that will repay investigation. The few specimens of verse-translation which he has himself given are so very felicitous, that we could wish he had exercised this rare talent more frequently.

D. S. Margoliouth.

Oxford.

'The Early Christian Churches.'[1]

This volume reflects two contemporary tendencies. It is one outcome of that vivid interest in the personal and practical expression of religious feeling, which Germans would call *Volkskunde*, religion—in this instance, early Christianity—being studied upon the side of its habits, manners, popular institutions, and so forth, rather than upon the side of doctrinal statement or of ecclesiastical organization. But it illustrates another modern tendency which is in some respects cognate, and that is the relation between the critical study of early Christianity, as of comparative religion, and the problems of modern missions. Despite differences of civilization and nationality, the mission field of to-day, particularly in foreign countries, presents phases remarkably analogous to those which occurred in Corinth, Antioch, or the Asiatic townships during the first century of our era; so that it is coming to be recognized that some familiarity with the methods of active Christianity, or some practical acquaintance with modern missions, forms a very needful counterpoise to the unduly literary bias, or preoccupation with mere documents, which is apt to prejudice the researches of experts into early Christianity and its problems. This is brought out, for example, by Principal Lindsay in his review of Schmiedel in the opening number of the *Hibbert Journal*. Upon the other hand, New Testament criticism may have its own contribution to make towards missionary progress; the more light thrown upon the ways and works of the primitive gospel in contact with human nature, Hellenic, Jewish, or Asiatic, the more help may be furnished for present-day needs, since, after all, there is a continuity in human nature. New Testament criticism and mission enterprise thus have their points of connexion. Kähler has already noted this in Warneck's *Missions-Zeitschrift*, and in his preface von Dobschütz warmly advocates its justice and wisdom. It is, in point of fact, recognized by some missionary journals, such as, *e.g.*, Arndt's well-known *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, where no divorce is permitted between ardent interest in missions and a scientific alertness to the researches of comparative religion.

As a whole, this volume may be said to present a sober, comprehensive account of the ethical situation throughout the course of primitive Christianity from 30 A.D. to 130 A.D. Written without footnotes or literary references, its pages are quite readable and interesting. Von Dobschütz possesses little distinction of style and hardly anything of that brilliant insight which characterizes Weizsäcker and Wernle as they traverse the same ground. But he furnishes a trustworthy conspectus of his subject, with an attractive undercurrent of religious feeling, and the use of his volume is facilitated by means of a full table of contents and an excellent double index.

The first chapter is devoted to the Pauline Churches in Corinth (pp. 17–64), Macedonia (64–75), Asia Minor (76–90), and Rome (90–98). 'Paul knows that the new moral ideal is not reached at a single stride; it requires to be trained wisely and patiently' (p. 16, cf. 1 Co 16^{18}). Hence the interest of the Corinthian Epistles. They represent the campaign and slow victory of the new Christian spirit over the debasing influence of the Corinthian ideal, which was 'the relentless pursuit of his own life by each individual. The merchant employing any means to advance his business, the roué abandoning himself to every passion, the athlete proud of the strength which he won from physical training—these were the true Corinthian types. In a word, their ideal was the man whom none surpasses, to whom nothing is impossible or denied' (p. 18). Against this Nietzsche-notion, the new ideal

[1] *Die urchristlichen Gemeinden: sittengeschichtliche Bilder.* Von Ernst von Dobschütz, Prof. der Theologie in Jena. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902. Pp. xiv. 300. Price M.6; bound in linen, M.7.

triumphed by means of its power of love, its revelation of a higher bond of unselfishness in faith which asserted itself over impurity and party-spirit, over asceticism and libertinism alike. (Is 43^{24} might be taken as the motto for 1 Co 6, p. 45.) But the characteristic obstacle at Corinth ever lay in the defective sense of Christianity as a social bond, and in the poverty of the local church-consciousness. At Thessalonica and Philippi, on the other hand, the cohesive brotherly spirit seems to have been fairly strong. Consequently the local churches were, from an early period, models (2 Co $8^{1f.}$) to the rest. In the Asiatic churches, again, the apostle had to contend not so much with avowedly inferior morals as with the mischievous claims of Jewish legalism (in Galatia) or of local asceticism (as at Colossæ) to a higher level of morals. The contest with these pseudo-systems dominates Paul's Asiatic letters. Romans, finally, although written from some acquaintance with the local church and essentially an Epistle, is pronounced by von Dobschütz to be unique among the Pauline letters, inasmuch as in it the 'apostle is not dealing with questions brought before him by the church; he is pursuing trains of thought which were working in his own mind. The Epistle contains the clarified expression of what had been roused in the apostle's mind by the Galatian disorders; hurriedly thrown on paper in the Epistle to the Galatians, it was now offered in riper form to the church of the metropolis, with which the apostle sought to establish connexions' (90, 91). Particularly in Ro 12–14 we possess a general account of the training enforced by Paul upon his churches, in this case coloured by his recent experiences with the Greek churches of Asia Minor.

Then follows, in chap. 2, a brief outline of Jewish Christianity (pp. 102–124) with its primitive Jerusalemite phase, its anti-Pauline propaganda, and its final evaporation. With all its faults, the Judaizing agitation within the Pauline Churches 'had certainly the result of emphasizing with greater sharpness the moral element. The decree of the Council of Jerusalem probably did not operate directly, except in a narrow circle; but, through its incorporation in Acts, it came to operate indirectly upon all Gentile Christianity. . . . Jewish Christianity bequeathed to the Gentile Church the most precious treasure it possessed, namely, the collection of the Lord's sayings. And at the same time it bestowed the Scriptures of the Old Testament' (p. 124). But its function was temporary, and it soon paled.

The future lay in other directions, which are traced by von Dobschütz in his third and largest chapter (pp. 125–251). This falls into four parts. The sub-Pauline Christianity is first of all analyzed in Asia Minor (pp. 127–139) by aid of Ephesians and 1 Peter. Both Epistles exhibit, among other features, what may be called the 'Biblicizing' of the moral ideal (p. 132). That is, the Old Testament is acquiring increasing prominence in the arrangement and enforcement of duties within the Christian community. Hebrews and Clemens Romanus serve to illustrate the later Roman Christianity (pp. 139–150), whilst the latter Epistle further elucidates the state of the Corinthian Church towards the close of the first century (150–154). Hebrews witnesses to the same 'Biblicizing' as 1 Peter; but the dangers, hierarchical and heretical, foreshadowed in the latter Epistle, are not on the horizon of Roman Christianity as yet (Heb 13^{9} is an incidental counsel, to be explained by the immediate context). 'The main object is apparently not to train the Church in Christian morals, but to strengthen its faith and its courage for confession' (144).

Troubles of organization and doctrine came to a head in Asiatic Christianity towards the close of the first century, and these are discussed in an account of the Johannine circle (pp. 155–176), based upon the Johannine literature and the Ignatian Epistles. Previous to Ignatius, the dominant influence in Asia Minor, in the generation after Paul's death, was that of the prophet and presbyter John, who—originally trained in the Jerusalem Church, though no ardent legalist like James—found himself at home in Gentile Christian circles, without, however, fully identifying himself with their practices (3 Jn 7, Apoc $2^{14.\,20}$, etc.). Incidentally, von Dobschütz observes that 1 Jn $1^{6.\,10}$ $2^{4.\,9}$ $3^{4.\,6}$, etc., imply a popular misconception of some Christian maxims, just as the Epistle of James is a polemic against the abuse of certain Pauline formulas (158); that the 'virgins' of Apoc 14^{4} are literal ascetics or celibates (but surely 1 Jn 3^{3} is not to be narrowed to this issue); and that Jn $19^{26f.}$ is a recognition of filial piety balancing the word of 2^{4}, which expresses the as needful independence of faith in view of relatives' interference.

Upon 'the beginnings of Gnosticism' (pp. 176–

192), with its double influence of intellectualism and asceticism, von Dobschütz writes with special authority and force, owing to his previous studies in the early Christian *Acta*. The gnostic recoil from matter to spirit involved, as he points out, docetism in Christology, 'spiritualism' in eschatology (2 Ti 2^{18}), and ascetic extravagances in ethics (1 Ti 4^{3-8}), summed up in the *νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον* of the Oxyrhyncite Logia. The inevitable accompaniment was antinomian libertinism (189 f.).

Fourthly and finally, the chapter describes 'the Churches of the transition to Catholicism' (pp. 193–213), particularly the Roman Church as reflected in Hermas (pp. 214–251), where a conservative resistance to these gnostic perils was successfully organized. The closing pages (252–263) sum up, in brief glowing language, the triumph of early Christian ethics over contemporary paganism. As von Dobschütz argues, whilst there is a deterioration in the sub-apostolic literature, there is, upon the whole, a real ethical growth in Christianity during the generations immediately subsequent to Paul, which justifies a second-century apologist, like Aristides, in advancing high claims on behalf of his religion and its morals. 'Certainly it was a time when culture was in full bloom. It was a time which the world has to thank for splendid productions in art and literature; a time of the highest moral refinement, which looked down contemptuously on ancient barbarians and on uncivilized peoples outside the frontiers of the empire. Nevertheless it was morally enervated, decrepit, decadent. That it was capable of one more renewal, and that it experienced even moral regeneration in a great religious revival, proves nothing to the contrary. These were simply the last roses of autumn. Presently the migration of the nations swept everything away with its storms, and nothing survived that winter except what sprang from the Christian spirit' (p. 253). Which reminds one of the sombre sentence with which Mommsen closes his account of Cæsar's career.

Additional notes are furnished at the end of the volume upon the vexed question of ancient statistics, upon ancient slavery [Philem ^{13} to be taken literally, in the sense of Ac 13^{5}, Ph 2^{30}; cf. Juvenal $7^{69.70}$], upon 1 Co 5^{1-5} (pp. 39–44, 269–272: *παραδοῦναι τῷ σατανᾷ* = sudden death as the result of a solemn prophetic curse, which operated — according to the widespread belief of the ancients—with the force of a divine *μῆνις*), upon James the Lord's brother [von Dobschütz agrees with Schürer in regarding the Josephus-allusions as interpolated], upon the spread and motives of ancient vegetarianism (93–95, 274–276), and upon the ethical terminology of early Christianity, including (pp. 282–284) the tables of virtues and vices (already a well-known feature in Orphic circles).

Incidentally the writer reveals his critical standpoint, which may be described as that of the critical centre. Except Ephesians and (of course) the Pastorals, the Pauline Epistles are counted genuine; and 2 Co 10–13 is an integral part of the Epistle (p. 272). Hebrews is addressed to a house-church, or small circle, in Rome (p. 140); James reflects a somewhat advanced type of Palestinian Jewish Christianity (p. 193); 1 Peter is pseudonymous (pp. 127 f.); and the Asiatic John, whose personality appears towards the close of the first century, is not the son of Zebedee (pp. 155 f., 274). An embellishing tendency now and then pervades the narrative of Acts (pp. 3, 4); Luke is not the author of the we-journal (p. 65); and the primitive community is idealized (pp. 105 f.) pretty much as the Pythagoreans glorified their master's 'communistic' attitude; yet the so-called decree of chap. 15 (57 A.D.) may have actually come from James and his fellow-presbyters (p. 274). Paul died in 63 A.D., Peter in 64, James possibly in 62. The Apocalypse confronts the Imperial cultus at the close of the first century, whilst Jude and 2 Peter belong to the age of the Didachê and Barnabas. Ample use is made of the extra-canonical literature. But too little attention has been paid to the apocalypses and the contemporary ethics of the Rabbis.

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Bertholet's 'Esra und Nehemia.'[1]

IN a brief notice of a new commentary on Ezra-Nehemiah it is chiefly desirable to indicate the commentator's attitude towards the historical problems which have grown out of this interesting section of Holy Scripture. How are the questions here answered which have recently been discussed by Kosters, van Hoonacker, Winckler, Torrey, and

[1] *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia.* Erklärt von Lic. Alfred Bertholet. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1902.

others? The estimate formed as to the reliableness or unreliableness of the statements made by Ezra-Nehemiah determines our entire view of one of the crucial periods in Jewish history, and we cannot but be deeply interested in the results reached by a competent inquirer. Omitting the references which he gives, and slightly abridging, we proceed to set down Bertholet's summary.[1]

'In the year 538 Cyrus allows the Jews to return and to build the Temple. A large number avail themselves of the permission without delay. A list drawn up immediately after the Return shows that the community numbered 42,360 souls (men and women). The district in which they settled did not extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. At their head was Sheshbazzar, who may have been a son of Jehoiachin. Under his leadership an attempt was made to restore the Temple, but the entire failure of this enterprise effectually damped the energy of the people, until the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, seventeen years later, took the initiative and stirred up Zerubbabel, who had meanwhile taken the place of Sheshbazzar (? his uncle), to lay the foundation with due solemnity. Difficulties were again interposed, this time by the Persian officials themselves. But a royal rescript confirmed the claim of the Jews to build their Temple, and in the year 516 it was finished.

'Our sources now fail for a while until we learn from an incidental notice that a new expedition to Jerusalem was undertaken in the reign of Artaxerxes I., and that this led to the beginning of the rebuilding of the walls. But the ill-will of hostile neighbours stopped this. They obtained the king's leave to prevent the Jews from carrying out their plan. The walls were broken down and the gates burned. Hanani, who had perhaps taken part in the expedition to Jerusalem, betook himself to his relative (? brother) Nehemiah, who had considerable influence with the king, and now obtained permission to go to Jerusalem and build the walls. Thanks to Nehemiah's powerful individuality, the work was swiftly done. But we are quite in the dark as to how he occupied the twelve years of governorship which the king subsequently gave him (Neh 13^6). In the twelfth year he returned to the king, and seems to have persuaded him to send Ezra to Jerusalem that he might reform the community on the basis of the law "which was in his hand." The introduction of this law was delayed by the unwelcome discovery that many mixed marriages had been contracted. But it was accomplished in the second year after Ezra's arrival, about 430. We have no information respecting the results of Ezra's activity; perhaps it is intentionally suppressed, for we may unhesitatingly assert that Ezra was far from succeeding in gaining a complete acceptance of his reforms. When Nehemiah returned he found things not at all to his liking, either in the city or in the country. Once more he set to work. He purged the Jews from all foreign customs, established regulations for the services of priests and Levites, and for the due delivery of the wood and the firstlings. The whole ends with the imposition of a solemn covenant by which the community pledges itself to get rid of abuses (Neh 10).'

All this implies a very different estimate of the historical value of our book from some of those which have been issued of late years. As an illustration of the manner in which Bertholet reaches his positions, and a specimen of the Notes, it is worth while to quote the language in which the identification of Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel is rejected. Here, again, we abbreviate slightly:[2]

'The identification rests on the two facts that both are entitled *pecha* [=governor], and both are credited with the laying the foundation of the Temple. But it is quite clear that in chap. 5 they are distinguished from each other (cf. especially v.[2] with $^{14.16}$). And one does not see how a Jew could have two Babylonian names. But Zerbabili has now been found in Babylonian texts, and Sheshbazzar is also Babylonian, being equal either to Šin-bal-uṣur = May Šin protect the son, or to Šamaš-bal-uṣur = May Šamaš protect the son! The orthography does not disprove the derivation from Šin. And the difference between the two etymologies would not in any case affect the main question. Meanwhile a notable hypothesis has been founded on the former of the two, viz. that Sheshbazzar must be identical with אַצַּר, the son of Jehoiachin, mentioned 1 Ch 3^{18}. This would lend peculiar significance to the הַנָּשִׂיא לִיהוּדָה of our passage. Meyer refers to Herod. iii. 15, according to whom the Persians were accustomed to restore their fathers' dominions to the

[1] P. xvii.

[2] Cf. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. xxxi.

sons of rebellious princes, "still less would they hesitate to reinstate in his hereditary kingdom the chieftain of their enemies' enemies."'

The index of proper names is of more than ordinary importance. It might almost be called a study of the names occurring in these books. The passages where the word is found are mentioned: the variations of the LXX are noted: the relations between them and similar ones in other O.T. books are traced: all the light derivable from cuneiform sources is used. Transcription, in this case, gives a better idea than translation. We therefore take the following from the list:—

> שַׁלְמִי N 7^{48}=שִׁמְלַי E 2^{46} Kĕt.; Kĕrē ebenfalls שַׁלְמַי, Mich. 'ש; α′ 5^{30} Συβαι, Net.-G. 'Salmaner werden im Targum die mit Kaleb verwandten Keniter bezeichnet, in nabatäischen Inschriften öfter mit den nabatäern verbunden; das beweist deutlich den ausländischen Ursprung dieser Tempelsklaven' (Wellh. *Prolegom.*[3] 225A.).

It would be easy to adduce many other evidences of the value of this careful, thorough, sober commentary.

J. Taylor.

Winchcombe.

The New Edition of Wendt's 'Teaching of Jesus.'[1]

Fifteen years have elapsed since the issue of the first (untranslated) part of Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*. The second, which appeared four years later, has reached, through the medium of the English translation, a very wide circulation in this country. The freshness and thoroughness of the work have been recognized on all sides. The author's theory of the sources of the Fourth Gospel was a most interesting and original contribution to N.T. criticism. The volume before us is a complete revision. The general standpoint, indeed, is largely the same. But there has been a considerable rearrangement of the material, and all important discussions of problems connected with the subject, which have appeared since the publication of the first edition, have been fully reckoned with. In no province of N.T. theology has there been more restless activity than in this. So that many of Wendt's paragraphs are completely new.

The main alteration in form concerns the criticism of the *Sources*. This occupied the first volume in the earlier edition. It is now contained in a brief introduction, consisting of only 49 pages. The change is a distinct improvement. Any elaborate treatment of the Synoptic problem must involve constant repetition of data and results which are to be found in numerous text-books and special discussions. It is quite sufficient, in the case of a work like the present, to have a survey of the main features of the author's general attitude towards the questions of Gospel-criticism, emphasis being laid only on those points at which he introduces important modifications of his own. Most space is given to the discussion of *Mark*. It is interesting, in view of such a *tour de force* as Wrede's *Messiasgeheimnis*, to read that 'the historical narratives of Mark give a picture which is psychologically and historically intelligible of the nature of Jesus' personal entrance on His career and of His working, as well as of the *course* of His public activity' (p. 9). No doubt Wendt is willing to concede that here and there the author of this Gospel was influenced by dogmatic conceptions. But in his judgment, 'Wrede exaggerates with unjustified scepticism the range and the significance of these unhistorical elements in Mark' (p. 620, note 2). The use of the so-called *Logia* of Matthew by our first and third evangelists is discussed in brief outline. Wendt concludes that these sections of the Gospels 'afford an extraordinarily rich and valuable collection of material belonging to the apostolic tradition' (p. 33). He is able to compress his treatment of the Gospel of John into small bulk, as he has quite recently published a separate investigation of its origin and historical value. His main purpose is to establish the hypothesis 'that our fourth evangelist derived the main constituents of the discourses from a written source' (p. 39). This source contains chiefly discourses given at Jerusalem or on journeyings to Jerusalem. These were inserted by the evangelist in historical settings in much the same fashion as *Matthew* and *Luke* inserted the Logia. The author of the source was John, the son of Zebedee. Whether this theory will gain any wide acceptance or not, it certainly strives to do justice to a group of remarkable phenomena which are dismissed with an unreasonable shallow-

[1] *Die Lehre Jesu.* Von H. H. Wendt. Qte. verbesserte Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1901. Pp. x, 640. Price 12s.

ness of treatment by most of the far-fetched speculations which seek to account for the origin of the Fourth Gospel.

As regards the main subject-matter of the work, we can do little more than note the differences of arrangement as between the old edition and the new.

The second and third sections of the present volume correspond precisely to the first and second of the former work, in which a whole volume took the place of the first section of the revised edition. Section four of the new book (= three in the old) shows various alterations. For the sake of comparison with the earlier edition, it may be worth while to give these in detail. The chapters under this section, which is entitled 'Jesus' Preaching concerning the Kingdom of God,' are as follow:—1. Jesus' View of God. 2. Relation of Jesus to O.T. Revelation (= 6 of ed. 1). 3. Eternal Life in the Kingdom of God. 4. Blessedness and the Possession of Salvation in the Present. 5. The Present Existence of the Kingdom of God. 6. The Conditions of Entrance into the Kingdom of God (= 7 of ed. 1). 7. Righteousness (= 4 of ed. 1). The titles of these chapters reveal the influence of recent discussions in N.T. theology. In the two remaining sections, fewer traces of recasting are visible. But enough has been done to keep the book on a level with any important results which have been reached in contemporary investigation. As an instance we may refer to Wendt's treatment of the Lord's Supper (pp. 566-569). Here we find several new paragraphs of great importance, which have been added in view of the controversies raised by such works as those of Jülicher, Spitta, Gardner, Eichhorn, and others. With reference to the question whether Jesus intended to institute a rite which should be repeated by His disciples, Wendt points to the differences of evidence among the sources, but he warns against the danger of inferring from the silence of *Mark* that St. Paul's statements do not accord with the original apostolic tradition. The decision will depend, he observes, in the last instance on the answer given to the question—Are there convincing reasons which make it inwardly improbable that Jesus desired a repetition of the meal in memory of Himself? He who is convinced that Jesus had no conception of a saving significance in His death will, of course, give an affirmative answer. 'But we must decide otherwise, if we consider it as well attested and wholly credible that in view of His death, Jesus, in His dependence on God, was certain of the beneficial effects of His death, and gave expression to this certainty in the words spoken at the Supper. . . . We must notice how little the disciples were disposed at that time . . . to enter into the thought of a violent death quickly approaching Him, far less to appreciate truly the inner necessity and saving value of His death. It is a masterpiece of Jesus' practical skill as a Teacher that in this situation He did not give them a piece of theoretical instruction, which they would not have correctly grasped, but spoke to them by means of an action which must stamp itself for ever on their memories' (pp. 568–569). This is sane and reasonable interpretation, and such is the tone of the discussion throughout. It stands in refreshing contrast to that futile theory-spinning which, at the present time, so often passes for historical investigation of the N.T.

H. A. A. Kennedy.

Callander.

Jastrow's 'Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens.'[1]

The second *Lieferung* of this great work has reached us. We have already described fully the relation of the German edition to the earlier English one (see last September number, p. 543 f.), and shown how the new edition is indispensable to students of the Babylonian and Assyrian religion, if they wish to be up to date. Hence on the present occasion all that is necessary is to indicate the contents of the present issue.

The account of the Babylonian Pantheon in the period prior to the Hammurabi dynasty is completed, chapter iv. closing the enumeration and characterization of the gods, while chapter v. deals with the much more subordinate consorts of these gods. Chapter vi. introduces us to the Pantheon of Gudea and other early rulers of Babylonia. Here we encounter the two *trinities*—Anu, Bel, Ea; and Sin, Shamash, Adad—as

[1] *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens.* Von Morris Jastrow, jun., Ph.D., Prof. d. semit. Sprachen a. d. Universität von Pennsylvanien (Philadelphia). Deutsche vollständig umgearbeitete Uebersetzung. Lieferung 2. Giessen: J. Ricker, 1902. Price (to subscribers for the whole work of 10 *Lieferungen*) M. 1.50.

well as the *great* gods who were the tutelary deities of the more important political centres of the country, and the *inferior* deities with their local cults in less important places. Finally, we reach in chapter viii. the Pantheon at the time of Hammurabi. The chapter commences appropriately with an account of Marduk, the tutelary deity of Babylon, and deals with a number of other divinities and the relations between them. This subject will be continued in the third *Lieferung*.

The Babel-Bibel Controversy.

Dr. A. Jeremias, the Assyriologist, has written a pamphlet which occupies something of a mediating position betwixt the assailants and the defenders of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch.[1] A considerable part of the pamphlet is devoted to an examination of Dr. Ed. König's brochure *Bibel und Babel*, to which we have more than once called attention as having done excellent service in setting the controversy in its true light. And we may say at once that our conviction of the strength of Dr. König's position has only been increased by reading the pamphlet before us. He may be right or wrong as to the meaning of some of the cuneiform inscriptions. Dr. Jeremias and other Assyriologists have a right to speak with authority on such points. But granted that the data derived from Babylonia are as Dr. Jeremias or even Professor Delitzsch contend, *the inferences based on these* in the famous lecture and in more recent utterances are utterly unwarranted. It needs no acquaintance with Assyriology to justify this assertion. Even Dr. Jeremias himself practically admits that Delitzsch is utterly untrustworthy when he turns from the sphere of Assyriology to that of theology. We say it with regret but without hesitation, that in his recent utterances on the Old Testament Professor Delitzsch betrays a superficiality and a want of imagination which are positively incredible, and Germany and England are forced into a new alliance of wonder at the attitude of his Imperial patron. To believe in a divine revelation does not mean what Professor Delitzsch appears to imagine; even the Mosaic law might be Divine without coming *en bloc* from heaven; we may cheerfully admit a Babylonian basis for much of the ritual and even the religious conceptions of Israel, without feeling at all compelled to deny the uniqueness of the latter.

To return to Dr. Jeremias. His pamphlet contains a great deal that is valuable, apart from its bearing on the *Babel-Bibel* controversy. It is interesting, by the way, to note that even a discussion of this kind cannot dispense with an allusion to the Boer war. When Sennacherib and other Assyrian monarchs fail to record their defeats, we are told that they are only anticipating the silence of the English telegrams regarding the reverses sustained by our arms in South Africa. We had always thought that the silence was on the other side. But Dr. Jeremias, like many of his countrymen, is better acquainted with ancient than with contemporary history, and much solid information will be derived from the study of his pamphlet.

[1] *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel: ein Wort zur Verständigung und Abwehr.* Von A. Jeremias. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903. Price 50 pfennigs.

Nowack's 'Handkommentar.'

No fewer than three issues of this series have reached us. The first is Gunkel's *Genesis*,[2] which has reached a second edition within the short period of twelve months, a circumstance which proves conclusively the interest that has been awakened by this somewhat unique commentary. We called attention fully to its character at the time the first addition appeared, so that a very few words may suffice here. Several changes in the typical arrangement of text and notes have been introduced, which will probably be felt to be improvements. Account is taken throughout of criticisms of the work, both friendly and hostile, and suggestions that appeared worthy of acceptance have been readily adopted. But essentially, especially in regard to its ruling principles, the work remains the same, and in its new form will no doubt continue to command the attention it deserves.

The second is Nowack's commentary on *Samuel*,[3]

[2] *Genesis übersetzt und erklärt.* Von H. Gunkel. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1902. Price M.9.80.

[3] *Die Bücher Samuelis übersetzt und erklärt.* Von W. Nowack. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1902. Price M.5.80.

which, it is needless to say, is marked by all the excellences we expect from such a scholar. The Book (for of course the division into two books is unknown to the Hebrew text) of Samuel is divided by Nowack into three main sections: (1) 1 S 1–15, from Eli to the rejection of Saul. (2) 1 S 16–2 S 8, Saul and David. (3) 2 S 9–20, incidents that happened after Jerusalem had become the capital. 2 S 21–24 are of course treated as a later Appendix.

The text of Samuel is well known to be the most faulty in the Old Testament, with the single exception of that of Ezekiel. We have a valuable chapter on this subject from Nowack, who subjects the views of Löhr to close examination, and shows, we think most satisfactorily, how ill-founded these are.—That the Book of Samuel is not a unity is universally agreed, and there is coming to be essential harmony among critics regarding its analysis and the sources that are to be recognized. Whatever view be held as to the relation of the latter to those present in the Hexateuch, whether with Budde and others we believe that J, E, etc., are present in both, there is a growing willingness to recognize in the Book of Samuel the result of the work of these 'schools,' and to use the terms J, E, etc., at least conventionally. On this point Nowack is in substantial agreement with Budde.—The chapter on the significance of the Book of Samuel from the point of view of the History of Religion is not the least valuable, while the commentary proper is equally concise and thorough.

The third commentary is that of Kittel on *Chronicles*,[1] which will receive all the heartier welcome, as many have already made profitable acquaintance with the same author's edition of this book in Haupt's *S.B.O.T.* The Introduction sets before us the relation of Chronicles to Ezra-Nehemiah, and explains clearly the nature of the *midrashic* literature, of which our book is a representative. The sources are carefully discussed, and the imposing catalogue of authorities that can be compiled from the Chronicler's own references is reduced, rightly we think, to two or three, a Book of Kings (not the canonical book), a great *midrash* on the history of the monarchical period, and the canonical Book of Isaiah (without chaps. 40–66). The Chronicler, the author of the book in its present form, had two Levitical predecessors. His own work was accomplished *c.* 300 B.C., although some touches were given to it by a later hand in the course of the 3rd century B.C.

The genealogies with which the book swarms are treated with much skill and patience, and with results that often have an important bearing on the history. We are interested to note that the views contended for in Professor Rothstein's recent work on the genealogy of king Jehoiachin receive considerable sympathy. A large diagram at the end of the volume will be found helpful in elucidating the somewhat conflicting and complicated accounts of the genealogy of Judah in 1 Ch 2 and 4.

[1] *Die Bücher der Chronik übersetzt und erklärt.* Von R. Kittel. Mit einer Tabelle. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1902. Price M.4.

Miscellaneous.

Lic. W. Riedel of Griefswald has published a volume of *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (Liepzig: A. Deichert; price M.2) dedicated to Professor Klostermann. The contents are extremely varied. The opening discussion on the Marriage of Hosea contains a plausible theory, which, if we could adopt it, would get rid of some of the difficulties that beset both the allegorical and the realistic interpretation of the incident.—The interpretation of Jareb as 'the great king' will, we are persuaded, hold the field.—Riedel's contribution to the discussion of the real character of our present Book of Amos will help to elucidate a problem whose solution is not yet.—We wish we could speak more favourably of our author's views on the religion and ritual of Israel, and on such questions as the origin of the Sabbath. On the latter question especially we are persuaded he claims too much for Israel and allows too little to Babylon, thus playing really into the hands of men like Delitzsch and Winckler. Notwithstanding some blemishes of this kind, the book will be felt by Old Testament students to be a distinct acquisition. It never allows the reader's interest to flag, and its author is beyond all question a skilful exegete.

The 3rd and 4th Hefte of last year's *Der Alte Orient* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; price of each Heft 60 pfennigs) are devoted respectively to 'Die Aramäer' and 'Die Gesetze Hammurabis.' The

first is by Dr. Albert Šanda, and contains in small compass a complete account of what we know of the different branches of the Aramæans, their migrations, their language and civilization, the inscriptions left by them, etc.—The recently discovered Code of Ḫammurabi has excited widespread interest, and much will yet be heard of it. Winckler has done well to hasten into the field with this translation, although English-speaking students will, by the time this notice is read by them, have in their hands a version of the Code by one who in the department of Babylonian law is a higher authority than Winckler, and whose translation will come to be recognized as the standard one, Mr. C. H. W. Johns of Cambridge.

We have been much interested in the perusal of the first number of a new German monthly periodical, *Die Studierstube*, edited by Lic. Dr. J. Boehmer. Paradoxical as it may sound, the multitude of theological periodicals that are already in existence is the best justification for the launching of this new undertaking, which is meant especially to be the pastor's magazine. It being manifestly impossible for a hard-working pastor to read a tithe of the theological literature of the day, and the existing periodicals being for the most part either too specializing or too partisan to be of general utility, Dr. Boehmer feels considerable confidence that this periodical will appeal to all pastors who have common ground in Mt 18^{20}, as well as in $7^{13.\,14}$ and Ph $3^{12\text{-}14}$. Its object will be to keep readers informed of all theological and philosophical currents, to keep them in touch with the science and literature of the day, and, above all, to treat everything from a *practical* point of view. The magazine, which is to appear during the first half of each month, is published by Greiner & Pfeiffer of Stuttgart; it contains 48 pages, and costs 60 pfennigs a number, or M. 1.60 quarterly. The contents of the opening number are very varied and of uniform interest. Besides the editor's full statement of the plan and purpose of the periodical, we have an article on 'Die Studierstube: 1. Eine Arbeitsstube,' followed by an interesting paper on 'Die Griechische Bibel' by Professor A. Deissmann of Heidelberg. Then comes 'Die Bedeutung der Philosophie für die Gegenwart' by Dr. Fr. Mohr. Not the least important article is that of Pastor Mayer of Jüterbog on 'Die modernen Predigtideale und die Aufgabe des evangelischen Predigtamtes.' The other articles are on 'Die Mission in der Studierstube' by Pfarrer Grundemann; 'In der Studierstube': 1. by Pfarrer Förtsch; 'Für den Arbeitstisch.' Finally, under the heading 'Zeugnisse von Arbeit- und Streitgenossen,' we have a number of notable utterances on important questions culled from the principal theological periodicals.

We shall watch with much interest and with the best wishes the fortunes of this new venture, which appears to us to have really discovered a hitherto unoccupied field. J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Notes on 'The Best Bible Commentaries.'

OLD TESTAMENT.

In The Expository Times for January and February there appeared articles on the best commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, and the Editor promised at the conclusion of the second article to write some notes on both. In now seeking to fulfil that promise he wishes first of all to recognize the service which Mr. Bond, borough librarian of Woolwich, has rendered to scholarship in procuring the lists and preparing them for the press. His immediate purpose was to assist fellow-librarians in their task of selection, but he has assisted many others also. The Editor wishes to say further that he believes no better method could have been employed for making sure that the lists should be unbiassed and representative. Whatever criticisms he ventures upon will be read in that light.

Genesis.—Spurrell's *Notes on the Text of the Book of Genesis* is the best *student's* edition, using the word in its strictest sense. Spurrell depends too much on Dillmann in his exegesis, but his book makes a very good discipline. There is a real

surprise under this heading. Dods' commentary on Genesis in the 'Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students' is far more useful than his volume in the 'Expositor's Bible,' and it costs but 2s. The 'Handbooks' series, unequal, but in some instances unexcelled, is never mentioned in the lists, a quite unaccountable omission. Dods' *Genesis* should itself have made the series known even to the severe scholars who have compiled the lists. It is historical and it is spiritual.

NUMBERS.—Buchanan Gray's edition in the 'International Critical' series is almost ready; it will at once supersede the two books named.

SAMUEL.—Kirkpatrick's *Samuel* in the 'Cambridge Bible' is in two volumes at 2s. net each.

KINGS.—Francis Brown of New York has *Kings* in hand for the 'International Critical,' it is nearly ready. And Curtis is well advanced with his *Chronicles*. The historical books are weak in the 'Speaker,' and it proves the value of the lists that 'S.C.' is rarely mentioned in this part. Even Rawlinson's *Esther* scarcely deserves its place.

PSALMS.—The best edition of Delitzsch is Hodder & Stoughton's (3 vols. 22s. 6d.). Cheyne is more useful than Perowne now. He has a new edition nearly ready, but we shall retain the old edition till we see. Wellhausen's edition of the Psalter in the 'Polychrome Bible' should have gained votes enough; it is the richest volume of that scholarly series. Briggs has the Book of Psalms in hand for the 'International Critical': he knows the Psalter well. Notice that Kirkpatrick's *Psalms* may now be had in one volume (6s. net).

PROVERBS.—Add Plumptre in 'S.C.' by all means. Perowne in the 'C.B.' is 2s. net, not 3s. net.

ECCLESIASTES.—Delitzsch is better than Wright. And for the serious student Tyler (Nutt, 6s. net) is better than either. Add an American commentary, Strong's (Hunt & Eaton, 12s.), an exhaustive commentary in every sense of the word.

SONG OF SOLOMON.—Harper's in the 'Cambridge Bible' is now ready (1s. 6d. net), a fine piece of scholarship and good judgment.

ISAIAH.—Cheyne's edition in the 'P.B.' series is more recent and more 'studious' than the one named, but is to be used only for supplementing or correcting. A. B. Davidson had *Isaiah* in the 'International Critical Commentary,' and it was practically ready when he died. It may be expected very soon. Barnes has edited the first part of Isaiah (i.–xxxix.) for Methuen's 'Churchman's Bible' (2s.), a good popular book.

EZEKIEL.—This is the only blank in the lists. Davidson's edition in the 'Cambridge Bible' no doubt serves the student as well as the general reader. But an American commentary by Cobern (Hunt & Eaton) might well have been taken to fill the void. Why not mention Toy in the 'P.B.' series? It deserves more votes than would have secured it a place.

DANIEL.—Pusey is named here and throughout the Minor Prophets. That is a mistake. His method is wholly antiquated, and whatever of spiritual worth he contains is better found in other books. Let him be consulted by all means, but he is neither for students nor for the people. Fuller in the 'Speaker's Commentary' might have been named.

HOSEA.—Orelli (6s.) is the best commentary on the Minor Prophets in one volume.

ZECHARIAH.—Wright's is scarcely a commentary. The student should use Lowe (Macmillan, 10s. 6d.), who works on the Hebrew. On the popular side, Dods is the best book for Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (*The Postexilian Prophets* in the 'Handbooks' series, 2s.). It is one of Dods' earliest books, but it is the kind of book that scarcely can be superseded.

On the New Testament part there is more to be said.

Enduring for Education.

By the Rev. G. A. Johnston Ross, M.A., Cambridge.

'It is for education that ye endure.' Εἰς παιδείαν ὑπομένετε.—Heb. xii. 7.

The first clause of this verse is rendered in our Authorized Version: 'If ye endure chastening': but the Revisers, reading from a text differing only by one letter from the Received Text, translate the clause as a separate principal sentence: 'It is for chastening that ye endure.'

The change is of very great interest to a Bible student; for, under its new guise, the clause aspires to be in condensed form a theory of the purpose of life—'it is for chastening that ye endure'[1]—and a most forbidding and sombre theory it looks. 'Chastening' is a word of most dismal associations; and I suppose most of us, with a sense of personal detachment from the subject, would define 'chastening' as the effect which trouble and reverses are supposed to have upon religious people in the way of producing a resigned and submissive condition of mind. To tell a young man in the name of religion that he 'endures for chastening' would, I imagine, be the surest way to alienate his sympathies from the religion which issued such depressing memoranda.

But in point of fact the word 'chastening' does serious injustice to the Greek word which it professes to translate. That word is *παιδεία*; a word which, although in its appropriation by New Testament writers it does sometimes take on a more sombre colour than it had in its pagan days (owing doubtless to the sharpened sense which the New Testament writers possessed of the evil that is in the world), is nevertheless the ordinary Greek word for *education*.

Possibly *discipline* is the translation which would best conserve the original atmosphere of the word, while introducing the element of sternness which the Christian conception and experience of life demanded. And if we read, 'It is for discipline that ye endure,' already something of the sombreness, if not all of the severity, has been eliminated from the sentence. But in point of fact there is nothing to hinder the atmosphere from being lightened still farther, nothing to hinder us from accepting the translation, 'It is for education that ye endure.'

Of course it will still depend on our definition of 'education' whether this view of life shall or shall not commend itself to us. Happily we are not in the first instance called upon to supply a definition of education; but rather to inquire what the word *παιδεία* stood for when it was carried over from pagan usage and implanted in Christian literature. And here we come at once upon a fact which in the meantime will yield us all we need to remember. It is notorious that among the Greek philosophers views upon education were prevalent which were greatly in advance of the views until quite recently held among ourselves. And in particular there are two directions in which we have lately been modifying our ideas of education, bringing them more into line with ancient Greek ideas.

First, the idea has come to be generally accepted that education consists in the drawing out of the powers of a child or youth, rather than in cramming him with information. That is a salutory reversion to the conception of Plato, who in this connexion uses the word ὁλκή—a constraining or drawing out of the faculties of the mind. And next, the public mind has been of late years impressed by the idea that education involves the development of all the faculties and powers in harmony. The elements into which an old-fashioned philosophy divided up our nature are felt to act and react upon one another; it is felt, therefore, that the nature must be dealt with as a whole; the information and discipline of the mind (once regarded as nearly the whole of education) being now supplemented by attention to the body, by training in taste, by care of the condition of the moral sensibilities, by calling out a sense of responsibility, and so forth. This more comprehensive view of education is also in harmony with the old Greek view. Plato speaks out with contempt of head knowledge merely.

[1] The verb *ὑπομένω* may be either active or neuter. As a neuter verb, it may mean no more than to continue (with the thought of perseverance).

'Education in the real sense,' he says, 'is that education in virtue from youth upwards, which makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal perfection of being a perfect citizen, and teaches him both how rightly to rule and how to obey. That is the only education,' he goes on warmly, 'which upon our view deserves the name. The other sort of training which aims at mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice is mean and illiberal, and is not worthy to be called education at all.' It is, then, with something of this connotation,—namely, of calling out and developing harmoniously all the powers of the nature,—that the word παιδεία was carried over into the Christian mind. There the word underwent — was bound to undergo—considerable modification. (α) Under the influence of the new thoughts of our relation to God which were introduced by Jesus Christ, the end of education came to be conceived and expressed, not in terms of self-culture, but of *the fulfilment of the purposes of God*; and (β) that purpose being that we should become partakers of His own character, a new emphasis was laid on the *moral* aspects of education, and whatsoever assisted to tear up the moral evil in the heart and check the immoral tendencies of our dispositions was conceived as a specially effective instrument of education. Hence, the experience of the stress of life, the delay of cherished hopes, the endurance of the winnowing process of tribulation—these things were regarded as peculiarly educative, if rightly used. Thus a certain air of sternness and stringency came to surround the word education, but without obliterating its original meaning.

Here then, in the rough, is an idea of that education for which, according to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we are allowed to 'endure'; it is the calling out into activity, and perfecting in harmony, of every faculty in us,—the strengthening and disciplining of the intellectual powers, the stimulating and directing of the sympathies, the reinforcement of conscience, the training of the will, and the due discipline of the body that it may be made the servant of worthy purposes,—all with the view of the production of a character marked, as God's is, by the free choice of what is good.

It is for this sort of education that we endure; all life is its opportunity and furnishes its material.

It is evident that as we look round upon our life we see much that seems to support this view, that things are so ordered as to provide for the training and education of our faculties. Take for example the training of our *intellects*. In any department in which we crave knowledge, we find, in the scheme of things around us, the facts or forces or ideas with which we shall have to deal so ordered as to provoke and stimulate investigation. We never find them already ordered and classified like the specimens in a museum; but scattered about like wildflowers in a beautiful and tempting chaos—a chaos charged with the potentiality of order. This is equally true, whether the realm be that of what we call the natural sciences, or the realm of history, or of the human mind; everywhere there is *prima facie* the same inviting disorder, the same suggestion of the possibility of order,—the same summons, therefore, and stimulus to the human intellect. Or take again the training of our *bodies*. We find in point of fact that the disposition and distribution of the resources of nature, and the effect of our environment upon us, are so arranged as to encourage us to the observance of those practices which make for the preservation of the body in health. Our food, for the most part, comes to us through such conditions as make for the securing, in the discipline of *work*, of precisely that which is most calculated to make the food useful for the body's development.

Or, once more, take the direction and regulation of our *desires*. We find, as a matter of fact, as life spreads out before and on either side of us, that the facts and observed laws around us do at once so call out desire, yet warn from its immoderate or untimely indulgence, that we find ourselves directly encouraged to the healthful control and regulation of desire.

On the face of it, then, life *looks like* a place of education, a school for the orderly development of our powers and faculties; and even if a man had no 'religion,' yet if he use life in this way, he will not only enjoy a certain detachment from life's present ills, but he will become increasingly persuaded that there must be a life beyond this present, where the results of the training received here will be gathered up.

But the fact is, that it is only under the influence of the Christian faith that this conception of life's purpose as educative really flourishes. And

the reasons are not far to seek. For one thing, the coming of Christ made much clearer to men the *purpose* of God with human life, and involved especially a revelation of the eternal life in which the purpose is to be fulfilled. In Christ men perceived a new light thrown upon God, upon His design for men, upon the sphere of the fulfilment of that design. When Christ had come, bearing God in upon human life, and illustrating and enforcing in His own programme of work the earnest, age-long solicitude of God ('My Father worketh hitherto, and I work'), there was no longer any doubt among those to whom Christ successfully appealed for allegiance and co-operation, that their lives were within the stream of a Divine Purpose, and moving to its fulfilment. Plato, despite his enlightenment, was never quite sure whether we were here for a definite purpose, or were simply playthings of the Higher powers. But to the Christian who had been baptized into Christ, the heavens had been opened, and the purpose of God revealed. Henceforth life was a school of training, an expectation, a hope; God was dealing with men as with sons. The adulthood was in the glorious hereafter.

It was not Christ's *teaching* only that wrought this change of view, it was still more His *Person*. In that Person the purpose of God was illustrated. He contrasted with men not only as good with sinful, but as perfect with imperfect. In Him these powers were seen in full development, which in men labour under imperfection. *Intellect* was seen in Him in stupendous strength: after twenty centuries the intellect of Christ is still the wonder of the world. *Sympathy* was in Him unequalled in range and penetration, yet under perfect control. The *will* was in Him the equally ready minister of the exercise of power or of power's restraint. The *body* was wholly the servant of the spirit for holy uses. In these and other ways, Christ stood before men the incarnation, if I may so speak, of the highest results of education, the norm of what man in full development should be.

For men felt that He shone in this completeness not for His own sake but for theirs; that He was the 'ultimate symbol of Humanity,' and when He had passed from earth men said to one another, thinking of Christ, '*That* is what God would have us be. Did not the Lord say, "Learn of Me?" Well, let us to life's school, patiently: it is for education that we endure.'

And from that day to this, men have found that to have a living connexion with Christ is to become better educated men: whether by book paths or by the straighter if more shadowed prayer path, every man who follows Christ makes his way to a real lore, and receives, in place of the narrowness of interest and sympathy which marks the illiterate man, the 'abundant' overflowing life, which is the genuine stamp of education.

To have book-learning only, without the expansion of the whole disposition towards magnanimity of judgment and catholicity of interest and sympathy, is to be poor indeed. But to learn of Christ is to have every faculty trained and developed, to have unsuspected and unused powers called out, to gain width of outlook, maturity of judgment upon men and movements, reasonableness of hope, and progressive self-conquest.

The time for laying the foundations of this matchless learning is the experimental years of youth; and he who applies himself to the instruction of the Master in these first years, is the man most likely to make the most enviable progress. But still, all life is this education's opportunity; and there is a message of encouragement for those whose meridian of energy and ambition is long past in the words, 'It is for education that ye endure.' For, if the lessons were over, would not the wise Master have released the scholar? Something then has still to be learned. 'Now I am beginning to be a learner,' said S. Ignatius as he was led to martyrdom. Up to the very last, then, we may learn. Nay, it is then we begin to learn, or rather begin to pass from learning to real knowledge. *Now we know in part; then we shall know even as we have been known.* In that knowledge shall be our eternal life.

It is for education, then, that we endure. God dealeth with us as with sons. Already then, it appears, we are the sons of God: it is not yet manifest what we shall be. Our coming adulthood, our fulness of knowledge, is veiled. We only know that when Christ, our unseen Educator, who is forming us—mind, heart, and will—for God, shall be manifested, we shall be *like Him*; for we shall see Him as He is. And our education then will be complete.

At the Literary Table.

THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY.

Hodder & Stoughton, 10s. 6d.

Principal Lindsay has written a living and convincing book. There are those who will not be persuaded that a theological discussion can ever be made to live. They may be preachers, but they shrug their shoulders at theology. They find their sermons in idyls. If they *would* read this book they would receive the greatest surprise of their lives. Then there are those who already have their minds made up about the Church and its Ministry. They were born with their minds made up. And no book will convince them that they are wrong. This is a living and convincing book to the rest.

What is Dr. Lindsay's position? How he understands the ministry of the Apostolic Church, and how he conceives the change came about which the second century discloses, may both be seen in one paragraph on page 170. This is the paragraph: 'To understand the change in the ministry of the local churches it is to be kept in mind that at the close of the first century every local church had at its head a college or senate or session of rulers, who were called by the technical name of elders, and were also known by names which indicated the kind of work they had to do—pastors, overseers (ἐπίσκοποι). This was the ministry of oversight. To each congregation there was also attached a body of men who rendered "subordinate service," and who were called deacons—but whether they formed part of the college of elders, or were formed into a separate college of their own, it is not easy to say. The change made consisted in placing at the head of this college of rulers one man, who was commonly called either the pastor or the bishop, the latter name being the more usual, and apparently the technical designation. The ministry of each congregation or local church instead of being, as it had been, twofold—of elders and deacons,—became threefold—of pastor or bishop, elders, and deacons. This was the introduction of what is called the threefold ministry.'

The characteristic feature of the book is the frequency with which Dr. Lindsay's experience among mission stations abroad is used to illustrate early Christian ways of working. When Sohm and Loening differ irreconcilably upon the authority of the Christian Prophet, Dr. Lindsay says, 'Six months spent in watching a missionary at work would have taught them how to combine their views.' And when he finds himself unable to reject the Pastoral Epistles with Harnack, 'while I gratefully acknowledge,' he says, 'Dr. Harnack as the greatest living authority on early Church history, I never read what he has to say about the two subjects of gnosticism and ecclesiastical organization without longing that he could spend a few months in the mission field where aggressive work is being done among educated pagans, whose minds are full of the same curious Oriental faiths and their allied philosophies as were present to the earliest Christian converts in the first and second centuries.'

BABYLON AND THE BIBLE.

S.P.C.K., 7s. 6d.

The words 'Babylon and the Bible' have acquired a notoriety through Professor Delitzsch's lecture before the Emperor of Germany and what has followed it. The controversy has been very keen; it has occasionally just balanced itself between keenness and ferocity, but it has done some good. It has shown that responsible Old Testament criticism may be relied upon in the shock of unbelief. It has revealed the folly of the attempt to buttress the Old Testament with cuneiform tablets. And it has led very many persons to ask what *is* the contribution to the study of the Old Testament which the monuments afford.

That question is best answered by Dr. Theophilus Pinches' new book. Its full title is *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*. Dr. Pinches has two particular claims on our regard. He is as competent an Assyrian scholar as lives, and he has no controversial axe to grind. It is surprising that one who has been so prominently identified with monumental scholarship should have been able to keep himself so completely apart from strife. He is not unconcerned whether the monuments confirm or contradict Old Testament criticism, but he considers it his special business to tell us what the monuments say. And one cannot help

feeling that if other men had held their hand till they knew what the monuments had to say, our knowledge and use of the Old Testament would have been farther forward than it is.

Dr. Pinches works down the Bible from the Creation. He misses nothing. He translates the tablets as he goes, and gives us the opportunity of forming our own judgment of their value and relevance. But he contrives also to carry forward a history of Babylonia in its relations with Israel, so that those who are more interested in ancient history than in Old Testament difficulties will also enjoy his book. And after all, it is very little that the monuments can do either in making or in solving Old Testament difficulties. To make them a department of Apologetics is to mistake their use. Dr. Pinches shows how much they contribute to the early history of Religion. For that we should be thankful, and with that content.

The publishers have done well by the book. It is an attractive volume. Its illustrations are well chosen and make a truthful impression on the eye.

THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

Scribners, 1902.

Professor W. Adams Brown of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, has written a remarkable book under the title of *The Essence of Christianity*. It is remarkable for its thoroughness and its lucidity. The subject is one of urgent importance, but it is not yet sufficiently popular to make popular writing upon it easy. Nor is it yet sufficiently studied to make a thorough investigation of all its bearings light. Dr. Adams Brown is wide awake to the movements of modern thought. He sees that the very existence of Christianity depends on an understanding—a wide and a reliable understanding—of its essence. And he has given himself to his difficult task without reserve.

After showing the importance of a scientific definition of Christianity, and where to go to find it, he begins his historical investigation. What did the ancient Church consider the essential thing in Christianity? Wherein did the Reformation find the greatness of Christianity to lie? What has modern thought discovered—Schleiermacher, Hegel, Ritschl? And then he gathers the whole of his findings together and sets down his definition.

Two tendencies reveal themselves. On the one hand, there are those who emphasize the supernatural character of Christianity and magnify the contrast between it and other religions; on the other hand, those who lay stress upon the points of resemblance between Christianity and other religions, and claim supremacy for the former because it realizes a universal ideal. The great theological problem for the future is the reconciliation of these two divergent views.

The book is as opportune and as able as recent American scholarship has given us.

POLITICS AND RELIGION.

Maclehose, 2 vols, 21s. net.

The title of Mr. Mathieson's work is not well chosen. It suggests a volume of essays rather than a work of history, and we fear the book will suffer for it. The reviewer must do his best to counteract the mistake and let it be known that Mr. Mathieson has written a serious competent unbiassed narrative of that period of Scottish history which lies between the Reformation and the Revolution.

It is an ecclesiastical period. But Mr. Mathieson is no ecclesiastic. His history is an ecclesiastical history written by a 'secular,' if the word may be used. His hero is not Wishart, nor Knox, but the unecclesiastical Maitland. The best picture in the book, indeed, is just the picture of Maitland. He believes that Knox never really had Scotland with him, never had more than a small band of excessive Protestants with him. It was circumtances that made Knox the Reformer of Scotland. 'To say that Knox founded the Reformed Church is no doubt true, but only in the sense that the Reformed Church, as he founded it, had its origin in dissent . . . Knox, in fact, was the first dissenter; and we shall find his spiritual progeny dissenting, abjuring, and protesting at every stage of the Church's history . . . whatever it might be in form—and it was not till the eighteenth century that dissent could be openly avowed—the Knoxian Church was essentially the Church of a minority; and thus we are confronted with the singular paradox that the man, whose ideal was a theocracy, a *Civitas Dei*, has become a parent of schism, the father of Scottish dissent.'

Maitland of Lethington is Mr. Mathieson's hero. And Maitland is worthy of hero-worship.

His cynicism, he says, was merely his natural gaiety, 'which had lost its sweetness at the breath of [Knox's] unreason.' Naturally, he says, he was a gay and a genial man, who could recommend love-making even to Cecil as a sovereign remedy for all ills. Yet Maitland was neither a cynic nor an elegant trifler, but a man thoroughly in earnest, who had set his ideal before him early, as Knox had done, and followed it with unwavering resolution to the end.

Of the Reformation itself Mr. Mathieson says that it was no friend to the culture of the Renaissance. How could a movement be such which set the corruption of man's whole nature in the centre of its dogma? Yet it seemed for a time to advance the intellectual progress of mankind. For the first Reformers claimed the right to test the dogmas of the Church by the use of their own faculties and the standard of Scripture. As soon, however, as they had thus formed a system of theology of their own, they made it as binding on the conscience of their followers as the Catholic system had been. 'To some minds, with strong Hellenic sympathies, the Reformation has appeared merely as a sullen and angry sea rolling between us and the sunlit shores of the Renaissance.' Mr. Mathieson is none of these. But he does regret that Europe was too far gone in moral deterioration to be regenerated by Erasmus instead of Luther.

Thus Mr. Mathieson has a clear conception of his work. He never fails to make his meaning clear. Be in sympathy with him or out of sympathy, you at least know what he believes in, and like Knox and Maitland he pursues it to the end.

THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA.

Funk & Wagnalls.

With the third volume, one-fourth part of this great undertaking is already accomplished. The third volume offers the opportunity of estimating the value of *The Jewish Encyclopedia* as neither of its predecessors did. It covers a more critical space of the alphabet, it embraces more searching subjects.

The first great subject is BIBLE. It is divided into BIBLE CANON, of which the traditional part is written by Professor Ludwig Blau of Budapest, and the untraditional by Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University; BIBLE EDITIONS, written by Professor Richard Gottheil (a member of the Editorial Board), and well illustrated; BIBLE EXEGESIS, of which the Jewish part is written by Professor W. Bacher of Budapest, and the Modern and Non-Jewish part by Professor J. F. McCurdy of Toronto; BIBLE MANUSCRIPTS (still more handsomely illustrated), written by Librarian I. Broydé of New York; BIBLE IN MOHAMMEDAN LITERATURE, by Professor Duncan MacDonald of Hartford Theological Seminary; BIBLE TRANSLATIONS, written by Professor Gottheil; and BIBLE ETHNOLOGY, by Professor Benzinger of Berlin. Other subdivisions to be treated elsewhere in the work are BIBLE CONCORDANCES, BIBLE DICTIONARIES, BIBLE INSPIRATION, POLYGLOT BIBLES, and BIBLE TEXTS.

Does this extraordinary exhaustiveness outrun the scholarship? It cannot be said that it does. Bacher, Benzinger, McCurdy, and Blau, whom we know, could not put out inferior work. The slight suspicion which the advertisement of the undertaking raised—the suspicion of 'popularity'—vanishes entirely and forever with the study of this volume.

But the question is, what service does *The Jewish Encyclopedia* render to non-Jewish scholarship? We ought to be interested in all things Jewish, and many of us are much more interested than our fathers seem to have been. But if this book is, so to speak, merely a domestic concern, its immense size and exhaustiveness will only the more certainly warn us away from it. Our interest in things Jewish will not run to twelve enormous volumes.

The answer is that the purely biblical articles are not so full nor so convenient as those which may be found in the Dictionaries of the Bible, but whenever our study of the Bible touches things Rabbinic, this book becomes indispensable. There is the article on the CABALA, for example. It occupies twenty-four pages; it is clear and trustworthy; all that a student of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures needs to know will be found in it, and found nowhere else so conveniently; and yet there is not enough of it to weary or perplex. For such an article this Encyclopedia is indispensable. There are many such articles.

It may be well to mention further that the specially Jewish study of the Old Testament which we find here (and also, though to a less extent, the study of the New Testament), every now and then brings to light something that is both new

and true. The New Testament work is of less value because its attitude is sometimes independent of both textual and historical criticism, as when Caiaphas is made to say that it was expedient that one man should die for the people, not on the occasion reported in Jn 11^{49-52}, but on the occasion of the Jewish trial which preceded the Crucifixion —a bold or a careless misinterpretation of Jn 18^{14}. Just here, however (it is the article on CAIAPHAS by Professor Krauss of Budapest), is mentioned the curious fact that the famous saying of Caiaphas is found also among the Rabbis.

Books of the Month.

Mr. Allenson has published: (1) *Talks to Children on Bunyan's Holy War*, by Charles Brown (2s. 6d.); (2) *Man in the Net*, by J. Scott (6d.); *The Church of the New Testament, the Presbyterate*, by the Rev. William Paterson (3s. 6d.). The first of these books needs no explanation; the second defies all explanation; the third is dry but determined, a convinced presentation of the case of Presbytery.

Messrs. Brodie & Salmond of Arbroath have published a Memorial Sketch of Andrew Byers, a greatly beloved Langholm evangelist. Its title is *A Bright Border Sunset* (6d.). The book is illustrated for the eye, and it abounds in such illustrations for the mind as preachers and teachers are always glad to be guided to.

THE MESSAGES OF ISRAEL'S LAW-GIVERS. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D. (*Clarke*, 3s. 6d.).—The peculiar title of this book is due to the fact of its belonging to a most useful series entitled 'The Messages of the Bible.' Its purpose will be understood from the sub-title, 'The Laws of the Old Testament codified, arranged in order of growth, and freely rendered in paraphrase.' Useful as the series is, this is its most useful volume. Nowhere else will the meaning of the word 'Law,' as it applies to the Old Testament, be so easily understood. And to understand the word 'Law' is to understand the Old Testament. There is a double arrangement. The laws are separated according to source, and they are grouped according to character. Almost at a glance one can see how the Old Testament attempts to deal with crime, with property, with war, and with humanity; while another glance shows whether a law is primitive, Deuteronomic, or priestly. Very great care has been given to eliminate error, and very great care was needed in so complicated and delicate a subject of study.

MAZZINI. By Bolton King, M.A. (*Dent*, 5s.).—'There is but one virtue, the eternal sacrifice of self.' The words are George Sand's. Mazzini 'delighted to repeat them.' They might have been made his epitaph.

'Whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if I have ever seen such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind, one of those rare men, numerable unfortunately but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls; who in silence, piously in their daily life, understand and practise what is meant by that.' These words are Carlyle's. He sent a letter to the *Times*, when loose tongues in England and everywhere were wagging against Mazzini,—it was after the Bandiera tragedy, —and that is what the letter contained. Mazzini always knew that martyrdom was what Italy needed of him. 'He was always asking himself why it was that Christianity had succeeded, and why a movement that had so much in common with it, the movement for the social and political redemption of the people, had failed. He found his answer in the fact that the French Revolution had missed the spiritual power that made Christianity triumphant. The Revolution had appealed to men's selfish and personal interests, their rights, their desire for happiness.

This volume belongs to Mr. Dugald Macfadyen's series of 'Temple Biographies.' It is made up of two parts, the first part describing the life of Mazzini, the second his opinions. The only fault to find with the Life is that it takes too much knowledge of Mazzini for granted. The Opinions are gathered under great headings like Religion, Duty, the State; and the difficult task is magnificently accomplished. In short, with the requisite previous knowledge, this is the Book of Mazzini.

JESUS THE JEW. By Harris Weinstock. (*Funk & Wagnalls*). — The new attitude of

progressive Judaism to Christianity has roused much attention if it has not created much hope. This is the book in which to see what the movement means. Rabbi Weinstock is something of a phenomenon, but he is not alone. Few stand in the front with him, but he has a considerable company behind. He has no intention of becoming a Christian: 'Let the Christian,' he says, 'in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, continue to preach Jesus as the Divine Man who lived humanly, and let the Jew learn to look upon Him as the human Man who lived divinely.' But it tends to unity, surely, to say such things. And Rabbi Weinstock goes even so far as to say that 'without Judaism Christianity would have had no foundation; without Christianity, the spirit of Judaism would have wielded no universal influence.'

THE ART OF BEING HAPPY. By the Rev. Charles A. Hall. (*A. Gardner*).—Such titles are usually titles and nothing more. Mr. Hall's book is better than his title. It is written in terse, well-chosen language, it is sustained by independent thinking, it is sincere and impressive enough to lead us to the cultivation of the art it advocates. Perhaps it is not superficial enough to be very popular, nor is it mystical enough to be wept over by the few. But there are earnest men and women who will find it out.

HYMNS OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH. By the Rev. John Brownlie. (*A. Gardner*, 3s. 6d. net).—The hymns are very well, but the best part of the book is its Introduction, which gives an account of the creed and worship of the Greek Church.

There is a cheap (1s. each) series of books in theology which seems to have escaped its proper recognition yet. The title is 'Christian Study Manuals.' Mr. R. E. Welsh is the Editor and Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton the publishers. The two volumes of the series which have most recently been issued are so good a blending of scholarship and popularity that they should compel attention to the whole series. The one is entitled *The Master and His Method*, and is written by E. Griffith-Jones; the other is called *The Scene of our Lord's Life*; its author is Dr. Waddy Moss.

MY LIFE-WORK. By Samuel Smith, M.P. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 5s. net).—Mr. Samuel Smith is quite of Dr. Binney's opinion that we should make the best of both worlds. With unwavering assurance (the word is theological, not offensive) he 'reads his title clear to mansions in the skies,' and he prepares for occupation by the fullest and most varied experience of this life. He has been, or is, merchant, traveller, man of science, statesman, theologian, social economist, and philanthropist. And into each of these occupations he has thrown his whole soul. It seems for a moment to be too outward a life. The autobiography shows that even that mild criticism is wrong. Mr. Smith has touched those deep pleasures and deep sorrows which only the recesses of life can yield. If he has been known as a public man, he has also been a family man. And he has even made it possible for us to see that he is able to commune with his own heart and be still.

To all his avocations should have been added author, and now biographer also. He is his own biographer. And a franker biographer never wrote. Why should he not be frank? His life will stand inspection and does not need apology. Do not dream that he is garrulous. His frankness is none of the dotard's vanity. Unattractive at first sight as the volume undoubtedly is, its illustrations of the Pyramids and Niagara suggesting disorder and miscellaneousness, the autobiography is found to be one of the raciest and richest of this season's books; and amidst all the good reading it contains lies the figure of a great good man.

TWO LOVABLE IMPS. By W. Montgomery-Campbell. (*Jarrold*, 2s.).—No book for children like the story of lovable imps, and the story of these two is well enough told to satisfy.

STRENGTH FOR THE WAY. By W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D. (*Kelly*).—When a great Church shows itself able to maintain the spiritual and the intellectual interests together and both at their highest, the future of that Church is full of promise. In this Professor Davison is more than a member of his Church, he is an example to it. Keen as the intellectual interest of these sermons and papers is, the spiritual is quite as keen. The book is the unmistakable expression of a life hid with Christ in God, but that does not hinder its author's resolve to serve God with the mind also,

Called to give his best to his Church during his year of office as President of its Conference, Dr. Davison gave it this. Among the addresses are two papers contributed to the *London Quarterly*, of which the one on 'Christ and Modern Criticism' made a sensation and marks an epoch.

BOOKS OF DEVOTION. By the Rev. Charles Bodington (*Longmans*, 5s.).—It is the latest addition to the 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology.' It makes one wonder what the word 'practical' really means. Perhaps it means, as it often does, simply modern. It cannot be the opposite of theoretical, for one of the volumes of the series is on the Incarnation.

Mr. Bodington has obtained a delightful subject. He has found it big enough for his space, for he has worked it historically, and when a man undertakes an account of all the devotional literature of the Christian Church, century after century, he needs room. Still he has managed it well, and produced a most useful manual. It is more a student's than a popular book, more for consulting than for comfortable reading. But it has one thankworthy feature—it not only gives information about devotional literature, it leads to the practice of devotion.

PASTORAL VISITATION. By the Rev. H. E. Savage, M.A. (*Longmans*, 2s. 6d. net.).—The days of the Homiletical Manual are over. The whole duty of a minister or priest is no longer found in one large volume which is never read. The preaching is enough for one author, the pastoral visitation for another. Mr. Savage has got the Pastoral Visitation to do in Mr. Robinson's 'Handbooks for the Clergy.' He has done it thoroughly. Not once, but again and again we ask, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' If a 'parish priest' has all this to do, and is to do it so conscientiously, it is no wonder preaching is deteriorating. No man can do this alone. And yet it is the most ordinary fact that there are hundreds of men in all the centres of population who are struggling to go through it day by day. Mr. Savage will help, not hinder. He does more than show where duty lies, he points to the source of power to fulfil it. 'Who is sufficient for these things? . . . Our sufficiency is of God.'

THE BOOK OF PRAISES. By C. E. Stuart (*Marlborough*, 3s. 6d.).—Mr. Stuart's expository manner must be well known by this time, for he has gone over several of the books of Scripture. It is a practical, evangelical, common-sense method of letting Scripture speak for itself. This volume is too small, however, for the Book of Psalms. When Mr. Stuart has great spaces to cover, it is like beating out gold, he gets too thin.

Mr. Stuart has also published a paper on *The Unclothed or Separate State* (Marlborough, 2d.).

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published the Rev. Samuel Moore's narrative of *The Great Revival in Ireland* in 1859 (1s.). It comes opportunely, and it has the warmth and colour of the eye-witness.

Also *The Revival of Prayer* (6d. net.). A record of wonderful effects, by Dr. A. T. Pierson. And *The Revelation of St. John* in blank verse, by C. H. B. Burlton (1s. net.).

Messrs. Nisbet have issued *The Church Directory and Almanack* for 1903 (2s. net.). There is no cheaper directory published. It contains 700 closely printed pages, every line demanding the utmost care in compilation and proof-reading, and yet, so far as we know, after two years' use, it is faultless. This year's issue gives the names of the colonial clergy.

The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has published a book by Lieut.-General Sir Charles Warren on *The Ancient Cubit* (5s. 6d.). The title is far too modest. The discussion of the cubit is of much consequence, and Sir Charles Warren discusses it thoroughly; but the book is really a treatise on ancient and modern weights and measures.

What a complicated business it is! We must know these things, and it is well that there are men who have been born to find them out for us. But we marvel at their patience. Even to read this book is a great trial of perseverance, to test its calculations here and there doubles its discipline; what must it have cost the author to write it! The success of such work rests upon the accuracy of its minutiæ. The spelling, right through the book, of a certain Dictionary of the Bible made one suspicious. But it is a pure

idiosyncrasy. Every calculation tested turned out correct.

THE METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE PULPIT FOR 1902. (*Passmore & Alabaster*, 7s. 6d.).—This is the forty-eighth volume. It is still the work, and altogether the work, of Mr. C. H. Spurgeon. Week by week, and month by month (for there are monthly as well as weekly parts), the sermons have been coming out all the year, and great multitudes have been reading them. Now the year's issue is gathered into this bound volume to swell this unique library, and be read again and again in the days that are to come.

Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster have also published *Twelve Sermons on the Doctrines of Grace* (1s.) by C. H. Spurgeon.

THE WONDERFUL TEACHER. By D. J. Burrell, D.D. (*Robinson*, 3s. 6d. net.).—The fascination of Christ is reflected in the everlasting interest of His teaching. And yet He came not to teach but to give His life a ransom. Dr. Burrell knows, and he keeps the teaching in touch with the work. This is the excellence of his book. It is no sheaf of measured professorial lectures turned into print. The palpitating warmth of the pulpit is felt in it still, and yet the arrangement is clear and the subject complete.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCES. By Joseph Rickaby, S.J. (*Sands*, 5s.).—In these 'Conferences' (this is the second series), Mr. Rickaby discusses all questions that at present agitate the Catholic mind. 'Do Catholics lead better lives than other men?'—'The Meaning of the Word *Sectarian*'—'Heaven and Hell as Antidotes to Worldliness'—these are some of the subjects discussed. There is no dry scholasticism in the manner of discussing them, all is plain, modern, practical. For instance, Mr. Rickaby has no comfortable 'Yes' to give to the question, 'Do Catholics lead better lives than other men?' He admits the excessive proportion of Catholics on the roll of the criminal class. And all the plea he urges is that as there is a natural goodness (best seen in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*), so also there is a supernatural goodness; so that when the Catholic is good he is very good, because 'the characteristics of the English gentleman are all taken up and supernaturalized by the Catholic gentleman.' Or again, 'He is the better man before God who joins the theological virtues to the virtues of the hero of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.' The reasonableness of the book is a wonder. That and its nearness of interest give it its greatest worth.

A HISTORY OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. By G. S. Goodspeed, Ph.D. (*Smith, Elder*, 6s.).—This volume belongs to Professors Kent and Sanders' 'Historical Series for Bible Students.' Its author is one of that brilliant band of scholars whom President Harper has gathered round him in the University of Chicago. Dr. Goodspeed is Professor of Ancient History there. His work is already known, and it has been found to lie on the right side of that gulf between intellectual life and death, which is cut so deep in America. The book is more than a good scholar's compilation. Here and there it reveals independent research, here and there even independent opinion. Professor Goodspeed believes that Sennacherib's boastful inscription and the biblical narrative of his campaign are capable of harmonization, though he admits it is difficult to harmonize them. He holds that Tyre surrendered to Nebuchadrezzar after thirteen years' siege, but that the Chaldæan king never entered it. One feature of the book is commendable—the writer never gets wearied, nor is unfairly pressed for space as the end approaches.

THE NOBLE EIGHTFOLD PATH. By the Rev. W. St. Clair-Tisdall, M.A., C.M.S. (*Stock*, 6s.).—This title Mr. St. Clair-Tisdall has given to a manual of primitive Buddhism. Chosen for the James Long lectureship, he delivered the lectures which are here published in Cambridge, Durham, Manchester, and elsewhere; and wherever he delivered them he impressed those who had studied Buddhism with his grasp of the subject, while, by his sympathy and clearness, he opened a new world of interest to those who had not yet studied it. This is the way to deal with Buddhism and all other religions. The old 'devil-born' idea is dead. In every country God has those that fear Him. And the early Buddhists were surely accepted of Him. Yet Mr. St. Clair-Tisdall shows very plainly that Buddhism must give place to Christianity.

The latest volumes of the 'Baptist Pulpit' are *The Making of Man*, by the Rev. Daniel Hughes; and *Through Christ to Life*, by the Rev. J. J. Ellis, M.A. (*Stockwell*, 2s. 6d. net, each).

Mr. Stockwell has published: (1) *Christ versus Caste*, being Reflections on the Five Parables occurring in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of St. Luke's Gospel, by Evan Cameron (2s. 6d.). (2) *Byways of Bible Highways*, a volume of sermons on familiar topics and in familiar language, by the Rev. G. Watt Smith, M.A. (2s. 6d. net). (3) *The Migrations of Mortimer Mackinall*, by E. W. Beaven (3s. 6d.), a biography which is not all history, we are kindly informed, but is all good reading. (4) *The Priestly Letters*, or the Priest that is the Enemy, being twelve letters addressed to his young ritualist relatives in London—Blandina, Paulina, and Cyril Priestly, by their uncle, John Elder (Rev. John Wenn), and well calculated to confirm them in their ritualism.

THE PAPAL MONARCHY. By William Barry, D.D. (*Fisher Unwin*, 5s.).—Mr. Fisher Unwin's 'Story of the Nations' is a striking commentary on the familiar words, 'All nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues.' The series has reached its fifty-eighth volume, and the end is not in sight. The series has been a success, and the secret of it has been the careful choice of authors. Mr. Unwin has worked on the principle that the man who was most in sympathy with a nation would give the best account of it. It is a sound principle, and an excellent illustration of its working is before us. Dr. Barry is no blind idolater, but he is in sympathy, and his story of the Papal Monarchy from St. Gregory the Great to Boniface VIII. is not only good reading but good history. As always, the illustrations are many and illustrative. In them one sees the life that was led by the men and women of the time, the very character of the men and women themselves.

LETTERS ON REASONING. By John M. Robertson (*Watts*, 3s. 6d. net).—It is not an attractive way to teach logic, and the book may miss its mark. But the letters are so lively, and the advice for the most part so sound and well said, that, if only it is dipped into, the book is sure to be read, and if read it is sure to be enjoyed. One trifle of criticism — Is it not hard on the late Professor Minto to say, that because he used the expression, 'some other cause than chance,' he treated chance as a cause? Is it not merely a loose turn of language? However, a fine, practical letter on 'Chance' is founded on it.

Messrs. Watts have added Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Education* and Mr. M. M. Mangasarian's *New Catechism* to their sixpenny library.

GLIMPSES OF TENNYSON. By Agnes Grace Weld (*Williams & Norgate*, 4s. 6d. net).—Not only of Tennyson, but of all the Tennysons. It goes back to 'Uncle Sam Turner,' the vicar of Grasby, under whose ministry the doctrine was so definite that when Hobbes, the philosopher, was named in the hearing of the villagers, 'Why, loovey,' said the husband to his wife, 'that's the graate Hobbes that's in hell.' It passes down through the next generation, in which we find 'Aunt Cecilia,' whose marriage with the learned Professor Lushington is commemorated at the end of *In Memoriam*, and who was *not* the betrothed of Arthur Hallam. And it reaches the generation that is still with us, of whom Maud Tennyson writes an appendix to the volume. It is just such a volume as the ardent lover of Tennyson will delight in; the uninterested or half-hearted had better pass it by.

The Incarnation.

By the Right Rev. C. J. Ellicott, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester.

'God sent forth His Son, born of a woman.'—Gal. iv. 4.

No one who seriously observes the movements of thought at the present time could, I think, fail to recognize the tendency to avoid what is popularly called dogmatism, or, in other words, definite statements of scriptural truth. It seems to be felt that there is in such statements so much that can be referred to traditional interpretation, or to doctrinal bias, that what remains can only be accepted in a broad and general form, and as admitting considerable variety in its application to the spiritual needs of the individual.

In a word, the tendency to what is called undenominational religion is, year by year, finding more and more acceptance among the general mass of the so-called Christians of this twentieth century; and, it may be added, is becoming, year by year, more difficult with any clearness to define. Let any thoughtful person look into his own heart and carefully observe its spiritual movements, and the general trend of his own deeper convictions, and he will admit with me that the intelligent maintenance of fundamental doctrines is certainly becoming more difficult, and by consequence less and less attractive to the individual believer. His general and undefined belief seems sufficient to carry him through his course of daily life and duty, and seems also to qualify him for the claim to be considered broad and liberal in his own views, and in his estimate of the views and opinions of others.

But there are times when this spiritual self-complacency is somewhat sorely tried; there are days when a man, if he has any real belief in anything, must find questions brought home to him, to which his easy-going undenominationalism can never supply him with any sufficient and soul-satisfying answer. Let us suppose, for example, that the question seriously comes home to any one of us, What is it our plain duty to believe in regard of the Incarnation of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ? This is surely one of those vital and fundamental questions on the answer to which everything here and hereafter does most assuredly depend. The Creed does not hesitate to say that it is necessary to everlasting salvation that we believe rightly the Incarnation. Such words may, at any rate, remind us that there is a wrong way as well as a right way of believing the Incarnation, and that now, if ever, when seriously strange teaching has been put forth on the subject, is the proper time for realizing the actual nature of the difference.

Let us then at once enter seriously and reverently into the consideration of the vital question which is thus so urgently brought home to us, What ought to be the belief of every faithful son of our Mother Church of England in regard of the Incarnation of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ? The answer, thanks be to God, can be given in general terms at once. A rightful belief in the Incarnation must rest on two fundamental truths—the personality of God the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin-birth of the Saviour of the world.

These are the two foundation truths, on the first of which, the personality of the Holy Ghost, it would seem to be necessary for me briefly, but very plainly, to speak. On this vital subject it is not, I fear, too much to say that even among sober and earnest readers of God's Holy Word there is an amount of clouded and confused thought that prevents the full meaning of numberless passages of Holy Scripture being adequately realized. To many, as it has been sometimes said, the Holy Ghost is really a lost God. His influence is acknowledged, but His holy personality remains unrealized and unfelt.

It has been so, even from the earliest times. We have four or five treatises on the Holy Ghost written by great divines before the end of the fifth century, but not one of them will be found fully to appeal to our higher conceptions and feelings. The best of them is probably the treatise of the blind, though inwardly illuminated, Didymus of Alexandria, but we look in vain in it for that elevating and illuminating recognition of personality which we constantly meet with in that rightly named 'Gospel of the Holy Ghost,' the Acts of the Apostles; and which, I may say, by God's great mercy, is now at length

beginning to pervade the deeper, and more quickening, teaching of our own times.

But the lack of this recognition of the personal working and operation still, I fear, widely prevails, and largely augments the difficulties in such subjects as those which we are now considering.

There is probably no portion of Holy Scripture in which this may be more seriously felt than in those passages which relate, directly or indirectly, to the Incarnation. What is not adequately felt is the profound truth that the Third Person of the blessed and adorable Trinity Himself vouchsafed to take part in that greatest of all conceivable mysteries and miracles which the text places before us—God's Son, born of a woman.

Born of a woman, but how? Here our thoughts at once pass over to that which I have spoken of as the second fundamental truth on which a right belief in the Incarnation must ever unchangeably rest—the Virgin-birth of the Saviour of the world.

But where is that fundamental truth revealed to us? Is it a truth dependent on inferences indisputably certain, or on words spoken by our Lord and His Apostles, on which doubt has never been entertained?—or is it a truth resting on facts revealed to us by the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost on the written pages of the Book of Life? Thanks be to God, it is on this last-mentioned basis that He has permitted the truth of the Virgin-birth of His incarnate Son plainly and historically to rest.

Two narratives there are in which the mystery of Emmanuel is very distinctly set forth, and against the genuineness of which nothing has ever been proposed, save the unverifiable and despairing hypothesis of interpolation.

On these two narratives, in both of which the Virgin-birth of our Redeemer is set forth in language that cannot possibly be explained away, let us now in conclusion reverently meditate.

The first of these narratives forms the opening portion of the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

We thus owe the narrative to an evangelist and apostle, a portion of whose Gospel is believed on good grounds to have appeared at a very early date in the early form of the language of the country in which he lived. If such a primitive Gospel did appear, there seems every reason for believing, from its structure and tenour, that the first chapter of the Gospel as now we have it formed the introduction to this primitive Gospel, and set forth the undisputed belief of the Church a few years only after the Ascension.

The second statement in which the foundation-truth of the Lord's Virgin-birth is set forth is, as we well know, in the first chapter of an evangelist who had traced the course of all things accurately from the first, and who may with high probability be supposed to have received the account from the holy Virgin herself.

Both these accounts state that He whom, as our text says, God sent forth, was not only born of a woman, but born of a virgin—the ever blessed Virgin Mary—the eternal miracle of God's sending His Son having, if we may so speak, necessitated, as it were, the consequent miracle of a virgin-birth. Christ would never be to us what He is had He come into the world in any other manner than that which is recorded. The person of Christ is itself a miracle, and the soul demands, as it were, that the miraculous should be present in every stage of His divine manifestation.

Let us pause for a moment on the two narratives, and observe the marvellously suggestive manner in which they illustrate and confirm the holy mystery of the Lord's Incarnation, and make us not only believe, but feel in our very inmost souls its reality and certitude. Those two, and those two only, who *could* bear witness, are permitted by God to bear it through the medium of two evangelists, the one of whom may be regarded, from the whole tenour of his Gospel, as speaking mainly to his own countrymen, the other as speaking to the whole Gentile world.

Joseph, as St. Matthew records to us, has revealed to him by a holy angel, not directly, as in the case of the blessed Virgin, but by the medium of a dream, that what his waking thoughts had been resting on with distress and perplexity was miraculous and divine. He was bidden to take to him his espoused wife; and he took her, nothing doubting. Ancient prophecy received its fulfilment; and, in the fulness of time, Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa.

To the other witness to the Incarnation, as St. Luke tells us, the communication was much more explicit and immediate. One of the higher order of the Holy Angels, one who says of himself that he stands in the presence of God, speaks directly

to the highly favoured Virgin of Nazareth, and delivers to her his momentous message: 'Thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.'

And how was that message received? By one humbly uttered question, so holy in its purity and simplicity, so holy in its freedom from every element of implied doubt or disbelief, that an answer was vouchsafed to it. The question was, 'How shall this be?' The answer was that the Holy Ghost, in His adorable personality, shall bring about the transcendent miracle of the Word becoming flesh, and of His entry into the world He had created, along the lowly pathway of purely human development. It is here that we see and feel the connexion between the fundamental doctrine of the personality of the Holy Ghost and the mystery of the Virgin-birth.

We are now able properly to formulate our answer to the broad question, What ought to be the belief of every faithful son of our Mother Church in regard of the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? The answer, as we have seen, involves two momentous truths, the union of which cannot perhaps be more simply expressed than as it has been set forth by our Church in the Collect for Christmas, and in the special preface in the administration of the Holy Communion. Using these two forms of careful and well-chosen words, we may now define what ought to be a true belief in the Incarnation. And that belief we may define as—a belief that, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, the only-begotten Son of God took our nature upon Him, was made very man of the substance of His mother, and that that mother was the pure and ever-blessed Virgin, Mary of Galilee.

This is the right belief in the fact of the Incarnation on which the old creed lays the stress to which I alluded in the early part of my sermon. This is the belief on which everything, here and hereafter, does most vitally depend.

In the first place, without a belief in the personality of God the Holy Ghost, the trustful hope and spiritual freshness of our poor mortal life is irreparably lost. Who is there who can comfort and sanctify save He who our Redeemer has promised should come to us, and be to us even as Himself?

In the second place, without the belief that our dear Lord and Master was born into the world as He was born—born of a pure virgin, what assurance can we have that He is verily our *sinless* Redeemer? Of all the arguments for the sinlessness of Jesus Christ this must ever remain as the chief and palmary argument.

The more firmly we maintain the two truths, on which I have said our belief in the Incarnation will ever be found to depend, the more distinctly will our belief be a right belief, and the more completely shall we realize that it is, as in the earliest ages of the Church it was ever deemed to be—the corner stone of our Christian Faith.

In this holy doctrine God give us all His blessed help more heartily to believe, and believing, more completely to realize, in all its fulness, Christmas hope and Christmas joy.

Contributions and Comments.

'Father, forgive them.'

In The Expository Times, xi. 423, I asked how the seven words from the Cross are to be arranged in a Harmony of the Passion, and remarked that the strangest order is to be found in the oldest Harmony of the Gospels, in Tatian's *Diatessaron*. There the word, 'Father, forgive them,' is placed as next to last, between 'It is finished,' and 'Father, into Thine hands I commend My spirit.' I asked, What can be the reason of this arrangement? Is the word, 'Father, forgive them,' a later insertion, as it is wanting in the Syriac MS. from Sinai? *Is there any parallel to this order?*

As far as I am aware, no answer has yet been forthcoming. To the last question I can now myself give a partial answer.

In the fifth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is a very interesting chapter about the fasting in Lent, or more exactly in the Passion Week. It is based on the chronology of the Passion. After it has been stated that the condemnation of Jesus

took place in the *third* hour, the Crucifixion in the *sixth*, the account goes on (chap. 14, p. 144, in the edition of Lagarde): 'then there was darkness three hours, from the *sixth* to the *ninth*, and again light towards evening, as it is written, "not day and not night, and at evening there shall be light" (Zec 14[7]). And about the *ninth* hour He, crying aloud, said to the Father: My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? And after a short while *He cried with a loud voice*, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do, and adding, Into Thy hands I commend My spirit, He gave up breath, and was buried before sunset in a new grave.'

The Greek words are too important not to be given here: καὶ περὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν ἀναβοήσας εἶπε τῷ πατρί Θεέ μου Θεέ μου, ἱνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες; καὶ μετ ὀλίγον κράξας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν ὃ ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἐπαγαγών Εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, ἀπέπνευσε, καὶ θάπτεται πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἐν μνημείῳ καινῷ. In the *Didascalia* this passage is not found, but at 2[16] (Lagarde, p. 30), where the word, 'Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they do,' is quoted for the first time, the *Didascalia* has a most interesting variant (p. 20, ed. Lagarde): 'My Father,'—thus we must read instead of 'my brethren,' as given in the Syriac text,—'they do not know what they do nor what they speak; but, if it is possible, forgive them.'

Now this coincidence between the Arabic Tatian and the *Apostolic Constitutions* is of the highest importance, because already Lagarde remarked in his short preface to the *Apostolic Constitutions* that their author seems to have used a *Harmony* of the Gospels; and in a note he called attention to Ephrem's *Commentary on the Gospel Harmony*, which commentary, before the discovery of the Arabic Tatian, was the chief source for the recovery of this lost work. Our passage proves that Lagarde's conjecture was correct. But quite recently another suggestion has been thrown out by a young scholar, E. Lippelt, a pupil of Bousset at Göttingen and of Blass at Halle, that Justin the Martyr had already made use of a *Harmony* of the Gospels of the same probably as was turned into Syriac by his pupil Tatian. For our passage we cannot prove this theory, but other passages render it very likely. The Gospel quotations in the *Constitutions* gain by this theory immensely in importance.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

Tortoises.

I HAVE but just noticed in your January number Professor Nestle's question 'whether tortoises were and are found in Palestine.' Certainly they are very common,—both land and water kinds,—and Canon Tristram mentions two varieties of 'Terrapin' as growing to a large size in the lakes.

J. D. CRACE.

Hon. Sec. Pal. Expl. Fund, London.

NOTE (9th February 1903).—The death is announced of our late chairman, Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S., on the 7th inst., at his residence at Croydon, at the age of 93. The *Times* notice is a full one (p. 4). Quite recently Mr. Glaisher had reduced and revised some tables of meteorological observations for the Palestine Exploration Fund.

J. D. C.

The Book of the Dead.

IN the article, 'Recent Biblical and Oriental Archæology,' which appears in the February number, Professor Sayce writes of the late Sir P. Le Page Renouf's translation of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*: 'Fortunately, the greater part of the text and commentary was already in type, and the remainder of the manuscript was in such an advanced state as to allow Professor Naville to edit it for the Society of Biblical Archæology.'

This needs correction. At the time of his death, Sir P. Renouf had translated so far as to chapter cxxxix., and he *left no manuscript whatever* of the translation of the remaining chapters. The continuation of the translation, which is now in course of publication in the *Proceedings* of this Society, is due solely and entirely to Professor Naville.

WALTER L. NASH.

Sec. Soc. Bibl. Arch.

The Cleansing of the Temple in John ii. 13–22.

PERHAPS the suggestion with which this note concludes has been made already, but I do not remember having seen it, and it has been in my mind for a considerable time. Apart from the record in the Fourth Gospel no one would imagine that there were *two* cleansings of the Temple by our Lord, so much alike in their details, and each of them eliciting a question as to

His authority. Besides, it seems extremely unlikely that our Lord would commence His ministry by an act which was sure to excite the hostility of the representatives of the people to whom He presented Himself for reception. The position of this narrative in the Fourth Gospel has often been urged against its historicity. The most natural place for such a cleansing is certainly where the Synoptists put it. Moreover, in the Gospel, as it stands, it is followed by the statement that many in Jerusalem 'believed on His name, beholding the signs which He did,' of which signs at this period we have no hint in the Synoptists, while the healing of the nobleman's son is said, in chap. 4^{54} of this Gospel, to be 'the *second* sign that Jesus did, having come out of Judea into Galilee.' The last clause may mean that the evangelist is only recording the signs wrought outside of Judea, in which region he intends us to understand there were many such. But this would be strange, seeing that so much stress has been laid on the importance of the *first* sign for the disciples' faith—given, it must be remembered, outside of Judea. Again, the narrative is followed also by the account of the conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus, which surely implies (unless we are to suppose a great wealth of unrecorded signs and teaching in Judea) a fuller manifestation of Jesus by both word and work, and a completer development of His gospel, than anything as yet given in this Gospel. This narrative also would come in much more naturally at a later point. It is followed, too, by the statement that 'after these things came Jesus and His disciples into the land of Judea' (chap. 3^{22}); whereas it is implied in what has gone before that He is already in Judea, and no hint is given of His having left it. Of course, the common explanation is that the word rendered 'land' here (γῆ, a common word for 'a land') means the country regions as distinguished from Jerusalem. But there is no example of such usage in the New Testament. In Mk 1^{5} and Ac 26^{20} we have 'the country of Judea' mentioned along with Jerusalem (and in Ac 10^{39} 'the country of the Jews'), but the word employed is χώρα (commonly so used), and John himself uses the same word for 'the country' in chap. 11^{55}. The common explanation is at least open to question, and if we take the phrase in its usual meaning, we have a natural connexion between v.[11] or v.[12] of chap. 2 (where Jesus is said to be in Galilee) and chap. 3^{22}. It is unnecessary, however, to press this point.

Now both of these narratives, *i.e.* the cleansing of the Temple and the conversation with Nicodemus, are placed by Tatian in his *Diatessaron* (which has only one cleansing) at a later period, near to each other. From the early date of the *Diatessaron*, this is an important consideration. Possibly his reason for this may have been a subjective one; but there is another possibility. The Received text of this Gospel, as it has come down to us, bears evidence of imperfection. We need only refer to the insertion of the narrative of the woman taken in adultery (chap. 8^{1-11}, along with the last verse of chap. 7), which all critics declare to be no part of the true text of this Gospel. Is it not possible that a sheet (or more) of the original MS., or of an early copy, had become transposed, so that these two narratives came to stand out of their proper position? In the *Diatessaron* they follow each other as insertions from the Fourth Gospel.

W. L. Walker.

Laurencekirk.

A New Theory of Eternal Punishment.

There is much that is interesting in Dr. Illingworth's theory concerning the future of the lost; but is it punishment when a man philosophically resigns himself to the infliction of a just penalty? Is not the unabating rage of a bad man at the imprisonment of his evil within himself, the fuel to feed the flame that devours him? Rob the penalty of that sting and it becomes ease. Does not Dr. Illingworth's view turn the convict's sufferings into the songs of Paul and Silas? Nowhere does the New Testament confound the tortures of the lost with that consciousness of punishment deserved which we have in the thief's words, 'and we indeed justly.' Compare Caponsacchi's picture of the sufferings of Guido and Judas in the 'Ring and the Book' (Robert Browning)—

> The cockatrice is with the basilisk.
> There let them grapple, denizens o' the dark,
> Foes or friends, but indissolubly bound,
> In their one spot out of the ken of God
> Or care of man, for ever and ever more!

Bradford. K. Lyth Lofthouse.

Cross-Bearing.

REFERRING to Professor Massie's paper in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for May 1902 (p. 348), may I venture to suggest that our Lord's use of the word 'cross' had no reference whatever to the punishment of death by crucifixion? I think I am right in saying that the word σταυρός does not properly mean what we understand by a cross. It has indeed been doubted by some whether the σταυρός on which Christ was put to death was anything more than an upright beam or log of wood fixed in the earth. The use of the word 'tree' (ξύλον) by Peter (Ac 5^{30} 10^{39}, 1 P 2^{24}) and Paul (Ac 13^{29}, Gal 3^{13}) seems rather to favour this view.

It is, in fact, only in later Greek that the word σταυρός is used to denote the Roman instrument for inflicting the death penalty. It generally means an upright palisade or pile. But Josephus, describing the Roman battering-ram, speaks of the beam from which the ram itself was suspended as 'being strongly supported by timbers (σταυροῖς) firmly set on either side' (*BJ* III. vii. 19). As the entire structure was movable, the σταυροί in this case cannot have been piles driven into the ground, but must have been strong pieces of timber like joists forming part of the framework.

Should it not seem then that the word in ordinary use denoted merely a beam or log of wood; and may it not be that, when our Lord announced that to be His disciple it was incumbent on a man to take up his cross and follow Him, He meant, and was understood to mean, simply that whoever would be one of His people must accept and bear the load allotted to him of duty and care and, if need be, suffering? The phrase compares with the oft-quoted illustration of the Puritan divine: 'Every man has given to him each day a faggot to carry. But some are not satisfied to carry to-day's faggot only; they must needs carry also to-morrow's in advance; and some even, besides to-day's and to-morrow's, insist also on carrying yesterday's faggot over again.'

That there was no allusion to Christ's cross seems to be indicated by the possessive pronouns employed; our Lord did not say 'My cross,' or even 'the cross,' but 'his cross,' and once 'his own cross.' So Paul to the Galatians, 'Each man shall bear his own burden,' which may be an allusion to the utterance reported Lk 14^{27}. And here note that the interpolation in Mk 10^{21} omits the possessive pronoun and substitutes the article. This is a fair illustration of the tendency in later times to see an allusion which I venture to think had no real existence in the authentic passages. (The Lewis palimpsest, however, has in this place 'take up thy cross.')

Our Lord appears to have used the phrase on three occasions. The first was in Galilee (Mt 10^{38}), the second in Cæsarea Philippi (Mt 16^{24}, Mk 8^{34}, Lk 9^{23}), and the third probably in Peræa in the course of His last journey from Galilee to Judæa (Lk 14^{27}). In each of these regions it is probable that men might frequently be seen carrying heavy pieces of timber to the Lake of Galilee or the Jordan, to be floated down in rafts to other parts of Palestine. In the district of Cæsarea Philippi the spectacle would be especially familiar of men whose 'daily' task it was each to shoulder his σταυρός—his timber log—and 'follow' a leader in single file along rough and narrow pathways leading from the forests of Anti-Libanus to the Jordan Valley. (See by way of illustration 1 K 5, noting particularly v.[15].) In such localities would not log-bearing be a figure naturally to suggest itself, and who could fail to understand the parable?

I have not myself the least doubt that these words were spoken by Christ, and also committed to writing (not, however, in Greek, but in Aramaic), at the times they are said to have been uttered. In that case they would not suggest to the minds of those who heard them any idea of the manner of our Lord's death, though such an allusion would naturally be read into them after that event had taken place. It is one of the arguments for the contemporaneous origin of the material of which the Gospels are composed, that in no instance, except in the few sentences which are obviously editorial additions, or in avowed prediction, is there any allusion to any subsequent event. If the passages before us were first written after the crucifixion, they are a singular exception to this rule, as in that case, whether they be regarded as the genuine utterances of our Lord Himself accurately remembered, or as mere imagination, they certainly must at that time have seemed to the writers, as they have ever since seemed to most readers, to bear a very plain allusion to that supreme event of the New Testament history. I submit that all difficulties disappear in the assumption that no allusion to that event was intended, or even to death by crucifixion at all, and that the sayings were in each instance reported either at the moment of utterance, or within a very short time thereafter.

JOSEPH PALMER.

Sydney.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

NOTHING that has occurred in our day has dealt so hardly with the old idea of Inspiration as the discovery of the Laws of Ḫammurabi. Their far-reaching significance has scarcely yet been recognized. But in the middle of a mass of correspondence in the *Record* for 27th February there is embedded an article, which not only recognizes the force of the attack, but earnestly endeavours to meet it.

The article is written by Dr. Dietrich, 'Rektor' of Stuttgart. It was first published in the February number of *Philadelphia*, an evangelical magazine, of which he is editor.

Dr. Dietrich at once acknowledges that the Laws of Ḫammurabi contain much that is found in the Laws of Moses. And whether Ḫammurabi is the Amraphel of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis or not, he certainly belongs to an age some five hundred years earlier than that of Moses. Dr. Dietrich places his date tentatively at 2300 B.C. So that it does not seem possible, as popularly supposed, that the Laws of Moses were given in their entirety on the top of Mount Sinai, or even that the Decalogue alone was so given. The very claim that 'God spake all these words' to Moses, looks like an imitation or transformation of the relevant part of the Ḫammurabi Code. Ḫammurabi also, and with much solemnity, claims to have received his laws directly from his god.

Dr. Dietrich recognizes the situation. The Mosaic Law, he says, does not claim to be absolutely new. It may have been given afresh by God to Moses, though it had long been in existence already. Its new promulgation only shows that it 'had become very much obscured in the consciousness of the Israelites.' It had to be repeated in the most solemn manner, in the Wilderness, in order to make it once more the living reality it had formerly been.

The second part of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for the year 1902 has now been published. Among other things it contains an exposition of the words in Ex $20^{5.6}$, which occur also in Dt $5^{9.10}$, 'For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.'

The Rev. Dean A. Walker, Ph.D., who contributes the exposition, says that even when he was a child and learned the Ten Commandments, he could not suppress the feeling that God was

an unjust God for visiting upon innocent children the sins of their fathers. He wished to believe that whatever God did was right, and it was some relief to know that His mercy extended to thousands of them that loved Him. But still the lurking sense of unfairness remained. He longed for some explanation that would justify these ways of God to men.

As he grew older he found satisfaction for a time in the doctrine of heredity. He did not separate heredity from God. He thought that, though some children suffered from the law of heredity, God saw that it worked for the greatest good of the greatest number. But when he remembered that heredity is quite a modern doctrine and 'could not have been in the mind of Moses when he wrote the Commandments,' even that poor consolation was taken from him.

Relief came at last from that historical study of the Bible which we call the Higher Criticism. Dr. Dean Walker noticed that the penalties proposed for transgression extend to four generations and then stop, whereas there is no limit to the law of mercy. That is exactly in accordance with the social customs of the time. When a ruler punished, he often included the family of the transgressor in the punishment, and even carried his punishment down to the third and fourth generation. In the Old Testament itself we have examples, like Achan (Jos $7^{24.\ 25}$), Saul's slaughter of the priests at Nob (1 S 22^{19}), the punishment of the conspirators by Darius (Dn 6^{24}), the proposed massacre of the Jews by Haman, and the counter-massacre of the Persians by Mordecai (Est 3^{13} 8^{11}); and especially the destruction of the House of Omri, in fulfilment of Elijah's curse on Ahab, in which four generations perished to a man, the infant Joash alone escaping to perpetuate the royal line of David.

Why was punishment visited upon a man's family, and even to the third and the fourth generation? Dr. Walker gives three reasons.

The first reason is that the example to other possible transgressors was thereby made more awful.

The second reason is that in those days a man and his family were looked upon as a unit. For social legislation they were a unit. And a man's family included his slaves and even his live-stock generally. It is sometimes said that Achan's family must have been privy to his sin. That is to introduce modern ideas of responsibility into this ancient narrative. If Achan was guilty, his family was guilty. What he did they were considered to do. What he suffered they must suffer with him.

The third reason is connected with the law of blood revenge. If a man is put to death, it often becomes necessary to put to death at the same time all those on whom would fall the duty of avenging his death. The spirit of revenge was handed down from generation to generation. Any member of the family, as he grew up, received his lesson in the wrongs of the family and conceived his thirst to avenge them. Therefore the son must perish with the father, and the son's son, to the third and the fourth generation. For even if an infant in arms is spared, he may grow up to take upon him this obligation of blood revenge.

These are the reasons for which God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children until the third and fourth generation. The passage is highly anthropomorphic. God is conceived as a great Eastern potentate. His ways are the ways of the rulers of men in the days when the laws were given. And it is to be considered whether other language and other ideas would have been as intelligible or as impressive.

The mercy is not carried down to the fourth generation, or rather it is carried beyond it. There is indeed no limit to the operation of mercy. The sin is visited upon the family till in the direct line the family is blotted out. But the

blessing is carried down in the direct line without limit, and it also spreads into all the branches of the family, till every one who claims connexion with them that love the Lord shares in the blessing which love brings.

But still the Eastern ideas prevail. Even the blessing is confined to the family. It reaches all its members, but it is not conceived as passing beyond. For the true translation, says Dr. Dean Walker, is not 'showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me,' but 'showing mercy unto thousands *that belong to* (Heb. ל) them that love me and keep my commandments.'

One of the most urgent needs of our time—many feel it, some feel it keenly—is the need of a new apologetic. While we are writing these Notes there comes a letter from a man who describes himself as the Headmaster of a large Public School and a Wesleyan Local Preacher of more than fifteen years' standing. 'I feel,' he says, 'and I feel very keenly, how necessary it is that I who presume to instruct others, should myself be fully assured of the truths which I proclaim; but to-day criticism, historical, scientific, and comparative, has assailed and seems to have subverted so much of what our fathers held to be true, that I confess I scarcely know what to believe and what to disbelieve.'

He says that the difficulty is increased by the fact that those from whom we expect to receive guidance are at variance among themselves. And he refers to what he calls 'a very apposite illustration.'

Let us repeat his illustration, even though it should give our enemies, if we have any, occasion against us. He says that in The Expository Times for March, Bishop Ellicott, writing on the Incarnation, uses the words, 'We thus owe the narrative to an evangelist and apostle,' whom he has stated in the previous sentence to be St. Matthew. But on another page Professor Chase 'lets the First Gospel go.' He says, 'it is critically anonymous. We have no clue to the source of its author's information.'

It is not our business at present to defend either the Bishop of Gloucester or the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. It is not our business to harmonize them. It is enough to notice that on so important a matter as the authority of St. Matthew's Gospel they hold opposite opinions. And our Headmaster asks, 'Who am I, a mere layman, to believe?'

'What I want,' he goes on, 'is to be fully assured of the fundamental truths of Christianity, and I do not know how to arrive at this assurance. If I attempt to study the New Testament itself, I am confronted with questions of reliable text, of date or authenticity, of what Christ really said and what is put into His mouth by the evangelists, of the formation of the Canon and the possibly varying authority of different books, until I feel bewildered, and cannot find even a reliable starting-point.' It is clear that one of our greatest needs is the need of a new apologetic.

The need of a new apologetic—that is the very title of an article in the *Biblical World* for February. The author is Professor Milton S. Terry, D.D., of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. It comes, not to tell this Headmaster exactly what to believe and what to disbelieve—is it possible for any man to tell another that?—but to emphasize his demand for a new statement of the Faith and to indicate the lines upon which the new statement must be made.

Now, when the new apologetic comes, the first thing Professor Terry notices about it is that it will not pour contempt upon the past. 'In affirming such need of a new apologetic, or of any new statement of Christian doctrines, I desire also,' he says, 'to express becoming admiration for

things that are old and honourable. The great historic creeds and confessions of Christendom are monumental witnesses of honest effort to set forth the very truth of God. Doubtless in many things they all offend, and not one of them, as a whole, is competent to bind the judgment and the consciences of all subsequent time. In like manner, the great apologies of the past constitute a body of Christian literature of inestimable value. The science of apologetics would not be possible as a theological discipline to-day but for the many treatises which first and last have appeared in defence of the Christian religion and its sacred books.'

But why should this generation need a new statement of the Faith more than any generation that has preceded it? It does not need it more. Every generation that has gone before has required an apologetic for itself, and every generation that comes after will require it. There is no finality, says Professor Terry, to the progressive trend of scientific investigation. The best apologetic we can put forth to-day will need as much revision and restatement a century hence as the apologies of the eighteenth centuries call for now. Dr. Terry is very bold, and doubts if even in the millennial time we hope for, or even in the heavenly life, 'when that which is perfect is come and that which is in part shall be done away,' we shall ever reach the point where there will be no occasion to give a reason to every man of our Christian faith and hope and love. For 'it is of the very nature of the spirit of man to search continuously and perpetually after everything in earth or heaven that may be known.'

So it is no use blaming Wellhausen or Robertson Smith: it is no use blaming Canon Driver or Professor George Adam Smith for this necessity that has been laid upon us. They are in the hands of the Time-Spirit. The criticism of the Old Testament is part of the science of history. And the science of history, as developed since the days of Niebuhr, has virtually created a new method of treating all the records of the past.

When Thucydides set out to write the history of the Peloponnesian War, he knew that it was expected of him that he should incorporate in his history the great speeches that had been made before the war began or during its progress. But how could he or his reporters recollect the exact words of those speeches? 'I have therefore,' he naïvely declares, 'put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavoured, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said.' The historian of the war in South Africa does not write history in that way. But it seems unlikely, when so responsible a historian as Thucydides makes such a confession, that the speeches and songs found in the Old Testament are the very words of those heroes and heroines to whom they are attributed. It is unreasonable to expect that the new apologetic should wholly and unreservedly defend their genuineness.

No doubt the plea has been urged that we may use the utmost freedom in investigating matters of secular history, of philosophy, politics, art, and literature, and of the claims of other religions and the character of their sacred books; but that the history and documents of Christianity are not to be handled freely. Dr. Terry admits that the plea is urged in the interests of the truth of God. But he says quite firmly that such a plea can expect no favour with the great body of sober thinking men of our time. It savours of cowardice. It begets distrust of the man who makes it, as of one who is afraid, or at least unwilling, to come to the light lest his claims should be shown to be untenable.

But now, let the need of a new apologetic be granted, in what will it differ from the old? What will it discard, and what will it retain? And especially has the new method of studying the

Bible reached results that are sufficiently agreed upon among its followers, and therefore sufficiently authoritative for the unlearned? Professor Terry proceeds to answer these questions.

It is now quite possible, he believes, to outline the criticism of the Bible which demands recognition in the apologetic of our day. 'One may, with no little confidence, mention three commanding works which embody the latest results of biblical scholarship as represented in the highest seats of learning. I refer to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, just completed in four volumes, edited by James Hastings, with the co-operation of nearly two hundred writers of acknowledged learning; the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by Cheyne and Black; and the third edition of Herzog's *Real-encyclopädie*, edited by Albert Hauck, and now in the tenth volume. These monumental encyclopædias,' continues Dr. Terry, 'are a momentous sign of the times. It cannot be denied,' he says, 'that they represent the critical opinions of the most famous biblical scholars of Germany, Great Britain, and America.' And the point is (Dr. Terry calls it 'a notorious fact'), that on all the leading questions which have agitated the learned world for the last fifty years, such as the composition of the Hexateuch, the authorship and date of the Books of Isaiah, Jonah, and Daniel, the origin of the Gospels, and the like, all these dictionaries are in substantial agreement, and none of them maintains the older traditional views.

It is true that in some instances these encyclopædias contain views on particular names, events, or books of the Bible, which are theoretical in the extreme and peculiar to their writers. These peculiarities, however, affect the value of the dictionary in which they appear rather than the consensus of critical opinion. There is no question that these great works are on the whole representative of modern scholarship, and that they have moved away from the opinions which the apologists of an earlier time strenuously contended for.

The apologist of to-day must not contend for the things that have thus been left behind. He is not called upon to accept all the opinions of the great encyclopædias, but 'he will see how unwise and hazardous it must be to place himself in antagonism to conclusions in which they generally agree.'

Professor Terry then passes to some pointed illustrations.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews there is a certain use made of Old Testament texts which appeals to us otherwise than it appealed to an older generation, or indeed than it appealed to those to whom the Epistle was addressed. The historical occasion, the immediate meaning and application of these texts, was ignored by the writer. It is not necessary to say that they are torn from their context, and used as it suits the writer's purpose to use them. That is not true, and to say so is probably to blind one's eyes to the value of that doctrine of the transcendence of Christ as our great prophet and priest, mediator of a new covenant, minister of the heavenly sanctuary, and author and finisher of our faith, which is of inestimable and permanent value as a contribution to the scriptural revelation of God in Christ. But the fact has to be reckoned with, that the impression which this truth makes upon us is not due to the pertinence of the texts cited in its support. The truth remains; it is no longer disputed indeed. And it is now, when the truth can stand alone, that we have passed away from that method of apologetic by which it was once commended.

Again. The older apologies made much of the argument from predictive prophecy. A school of expositors arose who spoke of prophecy as 'history written beforehand.' They pointed to specific predictions which were literally fulfilled centuries after they were uttered. Much of this manner of interpreting prophecy has passed away. Greater attention is given to the historical situation, the

exact language, and the circumstances and needs of the first hearers.

The 'virgin prophecy' in Is 7^{14} is an example. In Mt 1^{22} it is stated that that prophecy was fulfilled in the birth of Christ. We learn to understand what 'fulfilled' means when we observe that in Mt 2^{15} it is said that Hos 11^{1} was fulfilled in the return of the child Jesus from Egypt after the death of Herod. The words in Hosea are, 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.' The reference is to the Exodus, not a future but a past event.

In like manner, in Is 7^{14-16} the prophet speaks of what is future indeed, but only in the near future, and while the element of prediction enters into it, it cannot without violence be explained as foretelling an event of the far future. The prophet declares that the virgin whom he has in mind has already conceived; she is about to bear a son; and before the child is old enough to know good from evil, the countries of Syria and Ephraim, which were then threatening Judah, should be desolate. The prophecy in respect of the desolation of these countries was fulfilled in the lifetime of the prophet and his hearers; it is most unnatural to say that the other part, the birth of the child, was delayed for six hundred years. St. Matthew uses these prophecies in a way that is quite relevant to his purpose and impressive to his readers. But this use may not be the one that most impresses us.

These examples are enough to show the lines along which, in Professor Terry's judgment, the new apologetic must move. His demand, presented in our bald résumé, may appear too revolutionary. In reality he moves with caution and with reverence. But he claims that reverence is due to the truth as we now apprehend it, not less than to the form in which it has come down to us.

And for the rest he pleads for the apologist. 'Oh for another Joseph Butler, to write a new *Analogy*, not of *Natural and Revealed Religion*, but of universal religion and of comparative theology, as brought to the attention of mankind by the critical studies of the last one hundred and fifty years! In the light of those studies both religion and "the constitution and course of nature" have taken on a grandeur unseen, unknown before. The new analogy must accordingly be broader, deeper, richer than was ever possible before.'

How circumspect the new apologetic must be—without pursuing the subject, we may touch on one of Professor Terry's illustrations—is brought home to us by the circumstance that the first book looked at after reading Professor Terry's article, touches on the Virgin-birth and St. Matthew's use of the prophecy in Isaiah.

The book is a volume of sermons by Professor C. A. Briggs, D.D., D.Litt., of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. It is a volume of sermons of unusual character. The difficult doctrine of the Incarnation forms the subject of every sermon, and every sermon is so arranged that that doctrine is explained according to the traces of its development in the New Testament. The title of the volume is *The Incarnation of the Lord* (New York: Scribners, $1.50 net).

It is in the last sermon of the book that Professor Briggs deals with the Virgin-birth. He leaves it to the last, because the idea of the birth by a virgin stands by itself in the writings of the New Testament. It is not Pauline. It is not Johannine. It has no contact with any other doctrine or system of doctrine. It must therefore be treated by itself. And although it is early in time, and comes with as much authority as it could very well come, it is nevertheless later than the Pauline and Johannine ideas of the pre-incarnate Christ and the Divine Logos. For it is evident to Professor Briggs that both Paul and John must have left Jerusalem forever before the

doctrine of the Incarnation by a Virgin-birth became generally known there.

The doctrine of the Logos first appears in a Christian hymn, sung in the Greek congregations of Asia Minor. That is to say, Professor Briggs reckons the fourteenth verse in the first chapter of St. John part of a hymn which was sung in the churches in and around Ephesus while St. John dwelt there. He prints it—

> And the word became flesh,
> And tabernacled among us,
> And we beheld his glory,
> Glory as of an only begotten from a father,
> Full of grace and faithfulness.

The doctrine of the Virgin-birth also appears first in a Christian hymn. Its form is—

> The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee,
> And the power of the most High shall overshadow thee;
> Wherefore also that holy thing that is to be born,
> Shall be called the Son of God.

It was sung in the Jewish-Christian congregations of Palestine. It was sung there at least twenty years earlier than the Song of the Word made flesh was sung in Asia Minor.

We call this song the Ave Maria, or Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin. It was written by some early Christian poet. It was certainly composed in the Jewish-Christian community in Palestine which was nearest to the Virgin Mary. 'The author must, therefore,' says Professor Briggs, 'have known the mind of the Jerusalem or Galilean community as to the Mother of Christ Jesus. This hymn belongs so near the life of our Lord, and so near the immediate family of Jesus, that its reliability ought not to be questioned. The Jerusalem Church, under the headship of St. James, the brother of the Lord, would not have tolerated the Ave Maria if it had not expressed their devotional feelings towards our Lord and His Mother.'

But there is another version of the Virgin-birth. There is a prose version. It is found in St. Matthew's Gospel. And although it does not cite the Ave Maria, it presupposes it, giving in prose what the Ave Maria gives in poetry.

Now in this prose version the most strikingly original matter is the quotation of the prophecy in Isaiah, and the claim that that prophecy was fulfilled in the birth of Christ. 'The Isaian passage,' says Professor Briggs, 'does not predict the Virgin-birth of the Messiah; the original Hebrew word means only a young woman, whether married or single. But St. Matthew quotes the Greek version of the Old Testament, which uses a more specific term, a term which is translated virgin.'

But Professor Briggs is by no means sure that it is for the sake of the Virgin-birth that St. Matthew makes the quotation. He holds it more probable that the point of the prediction for St. Matthew was in the second line. The words of the prophecy are—

> Behold, the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son,
> And they shall call his name Immanuel.

The prophecy is cited, he believes, as a prediction of the birth of the child Immanuel. For Immanuel is translated, 'God with us,' and that translation justifies the name Jesus, which means, 'Jahweh is salvation.'

The Virgin-Birth.

By the Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., LL.D., D.Sc., Canon of Christ Church and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.

'But Mary kept all these sayings, pondering them in her heart.'—Luke ii. 19.[1]

It is a rather nice question whether we are to say 'kept all these sayings,' with R.V. text, or 'all these things,' with R.V. margin. In the one case it would mean the sayings spoken by the angels and repeated by the shepherds; in the other case it would mean the whole incident, or group of incidents. And the same question arises when the phrase is repeated a little lower down in v.[51] —after the visit of the Child Jesus to the Temple —'and His mother kept all these sayings (or things) in her heart.' It is a nice question, and one that I need not, perhaps, stay to discuss. Another small point, as it might seem, is more important for our purpose: 'kept' means 'continued to keep'; it is not the momentary wonder of which the evangelist had just been speaking when he says, 'All that heard it wondered at the things which were spoken unto them by the shepherds'; the tense used implies a sustained attitude of mind. And this helps us to understand how the phrase comes to be repeated in connexion with an incident that occurred twelve years later. All through that time—indeed, we may be sure, all through her life—the mother pondered deeply over the events described in the first two chapters of the Gospel.

I.

But what I desire more especially to ask you to notice is this—Who is it who is thus able to tell us what was passing in the mother's mind? I think we may say one of two things—either the narrative was derived ultimately from the Virgin herself, or it was just an invention, a picturesque touch, we might say, added by St. Luke.

You will observe that in the first alternative I say 'ultimately derived' from the Virgin. It need not be quite at first hand; it might be at second or third hand. But the point is that, if the statement has an historical ground at all, if it is not a mere bit of imagination, it cannot have travelled very far from its source. A little personal touch like this is just what the Virgin herself would retain, and what might be retained by the first one or two narrators; but as the story passed from mouth to mouth it would be almost sure to drop out. Only the Virgin herself, or some one specially interested in the Virgin, would think of repeating the innermost thoughts of her heart. Either this—and it is at least the simplest explanation—or else we must suppose that the historian, by an act of what we might call dramatic imagination, has so thrown himself back into the point of view of the Virgin as to reproduce what he conceives would have been the attitude of her mind.

We will treat the two alternatives for the moment as though they were equally probable. At the same time, I will just pause to point out that this kind of dramatic imagination is rather modern than ancient. It is rather a product of the historical and critical spirit than characteristic of the simple, naïve, objective story-telling of the ancients. We shall meet with other examples of the same sort of thing; and I will only ask you to bear the point in mind, as it is one, perhaps, of cumulative probability. For the present, as I have said, I will treat the two alternatives before us as equal.

Something, I think, will turn upon the extent to which this standpoint, the standpoint of the Virgin herself, is kept up throughout the narrative. I will not lay much stress on such minor points as, 'And His father and His mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning Him' (2^{33}); 'and . . . as they were returning, the boy Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem; and His parents knew it not; but supposing Him to be in the company (*i.e.* the caravan returning together from the feast), they went a day's journey; and they sought for Him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance' ($2^{43.44}$); 'and His mother said unto Him, Son, why hast Thou thus dealt with us? Behold, Thy father and I sought Thee sorrowing' (2^{48}); 'and they understood not the

[1] Preached at St. Mark's Church, Marylebone Rd., London.

saying which He spake unto them' (2[50]). I will not insist much on such points as these, though they are all very consistent; because I think that the imagination might work in this consistent way. But there are other points that seem to me of more importance.

Let me, for instance, ask you to notice the remarkable mode of dating events in the following: 'And after these days Elisabeth his wife conceived; and she hid herself five months. . . . Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee,' etc. (1[24. 26]); 'And Mary abode with her about three months, and returned unto her house' (1[56]): this is before the birth of the elder child. We note that this particular manner of dating events would be far more natural to the two mothers than it would to anyone else, including the historian.

And here is another point that would be very remarkable in anyone else than the mother: 'And it came to pass, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost; and she lifted up her voice with a loud cry, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, . . . for behold, when the voice of thy salutation came into mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy' (1[41. 43]).

If I am not mistaken, such points as these go decidedly and strongly to confirm the first of the two alternatives that we have before us, the hypothesis that the narrative as a whole came, as I said, ultimately from the holy Mother herself.

The indications of which I have been speaking are far from standing alone. They are only a few of the salient features that help to give a character to the narrative. Of this Professor W. M. Ramsay, of Aberdeen, has well remarked that 'there is a womanly spirit in the whole narrative which seems inconsistent with the transmission from man to man' (*Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 88). I believe that to be most true, and I should like to stop and illustrate it further. But I must pass on to a second question which the quotation raises. The source from which the narrative was ultimately drawn is one thing, the channel by which it reached St. Luke is another. Professor Ramsay's words imply not only that it came *from* a woman, but that it came *through* women. That also I believe to be most true. But before I come to ask how it did so, there is yet a third question which should be stated—the question, namely, in what relation St. Luke himself stands to it. Is it probable that the narrative came to him orally, and that he was the first to commit it to writing; or did it come into his hands in a written form? I will say a few words about this first.

II.

I had been in the habit of thinking it very possible that St. Luke was the first to set down the contents of these first two chapters in writing. It has, indeed, often been urged that there is a marked contrast in style between the four verses which form the preface to the Gospel and what follows. The first four verses are in quite elegant classical Greek; the main body of the narrative, on the other hand, is strongly Hebraistic, modelled upon the Greek version of the Old Testament. I was prepared to think that this might be a deliberate change of style on the part of St. Luke, adapting his manner of writing to the subject-matter and, consciously or unconsciously, allowing himself to be influenced by parallel narratives in the Old Testament. In support of this view was the fact that characteristic expressions of St. Luke's—and his style is perhaps more clearly marked and more easily distinguishable than any other in the New Testament—that characteristic expressions of his are scattered rather freely over the whole two chapters. This does not mean so very much, because he is in the habit of introducing these favourite words and phrases even where he had a written source before him, as, for instance, where he is using St. Mark.

The question whether or not St. Luke was using a written document becomes of special importance in connexion with the Canticles, those well-known hymns of praise or prophecy which are so conspicuous a feature in those two chapters. I never could believe, as some do, that they are simply free compositions on the part of St Luke. It seemed to me that some of them have too much character of their own to admit of this. At the same time it would make a considerable difference whether St Luke had a written document before him or not.

To illustrate the kind of question that arises in this connexion I may refer to the familiar words of the *Nunc Dimittis*: 'To be a light to

lighten the Gentiles and to be the glory of Thy people Israel.' The phrase, 'a light to lighten the Gentiles,' is rather remarkable in the mouth of the aged Simeon. At the time when he spoke, the prospect of any extensive preaching to the Gentiles, and still more of the admission of Gentiles on the same footing with Jews, might well seem remote. But for St. Luke writing—let us say in the year 75–80, with the destruction of Jerusalem and the whole missionary work of St. Paul behind him—nothing would be more natural. We might easily suspect that the wording of the prophetic utterance had taken its colour from the event. It was, however, quite possible that Simeon, foreseeing that event, after the manner of the prophets, dimly, and not in detail, had in his mind that striking passage of Isaiah, 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee . . .; and the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.' I am now inclined to think that this interpretation is to be preferred. Simeon had in mind this ancient prophecy; he had studied and thought over it long, and his words mean very much what the prophecy meant—not less, but also not more.

My reason for leaning to this explanation of his language is based upon other phenomena in the chapters we are considering, but more particularly upon the *Benedictus*, in which those phenomena appear to culminate.

When we look at the *Benedictus* at all closely, how intensely Jewish it is! And not only is it Jewish, but Jewish of the period to which it is ascribed. It is, of course, Messianic; but the Messianic idea expressed in it is not the new specially Christian conception, as it was recast and purified by our Lord; it has much more in common with the old popular expectation in its current form.

I must not stay to quote at length the well-known words; but I would ask you just to go over in your minds the first five or six verses, and observe their essentially pre-Christian character.

There is quite a piling up of expressions that are characteristic of the older view: 'The God of Israel'; 'wrought redemption for His people'—it is the technical term for the *chosen* people, as distinct from all others; 'in the house of His servant David'; 'salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us'—it is the political deliverance that Israel hoped for from powers like Syria or Rome; 'to show mercy towards our fathers'—the patriarchs and kings and people of Old Testament times. 'And to remember His holy covenant,' for which another name is 'the oath which He sware unto Abraham our father'; and again the promise of deliverance 'out of the hand of our enemies,' *i.e.* the political enemies mentioned just before. This is all the old idea of the Messianic reign, not His who said, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' We may apply it to this spiritual kingdom and to deliverance from our spiritual enemies, but that is not the original meaning. And just because it is not the original meaning the words are all the more appropriate to the speaker Zacharias. They are appropriate to Zacharias, but not in the least appropriate to St. Luke. The whole canticle is far removed from the spirit of St. Luke, and I think we may say *cannot* be his composition. We may credit him with some dramatic imagination, but it does not seem possible that it can have gone so far as that.

I conclude then that by far the more probable hypothesis is that in these chapters St. Luke was using an older writing; a writing curiously uninfluenced by later developments, and curiously suited to the situation which it describes. It still breathes the old narrow Jewish Particularism, as it existed at the beginning of our era. It is prophetic of Christianity, but not yet in the strict sense Christian.

Just one other point—that strangely minute appeal to the Mosaic law in connexion with the ritual of the Presentation in the Temple, 'And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were fulfilled, they brought Him up to Jerusalem, to present Him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord), and to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons' (2^{22-24}). That, again, is very unlike St. Luke, the disciple of St. Paul, the great opponent of everything legal, and very unlike the date, 75–80 A.D., when the Christian Church had long given up these Jewish usages. By that time the interest in such things would be entirely gone.

I should much like to pursue the subject, and to discuss at length the historical value of these two chapters. I should like to point out the

light which they throw on the surroundings of the Holy Family; in other words, on the character of the circle in the midst of which our Lord was born, and by which His coming was first greeted. It is a circle with distinct marks of its own, and with a history that carries us far back into Old Testament times, and perhaps also to some extent points forward beyond the New Testament. The most significant name for this circle is 'the poor' or 'the meek,' as we have them described for us in the Psalms. There is much that is deeply interesting on this line of inquiry; but its bearing on our present subject is indirect rather than direct. I refer to it on this occasion chiefly in order to show that St. Luke was probably making use of a document, and that a document which from a Christian point of view might be called 'archaic' in its character.

III.

The next question, then, that we have to ask is, where such a document as this is likely to have come from. We have seen that it has two distinguishing marks besides its archaism: (1) there is about it a certain womanliness of tone; and (2) it appears to stand in some special relation to the Virgin Mary. Is there anywhere among the special channels of information which St. Luke appears to have possessed one that seems naturally to satisfy these conditions?

There are a number of indications not confined to the Gospel but present also in the Acts, and, indeed, not collected in any one place, but dispersed throughout the two treatises, which seem to show—and I think we may say certainly show—that St. Luke had a special source of information connected with the court of the Herods. It is a source that covers a wide range of time, going back to the reign of Herod the Great and the childhood of one of his sons; but it is concerned mainly with Herod Antipas and Herod Agrippa I. It was from this source that St. Luke obtained such minute and recondite facts as that on the day of our Lord's trial Herod and Pilate 'were made friends together, for before they were at enmity between themselves' (Lk 23^{12}); and again that Herod Agrippa I. 'was highly displeased with them of Tyre and Sidon; and they came with one accord to him, and, having made Blastus, the king's chamberlain, their friend, they asked for peace because their country was fed from the king's country' (Ac 12^{20}).

Now, a peculiar feature about this source is its very personal character. There are three persons mentioned in it, otherwise, I believe, entirely unknown to history—names that do not occur in Josephus or in any other historian of the time—and all three intimately connected with the Herodian court. The first is Blastus, the king's chamberlain, who has just been referred to. The second occurs in the next chapter of the Acts (Ac 13^{1}), 'Manaen (or Menahem) the foster-brother of Herod the tetrach,' who was among the prophets and teachers at Antioch. And, lastly, there is 'Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward,' who is mentioned twice in the Gospel.

It is to this Joanna, the wife of Chuza, that I desire specially to invite your attention. She appears upon the stage four times, twice by name and twice unnamed. We hear of her, first, as one of the women who accompanied our Lord in Galilee and ministered unto Him (or, rather, unto them, *i.e.* the whole party—that is the right reading) with their substance (Lk 8^{3}). We are next told expressly that she was one of the group of women who went to the tomb on the morning of the Resurrection (24^{10}), and who had also been witnesses of the Crucifixion (23^{49}). And we may safely infer that she was one of the women collected together with the apostles in the upper room after the Ascension (Ac 1^{14}). On these last two occasions we also know that the mother of Jesus was in the company; and we cannot doubt at all that at this period the two women were much thrown together.

Does not this give us exactly the link of connexion that we are in search of? Is it not in a high degree probable that some time during this intimacy, in a moment of quiet confidence, the mother of the Lord imparted to her companion the things which she had kept in her mind and pondered so long—not only the smaller incidents which attended the wondrous event, but the wondrous event itself, the great secret of all?

I must not profess to know too much. It may not have been to Joanna herself that these things were told. I do not say that it was Joanna herself who set them down in writing. It is, perhaps, not quite necessary that they should have been set down in writing at all. Of course several of the details relating to the Herodian court might just as well—and if they had stood alone we might have thought more probably—have been

imparted to St. Luke directly by word of mouth. But we have seen reason to think that the material contained in his first two chapters came to St. Luke in writing. They bear the marks of a state of things so much earlier than, and so very different from, any of which he had experience; and these marks are so fugitive in their nature that one is inclined to think that only a written document would have preserved them. On these grounds it appears that the hypothesis that St. Luke had before him such a document is preferable. I do not say how it came to him, or when it came—whether during his two years' residence at Cæsarea, when he appears to have been with St. Paul (Ac 24^{27}), or at some other time. All these details must be matter of speculation, and I cannot lay stress upon them. I only hold fast to the central fact, which seems to be satisfactorily proved, that in some such way as this particulars known only to the Virgin Mother herself might easily and naturally and without any forcing of the evidence have come into the hands of St. Luke, and come into them through a woman.

It is well that I should be quite candid about the course of reasoning which I have been putting before you. That part of it which relates to Joanna, the wife of Chuza, struck me about thirty years ago, and has been expressed in public and in print, but has never to my knowledge been directly criticized. That part of the argument which points to the narrative as coming through a woman, and ultimately from the Virgin Mary herself, is in full agreement with Professor Ramsay in the book to which I have referred, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* The rest, and in particular so much as goes to show that St. Luke was using a document, and a document of a very early character, only occurred to me quite recently, and has not yet undergone the ordeal of criticism. Still, I have considerable confidence that the argument is sound. At least the facts on which it rests are for the most part hard facts, and not mere impressions; and there are more which I have not mentioned. At anyrate, I hope that the process of reasoning is strictly critical, and more deserving of that name than the rough and ready—I might say rough and rude—rejection of the whole narrative, simply because it contains marvels.

The right method surely is first to ascertain on what kind of attestation a statement rests, and so to infer the extent to which it may be trusted; not, because the *data* differ somewhat from those that come within our experience, without more ado to dismiss the whole, and refuse even to consider the nature of the evidence.

I quite allow that there are parts of the narrative that are more consonant with the ideas and expectations of the time than they are with our own. And to translate them into our own way of thinking is difficult and perhaps in part impossible. We must always remember that they were meant for the men of the time, and far more remotely for us. But where the evidence is so good as in this instance I believe it is, we must needs think that something real and solid lies behind it; something as to which, if we cannot give it a better name, we must even be content with the description that we find. We may be very sure that there are more things in heaven and earth than our philosophy can measure and label.

I would earnestly ask for patience. These questions are not simple, but highly complex; and they are not to be disposed of by the summary processes of common sense. It is always easy to cut a knot that ought to be untied; but when we have done so we must not call it 'science.' Rather in a sensitive mind there will remain behind a sense of violence and unreason.

IV.

What seems to me greatly to commend the view that I have been expressing, is that if we assume it to be true, all the rest of the phenomena fall into their place as they do not on any other assumption. It has, for instance, often been pointed out that the Gospels, including St. John, frequently speak of the parents of our Lord in the plural number, and of Joseph as His father. Even these two chapters of St. Luke, notwithstanding the fact that they record the whole story of the Annunciation, three times over use the phrase, 'His parents' ($2^{27.\,41.\,43}$), and once with yet greater precision, 'His father and His mother' (2^{33}); even the Virgin Mary herself is represented as saying, when she finds her Son in the temple, 'Behold Thy father and I sought Thee sorrowing' (2^{48}).

This was, no doubt, the common way of speaking throughout our Lord's public ministry. The people of Nazareth and of Capernaum looked upon Joseph, who by that time was probably no longer living, as His human father. And He did

not go out of His way to correct them. It is highly probable that at this time the apostles themselves knew no better. They just shared the common mode of speech with their neighbours; and they continued to share it for some years after the Resurrection. Meanwhile the Virgin also kept her secret to herself. We might apply to her a saying in one of the apocryphal Gospels, *μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοί*, 'my mystery, my secret, is my own, and not another's.' It was not until after the Ascension—and we know not how much after—that in some quiet hour of sympathetic confidence she breathed into the ear of one of those mothers in Israel who had so long been near her person, the strange and awe-inspiring story of the wondrous birth. So at last this delicate thread, so nearly lost, became twisted into the strand of the Gospel message. And once there, the Church has been very careful not to let it go.

Such appear to be the facts. And if anyone who still does not see his way to accept the story as it is told, falls back in self-defence upon that providential ordering by which this particular article of the Creed was, as it were, held in reserve, and not included in the public teaching either of our Lord Himself or (for some time, we may believe) of the apostles, I for one would acknowledge his right to do so. There is this difference between the Virgin-birth and (for example) the Resurrection, that, whereas the latter was fully divulged and believed in by the Church, and by every part of the Church, almost from the first moment of its occurrence, the former entered into the common faith slowly and by degrees, and by a channel that was apparently private rather than public—entered into it, we might say, by a side door (though, as we believe, by the express appointment of the Master of the house) rather than by the broad, public entrance. If anyone desires to claim the benefit of this difference, I think we ought to let him. Only, on the other side, where this is done, we ought, I think, in strictness to set against the partial silence of the Apostolic Age the very marked emphasis of the age that immediately succeeded that of the apostles.

I wish I had time to set before you in full the teaching on this subject of Ignatius of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom about the year 110. In his letters, the genuineness of which is now hardly disputed, we can see that the Virgin-birth was for him an article of faith of the first importance, and one that he earnestly impresses upon his readers. Not much later—if later at all—the clause which affirms it took its place in the oldest form of the Christian Creed. The two scholars who have made the closest and most elaborate study of the history of the Creed, one of the two a distinct Liberal, place this oldest form—the first draft, so to speak, of the Apostles' Creed—about the year 100, and Professsor Harnack only a few years later, about 140. Already, I think we may say, in the first quarter—or at the very latest in the first half—of the second century, the Virgin-birth had a place in the Christian Creed that it has never since lost.

V.

I have thought it best to give you as connected a view as I could of the probable course of things entirely on the basis of the Gospel of St. Luke, and without bringing in the corresponding chapters of St. Matthew. Those chapters are involved in so many questions, historical and critical, that I do not feel that I can use them with the same amount of freedom. I need not remind some who may hear me that there has been no lack of hypotheses to show how some of the leading features in these chapters—the Visit of the Wise Men, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt, even the Virgin-birth itself—may have grown up either out of hints contained in the Old Testament or through parallels in the profane history of the time. To hypotheses of this latter kind additions have been made quite recently. I do not doubt that much of all this is untenable; but I am not prepared to say that there may not be in it a residuum of truth. In any case, these two chapters appear to belong to that portion of the First Gospel that is latest and least certain.

I ought, perhaps, also just to allude to the fact that there are problems connected with these chapters of the Lower Criticism as well as of the Higher—problems, I mean, as to the text of what was originally written. These would be too technical to discuss here and now. I may have the opportunity of going into them more fully elsewhere; and I have already written about them at some length in the article, 'Jesus Christ,' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. I only mention this in order that you may not think that anything of importance is being neglected, though I do not

in the least believe that any of the textual points that have been raised make any difference at all to the main issue. I have no doubt that they leave it precisely where it stood without them.

There are only two remarks that I should like to make as to the positive evidence supplied by these two chapters.

1. It has often been observed that just as the first two chapters of St. Luke appear to be written from the point of view of the mother of the Lord, so these first two chapters of St. Matthew were written from the point of view of His reputed father. Just as in the one account we are told things that could be known only to the Virgin Mary, so also in the other we are told things that could be known only to Joseph—for instance, that he was minded to put away his wife, though quietly and without attracting attention; then that he was warned in a dream not to carry out his intention, because that which was conceived in her was of the Holy Ghost (Mt 1^{20}); then we are told that he was again warned in the same way after the visit of the Wise Men, and that 'he took the young Child and His mother' and departed into Egypt. Yet a third and fourth warning, also conveyed by dreams, determine the return to Palestine and the settlement at Nazareth.

It is the consistency with which this standpoint is maintained that is rather striking. It would be natural to infer that this narrative came in some way ultimately from Joseph as the other from Mary. At the same time I do not feel that I can lay as much stress on the point, because I cannot trace the channel through which the information is likely to have come any further.

2. The second point is that the whole tradition, as we find it in St. Matthew, is so utterly divergent from that in St. Luke that the few but rather significant points in which they agree acquire an enhanced importance. These are, of course, the central point of all, the special operation of the Holy Ghost—in both cases described in that way, which is the more remarkable when we think that before we come to the New Testament the very term itself, Holy Ghost, was not common, and when we think also that the same event might have been described quite differently; for instance, St. John speaks rather of an incarnation of the Divine Word. And then round this central point there are a number of minor ones; for instance, that Mary was at the time betrothed to Joseph, that her Child was to be called 'Jesus,' that the birth took place at Bethlehem of Judæa (not Bethlehem in Galilee), but that the Holy Family went to live at Nazareth. These coincidences between the two narratives are thrown into relief, and, I think we may say, specially corroborated because of their general unlikeness to each other.

VI.

I have spoken so far of the historical side of the Virgin-birth, of the kind of evidence on which it rests as an historical fact. But you will expect me before I close to say something about its theological side, its significance in relation to the eternal counsels of God and His providential ordering of the world.

From this point of view the key is supplied by the special 'Preface' in our prayer-books for Christmas-Day. In it we laud and magnify God's glorious Name because He gave Jesus Christ His only Son to be born as at that time for us; 'who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary His mother; and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin.' In that two conditions are laid down. On the one hand, He was to be 'very man of the substance of' His mother; and, on the other hand, He was to be 'without spot of sin to make us clean' from sin. In the conjunction of those two things lies the paradox. That He should become man, and yet not sinful like man—that is the wonder that moves our adoration. And it is a wonder which we are led to associate with the manner in which He was born.

I will say a word on the second point first—the sinlessness. I may be asked—one sees the question often asked—How could the Virgin-birth be a guarantee of sinlessness? After all, the human element in the birth is only halved, it is not removed. It is urged that the taint of sin, which attaches to all that is born of woman, might be conveyed—and, indeed, *must* be conveyed—through the mother alone.

That would hold good if the other factor in the process were purely negative—if it meant only the absence of something human and not the presence of something Divine. No doubt when we speak of that presence, we are speaking of a mystery; we are speaking of something beyond us, and to which our empirical tests cannot be applied. The

last thing that I would wish to do would be to intrude upon that mystery, or to seek to dogmatize about it. It is far better left as a mystery. Still, I think there is one thing that we should be justified in saying about it. If there was a divine agency at work, however mysterious, we may be sure that it would at least refine all it touched. 'He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and He shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver . . . for He is like a refiner's fire' (Mal $3^{3.2}$). 'I will turn My hand upon thee, and thoroughly purge away thy dross, and will take away all thy tin' (Is 1^{25}). That is the way in which the operation of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of God, is described. Can we think of evil as living in contact with it—in contact of which we are meant to think as the closest and most organic that the mind can conceive? I repeat that I do not try to penetrate the mystery; but of so much at least I think we may be sure.

It might, however, be urged by those who speculate more freely about these things—Why is it that the human element in the birth was only halved? Why was it not altogether removed? Why was there any necessity for a human mother if there was not for a human father?

That was just a question that speculative minds put to themselves in ancient times, as they might do now. And they took the step that the New Testament has not taken. Those who did so most consistently were the sects called Gnostics. Marcion, for instance, did away with the human birth altogether. The fact corresponding to it with him was that a Heavenly Being suddenly descended and became visible in human form at Capernaum in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar.

Another important school, the Valentinians, held that the Holy Child passed through His mother, as they expressed it, 'like water through a tube.'

The Gnostics, however, were not strictly Christians. With them philosophy or theosophy came first, and they sought to give it a Christian colour by adapting to it the text of the New Testament by means of allegory.

We run no great danger of that kind now. There is little fear of our losing sight of the full humanity of our Lord. It is rather His full Divinity that we are in danger of losing sight of; and it is this that the Christian Church has sought to safeguard by its insistence upon the Virgin-birth.

I am always very reluctant to use the word 'must' in connexion with any dispensation of God—to say that it 'must' have taken place in one particular way and in no other. God sees not as man sees, and His resources are infinite—beyond our power even to imagine. But when we are told, on what seems to be such good authority, that His way of bringing His first-begotten into the world was through birth from a Virgin, we can at least assent to its fitness for the end in view. If we try to throw ourselves back into the spirit of the time and ask what other method would be so intelligible to men of all classes and degrees of culture, we must answer, None. And when I say 'so intelligible,' I mean what other method would so invest the act of Incarnation with the associations of perfect sinlessness and purity. I do not think that we are able to conceive of any other method that should do this. That He should be 'born without spot of sin to make us clean from all sin' is a truth to which our hearts instinctively respond.

Nor can we forget, although this, no doubt, stands on another level, of what incalculable value this same truth has been in raising the whole idea of womanhood, and especially of motherhood. In times of rudeness and ignorance and violence this ideal has shone like a star in the heavens. And if, like so many of the best gifts to men, it has had its abuses, the abuses are such as we can avoid, and keep the good without the harm.

'We beseech Thee, O Lord, pour Thy grace into our hearts that, as we have known the incarnation of Thy Son Jesus Christ by the message of an angel, so by His cross and passion we may be brought unto the glory of His resurrection: and as He was presented in the temple in substance of our flesh, so we may be presented unto Thee with pure and clean hearts, by the same Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'

Point and Illustration.

An Eye for an Eye.

Not only is the principle of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' stated in these very words in the Laws of Ḫammurabi, but it runs throughout them, and usually with drastic literality. For example: 'If in a man's house a fire has been kindled, and a man who has come to extinguish the fire has lifted up his eyes to the property of the owner of the house, and has taken the property of the owner of the house, *that man shall be thrown into that fire*.'—*The Oldest Code of Laws*, § 25 (Johns' edition).

Salvation—By Anything.

There is a clever and amusing notice of Mr. Walker's book, *The Cross and the Kingdom*, in a recent number of the *Inquirer*. It was not to be supposed that a Unitarian journal would feel pleasantly at home with 'an ex-Unitarian minister,' yet the criticism is always good-natured and sometimes almost kind.

The head and front of Mr. Walker's offending is that when he felt cold in Unitarianism he did not *take exercise*, but put on ecclesiastical mufflers in the shape of an evangelical creed. Unitarianism is charged with its 'cold intellectualism': this writer retorts with the 'emotional excitability' of evangelicalism. And now, he says, Mr. Walker 'comes before us with this book, a veritable storehouse of warm clothing, whereto shivering Evangelicals may resort to readjust the temperature of emotions grown chill in the bleak borderlands which at once unite and divide the Congregational from the Unitarian Confessions.'

'Those of us,' he continues, 'who have either grown used to the climate, or are not afflicted with a low spiritual circulation, or prefer rather to be chilly and active than warm and encumbered by our wrappings, are not likely to spend much time at this new Emporium.' So all he promises his readers is the interest of looking in at the windows as they go by.

He does not like the things he sees. He selects four as specially offensive. The first is the statement that 'there is, doubtless, an undogmatic Christianity which is not without influence in the world to-day . . . but it must not be forgotten that these aspirations have really been kindled (however remotely it may seem) by influences that have radiated forth from a circle, the centre of which has been the Cross of Christ in its evangelical interpretation.'

The second is that 'the illumination we rejoice in could never have come save through that evangelical interpretation of the Cross which we know, as a matter of historical fact, *did* bring it.'

The third, 'There is nothing more wonderful on earth than this unanimous and identical Christian experience; and it is entered on always in the same way, through faith in the revelation of God's forgiving love in the Cross of Christ.'

And the fourth is, 'Throughout all Christian time, wherever this gospel has been preached, in every clime and in every nation, men and women have found salvation through believing. There is no more patent or more remarkable fact in the history of the world and in the experience of men than this.'

The reviewer in the *Inquirer* puts a query to all these statements. He does not deny that men have found salvation (which he defines in a parenthesis as 'the sense of attaining to the higher possibilities of human life'); but he says that it has been in spite of, rather than because of, 'any such theory of the Cross.' The theory, he says, comes later as an explanation of the spiritual experience. 'Moreover, there is a very real sense in which any man anywhere at any time can "find salvation through believing." It is simply *through believing*. It is a subjective experience, and not to be held to establish an objective validity. "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee." He is kept in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on *anything*.'

The Babylonian Boy at School.

In the *Sunday School Times* of Philadelphia—the best edited religious paper in America—the editor has published a chapter from Professor Hilprecht's book, *Explorations in Bible Lands*. He has the right to do this (and of course he has received the liberty also) because of the great

service he has rendered in publishing Professor Hilprecht's discoveries as they have been made, and giving Sunday-school teachers and Bible students an interest in the archæology of the Bible all over the States.

This chapter is very suitably published in the *Sunday School Times*. Its subject is 'The Ancient Priest School of Nippur, and How School Children in the Time of Abraham learned their Lessons.' It is very diverting reading. The school curriculum of a Babylonian boy (or girl?) can be traced, so far at least as writing was employed in it, from the 'strokes' with which all the world has begun, up to the finest freehand drawing and clay-modelling. Here is a slate (may we call it? though it is made of baked clay) filled with simple signs, each of them beginning with the same sign, *ba—ba-a, ba-mu, ba-ba-mu, ba-ni, ba-ni-ni, ba-ni-a,* and so on. The slate is divided into two columns, and the second column is identical with the first. 'Repeat, repeat, repeat' seems to have been the first principle of education even in early Babylonia. Here is a slate with four mistakes in quite a small space. 'Let me correct the exercises of this young Babylonian, who lived prior to Abraham, and transliterate what he has to say.' And Professor Hilprecht proceeds to correct them. 'It would be interesting to know,' he adds, 'how such apparent carelessness or stupidity was dealt with by the professors in the great Bêl College and University of Calneh.'

What a laborious business it must have been to learn to write in the days when arrows, set at different angles and in different combinations, had to express all the thoughts of men's hearts. If we could only have been there and told these boys to write in English! And what a discipline it must have been for the teacher. Surely priests were then the schoolmasters because none but priests had patience enough. One thing is evident. There was no burning question called 'Religious Instruction.' All instruction was religious. From the earliest stroke to the clay bust all was done to the glory of God. It made things easier in this way that the god himself could be most easily and most acceptably modelled in clay.

Here is a tablet with two harnessed horses incised upon it. As the horse first appeared in Babylonia shortly before the middle of the second millennium, this tablet is a thousand years later than the others that lie beside it. It must have been found in the upper strata of the mound. Here is a terra-cotta relief depicting a pastoral scene. A shepherd playing the lute has attracted the attention of his dog, who is evidently accompanying his master's music by melodious howlings, and another unknown animal (sheep?) is likewise listening attentively. With change of drapery the scene might be taken from Theocritus or Virgil.

These tablets all belonged to the temple library of Nippur. It was evidently well stocked with books, including many works of reference. So Dr. Robertson Nicoll must not think that his desire for books of reference beyond all other books is a wholly *fin de siècle* desire. And the books were arranged in order—mathematical, astronomical, astrological, linguistic, and grammatical treatises having in each case their own corner and their own shelves. 'The library,' says Professor Hilprecht, 'was arranged according to subjects, and classified according to scientific principles.'

Religion—Revealed and Unrevealed.

It is a pleasure to find a competent writer in *Church Bells* (30th January), who 'has not been an enthusiastic admirer of Professor Sayce's incursions into the realms of theology,' concurring with our judgment of the new book on the Religions of Egypt and Babylonia, and saying 'these lectures are, in my humble opinion, the best thing he has done yet.' We said the best thing since the Hibberts; but perhaps this reviewer is right. He says that 'Professor Sayce's felicity (he has just called him *felix opportunitate*) is mainly in the fact that some ground had now been definitely cleared for Oriental history. It is more than guess-work. It is a garden of fact, surrounded by a field of unexplored undergrowth. Of Professor Sayce's lectures it is not too great praise that he has almost succeeded in bringing order into a realm where chaos ruled before. He has pricked the bubble of belief in an unchanging East, where men are plunged in thought heedless of the march of events without. Even the practice of making mummies of corpses was neither primitive nor universal in Egypt, he tells us; and in Babylonia there was too much change at all times to be pleasant.'

This acute writer disputes Professor Sayce's

statement that the difference between the Hebrew and the Babylonian religion is the difference between revealed and unrevealed religion. He calls it 'psychological and historical nonsense.' And he says that all religion, so far as it is religion, is revealed, and the difference between one religion and another is only the difference between what is true and what is more true.

Evangelicalism.

By the Rev. W. P. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Aberdeen.

II. The Latter-Day Crisis.

Thus far we have dealt with the causes of the great part played by evangelical religion in the history of Scotland during the last century and a half. But has it maintained its position and its influence during the most recent period? This there is good reason to doubt. There is of course much preaching which might be called evangelical rather than anything else, with a great organization of evangelistic effort, but there seems to be general agreement that they do not produce the same palpable results as in the earlier period. It may also be questioned if it has the same hold as before over the general mind. Formerly, to say that a preacher was evangelical was as much as to say that he was popular, while to-day the practical preacher who can also be interesting would rather appear—at least in wide circles—to be the favourite type. At all events, whether or not the evangelical pulpit generally has declined in power and popularity, there are various circumstances which have been making in this direction. One is that the hopes so fervently expressed in the early part of the Nineteenth Century as to the influence that a gospel ministry might be expected to exert upon the country at large, have not been realized. In particular, the great cities have not been purified, but in their depths are hideously festering with vice and crime. A second cause of disappointment may have been that the average person who professed, under the influence of evangelical religion, to have experienced conversion did not exhibit a type of character which, for all its spiritual excellence, was conspicuously superior in respect of unselfishness and integrity to that of the representative of a cross-section of ordinary respectable society. And lastly and chiefly, there has been some loss of power owing to a feeling of uncertainty as to how far the doctrinal setting in which the evangelical message was traditionally enclosed can be upheld, and also as to how, assuming that it must be amended, the evangelical message is to be recast.

In the first place, it is unquestionable that there are some doctrinal elements of the traditional evangelical system which can no longer claim to make any impression upon the cultivated modern mind, some which have even become to it a stumbling-block. The theory of scriptural inspiration with which the older school operated has ceased to be the working theory of the men of the younger generation. The latter may believe as much as the former that the Scriptures are the record of a revelation which is of sovereign authority in matters of faith and practice; but they are, speaking generally, unable to see in each section and verse a pronouncement which has the imprimatur of the infallible God, and which decisively settles any question to which it can certainly be shown to speak. To proceed, in the evangelical demonstration which was wont to be given of the miserable present condition and of the desperate outlook of sinful man, the argument was largely founded upon doctrinal assumptions, some of which at least have ceased to be a living factor in serious thinking. This holds more particularly of the use which was made of Adam's Fall, of the imputation to us of the guilt of his sin, and of the transmission of a nature which was wholly corrupted through his act of disobedience; and we may take leave to doubt whether the conscience of any educated or uneducated person is now touched by a reference to Adam, and to suggest that there is a deep-seated feeling that to discourse upon these primeval transactions is to prejudice the message by inviting the

hearer to travel into a region of unreality. The demonstration of man's distress culminated in the menace of the everlasting torments of hell; and while personally one may have too much respect for the general tenor of the New Testament, and too much belief in the power of freewill, to affirm the certainty of an eventual universal restoration, at least it seems clear that the doctrine of eternal punishment, whether because of the discovery of different strains of teaching in the New Testament, or because of a growing belief in God's love, can no longer be used with effectiveness as one of the axioms of religion. In the second place, there are evangelical doctrines which have been questioned with less ground if not with less plausibility. Passing to the machinery of redemption, and in particular to the Atonement, the modern pulpit has acquired to some extent a note of uncertainty, as knowing that while the death of Christ has been believed from apostolic times to be the ground of redemption, the precise form of the doctrine with which evangelicalism has operated is a version, emended in the old Protestant theology, of an interpretation first definitely propounded by a theologian of the Middle Ages. And, finally, as respects regeneration and the allied doctrines, modern research in the psychology of religion has tended to create and disseminate the impression that in the experiences of the converted life we have to deal, not with phenomena of the miraculous kind due to the workings of a supernatural power, but only with a peculiar modification of states of feeling which have their parallels in the experiences of men who render another worship to other gods.

But if some portions of the historic evangelical creed have become incredible, some dubious, it is not really necessary to abandon any vital element of the system. Let us take up in detail the salient points.

In the first place, it is evident that nothing has shaken the fundamental assumption of evangelical religion, that man is by nature in a condition of spiritual distress which creates the need of a redemption. Even if we confess our ignorance as to the primitive condition of the human race, and the first entrance of sin into human experience, the substance of St. Paul's argument in Romans is still valid, and verifiable by observation and self-examination—namely, that as we find ourselves in this world there is a lower self which has the mastery over the higher self, and that by consequence we are in a state of alienation from God. Then as regards the doctrines of the last things, even if we feel unable to include an everlasting Hell in our conception of final destinies, there remains a real 'terror of the Lord' in the absolute certainty that every soul which continues under the dominion of sin, and so long as it so continues, is preparing for itself a portion of ever-deepening depravity and of ever-accumulating misery. And if the distress of humanity is an assured and permanent fact, with equal confidence may it be said that no doctrine or theory of salvation, to whatever tests we may subject it, can compete with the evangelical conception of the gracious initiative and the superabounding magnanimity of God towards sinful men. That His love anticipated our merits and survives our merits, that from Him proceeded reconciliation, that He forgives and restores us on the gracious terms of faith, looking to our gratitude for a return, and that it is His will to bless, here and hereafter, those who trust in Him, above all that they can ask or think—is a religious message which, apart from its unequalled sublimity, at one and the same time signally redounds to the glory of God, and strikes a deeply responsive chord in the religious heart of man. Of this message it is also without doubt an integral part that the promises and blessings of the gospel rest on the work of Christ. It is further strongly argued by many, partly on the ground of the apostolic testimony, partly on the ground of the corroboration alleged in experience, that the formula 'for Christ's sake' must be carried to the point of greater definiteness by saying that the death of Christ was of the nature of a penal substitution, and as such was the necessary condition of our reception to the favour and forgiveness of God. At the same time, it seems clear that there are many, perhaps an increasing number of, thoughtful persons to whom the interpretation of Christ's death as a propitiatory sacrifice does not appeal; and he may be confidently classed as an evangelical preacher who, if merely with the understanding that in a real sense it is for Christ's sake, is clear upon the sublime fundamental truth that by grace we are saved through faith, and that not of ourselves, but by the gift of God.

Upon the next cardinal evangelical topic, the work of the Holy Spirit, two remarks may be made. The first is that, as St. Paul argued, man in his natural condition is foredoomed to failure and ever-growing impotence, unless the unhappy balance of forces represented by the 'mind' and the 'flesh' is redressed by the infusion into the soul of a supernatural spiritual energy. On its part philosophical and pædagogic theory knows of no more powerful dynamic than education and example; and until education becomes more effective, example more inspiring, and human nature something radically better than we have hitherto known it, it will be permissible to believe that the great need of man is the gift of heavenly grace to renew the nature, to purify the heart, and to establish the will. Nor is the state of the argument to-day merely that man is in want of more spiritual power which it was probable that God would bestow. It is a patent fact, that for centuries a force has been at work in the world making young men to see visions and old men to dream dreams, setting hearts on fire with noble enthusiasms, bending men's wills to noble endeavours, uttering itself here in the heroism of conquest and martyrdom, yonder in the ministrations of unselfish beneficence, in the patient endurance of the cross of suffering, and in the unnoticed struggle to live out amid the commonplaces of temptation the duties of the victorious life—and in this force we can reasonably claim to have seen, not the expression of any special racial genius, not even the outflow of the endowment of a moral aristocracy of humanity, but the illuminating and vitalizing and enabling energy of the Holy Spirit of the living God.

Having thus surveyed the doctrinal substance of the evangelical creed, we are now in a better position to consider the remaining capital question: 'Is evangelicalism necessarily tied to the theory of Scripture with which it has been historically associated?' Even yet its predilections lean strongly to conservative criticism, and to the most rigid doctrine of inspiration, as may be seen from the great prominence given at the conferences and in the periodicals of the party which, for convenience' sake, may be called the Keswick school. On the other hand, the Free Church of Scotland, in the person of great scholars who have gained the ear not only of Scotland but of England, America, and Germany, has shown that it is possible to combine the evangelical spirit and the evangelical message with a point of view which certainly involves the abandonment of the theory of the inerrancy of Scripture. And what seems very clear is that a man who understands the gospel, who believes in the gospel, and who bases his life upon the gospel, ought not to feel the need of the doctrine of an infallible Bible. He knows that the note of infallibility attaches to the gospel which he finds, and which finds him in the Bible, and this ought to be sufficient. In this matter we can profitably learn from the Apostle Paul and his treatment of the question of authority. For him the matter of really vital moment was the body of truths constituting the gospel, which had been revealed and authenticated in his own experience, and to which he declared he would cleave though an angel from Heaven should proclaim another message. On the other hand, it appears that he made small account of doctrines which did not enter into the substance of the gospel. His attitude towards the Old Testament in particuar, while ostensibly governed by traditional views, was extraordinarily free and bold; he criticized its most essential provisions as radically defective, and only valued it to the extent to which he found in it anticipations of his gospel of grace. And when a modern Christian reaches a similar position, a *modus vivendi* has been found in the disturbing atmosphere created by Biblical Criticism. He values the Bible as the Word of God, because it is the record by which the gospel reaches him, but he is content to leave to criticism the settlement of questions of origins and sequences which do not involve the destruction or disintegration of his saving faith. Nor does it appear that the abandonment of the old theory of the thoroughgoing inerrancy of Scripture, or, to put it positively, the limitation of infallibility to the contents of the gospel, seriously impairs the power of the preacher to speak with the voice of authority. After all, what has always persuaded, and has most effectually persuaded men, is, not the appeal to an infallible Church, or to an infallible Book, but the perception by the people addressed that the message which a speaker delivers is one which he from his own heart believes, which he himself lives, and which he would fain have others believe and live as they value the welfare of their souls. And this conviction, with the power of persuasion which flows from it,

belongs to all who have found the gospel in the Bible—even if they admit in the Scriptures a body of historical and even doctrinal matter which bears the human hall-mark of ignorance or half-knowledge.

In conclusion, we may consider briefly the practical question of what the evangelical minister ought to make the staple of his weekly sermons. The question of economy, as it may be termed, involves consideration of the prominence that should be given to the evangelical message, and of the precise aspect of the gospel upon which stress is most usefully laid, by those who claim to occupy the evangelical standpoint. In regard to this, three working theories may be distinguished. According to the first, every sermon should contain the whole gospel. A second and third differ from the first, in that they only insist on a sermon containing a part of the gospel, while they differ from each other in their conception of the aspect of the gospel which is most properly brought into habitual prominence.

1. The view of the old evangelical pulpit was that, except on special occasions, every sermon should deal with the master-topics of sin and salvation. The point of departure varied with the text, but the argument soon worked round to the picture of our lost estate, to the exposition of the plan of redemption, and to an appeal to the unconverted to embrace the saving offers of the gospel. Nor is it difficult to appreciate the motives of the preachers of this school, who, realizing that they spoke to dying men, felt that necessity was laid upon them to bid them flee, while it was yet day, from the wrath to come. But experience soon showed that, except in the case of the most gifted preachers, this type of ministry was not effective. The congregation grew weary under the monotonous repetitions even of an earnest man, and more than callous when the gospel-sermon was felt to have lost the old force and fire, and to be merely an attempt to produce a conventional discourse in accordance with what it was supposed that a sermon should contain. For these and other reasons it has become evident that the evangelical minister is likely to produce a more profound impression by the interpolation into a teaching ministry of a varied character of an occasional gospel-sermon. In this case his ordinary message will contain only a part of the gospel, and the important question is, which part?

2. In a common type of modern sermon the evangelical message takes the form of a proclamation of the grace of the glorified Christ, and of an invitation to the hearers to seek, in communion with Him, for the needed guidance and strength and consolation. The discourse may have traversed wide fields of history and experience, and even touched upon present-day topics, but at least in its conclusion it seeks to maintain its evangelical character by a reference to what is taken to be the chief boon of the gospel, namely, communion with the risen Lord. There may have been no word of the condition of repentance so emphasized in Scripture, no reference to the radical change which lies at the beginning of the spiritual life; the sum of the matter appears to be that we are to look to the risen Lord, and to walk with Him, amid our daily tasks and trials, as a familiar friend. The opinion may, however, be expressed, that to resolve the evangelical message into the offer of the friendship of Jesus is a mistake. Communion with the risen Christ is a phase of Christian experience; it is a high and holy experience; it is the experience of the saints; but just for this reason we may doubt the wisdom of the main emphasis being laid upon it in popular preaching. Most of us resemble James more than Paul or John; we are capable of faith in the mercy of God, and in the mission of His Son, and in reliance on God's grace we can serve Him with some fidelity in the various spheres in which He gives us work to do; but we are not sensible of the sweets of fellowship with the risen Lord, and sometimes have a suspicion that the preacher does not himself know intimately the experiences which he so eloquently commends.

3. A third theory is that the staple of the teaching of an evangelical ministry may very properly be ethical, subject to the control of an occasional sermon which puts all things in their due place. A so-called evangelical preacher may really produce less genuine evangelical result than another, whose habitual aim is to commend to his people the ideal of the Christlike life, and exhibit to them the sordidness and the misery of ill-doing. In support of the view that practical preaching is evangelical, two reasons may be given. The first is that it has the example of

Christ. The second is that earnest moral teaching is the necessary instrument for creating that sense of personal unworthiness without which the offer of God's forgiving mercy cannot be appreciated or even understood. When the doctrine of eternal punishment was implicitly believed and boldly proclaimed, the preacher possessed an instrument by which he could, so to speak, bring the congregation to its knees before God; but now that this persuasive is comparatively little used, and is comparatively ineffectual even when used, heightened importance attaches to really good moral teaching, which is fitted to educate the conscience, to shake men out of their self-complacency, and to create in them the feeling of self-discontent and self-despair, which draws sinners to the God of all grace. The Law, it is true, does not save, but to preach the law with power is to dispose man from the heart to utter the prayer which contains the quintessence of the evangelical creed, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'

In present-day preaching, in spite of the tendency of the sermon to become amorphous and indescribable, two types stand out with some distinctness. One is the evangelical sermon, which preaches Christ in some sort, but works no sense of sin. The other is the ethical sermon, which touches the conscience, but opens no door of hope. With the latter the evangelical minister may largely agree in his choice of topics, but with the difference that the congregation knows the place of morality in his general scheme, and his outlook towards the delectable regions of the gospel of the grace of God. With the popular type of evangelical theory he may agree to differ to the extent of not thinking it necessary to 'preach Christ' in every sermon, as knowing that he is really preaching Christ when he is leading men to repentance. And he may well think that, when he does undertake to preach the gospel, it is not enough to dedicate to Christ the general allusions of an eloquent peroration, but that there is matter for a special sermon in the great fundamental truths of the sinfulness of man and the grace of God.

At the Literary Table.

JANE AUSTEN.

Macmillan, 5 vols, 2s. net, each.

THERE is not the slightest intention in our mind of estimating Jane Austen's place as a novelist. It is certainly worth mentioning that to her the jaded appetite of the novel-reader returns. It is worth mentioning that Jane Austen will never be out of date. Dickens will pass and Thackeray be neglected, but to Jane Austen's hero, and of Jane Austen's heroine, it still will be said—

For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair.

But it is not even to mention these simple verities that Jane Austen's name is put at the top of this article. It is to seize the opportunity of saying that a new edition of Jane Austen has come out. Up to the present it is *the* edition. For nowhere else can the combination of good printing, happy illustrating, and low pricing be found. Happy illustrating!—it is Hugh Thomson that does it, and it is Hugh Thomson at his best. But Austin Dobson must not be forgotten, even though not a word of him will be read. He writes an Introduction to every volume.

THE CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY.

Cambridge University Press, vol. i., 16s. net.

The conception of this work was due to Lord Acton; its execution has fallen upon three of Lord Acton's pupils—Dr. A. W. Ward, Dr. G. W. Prothero, and Mr. Stanley Leathes. It would be difficult to overpraise either the intellectual strength of the mind that conceived the idea or the responsive fidelity of the minds that have now carried it into effect. The very fact that many hands were to be set to work on every period is an evidence of Lord Acton's fellowship with the modern and scientific method of writing history. The ancient method (it is not so ancient) made history a department of art rather than of science. 'Let me conceive this movement in my mind, and paint it so that it can be framed and hung up.' That the mind was not capable of conceiving so

vast a movement as, for example, the Renaissance, was not to be allowed to trouble one, nor that a separated picture was necessarily untrue. The modern method is to give a man no more to do than he can do better than all other men; and then leave the reader to exercise his own imagination in arranging the parts into a picture. This does not make the historian's imagination superfluous, it only eliminates its errors; and what is of even more importance, it compels the reader to enter by intellectual effort into possession of what history has to give him.

This method, then, is to be followed in the *Cambridge Modern History*. It is followed in the first volume now published, which is intended to be an introduction to the whole of the twelve volumes, and at the same time covers the period of the Renaissance. It is a volume of 838 pages, —broad, handsomely printed pages,—and it contains nineteen chapters, besides an Introductory Note by the late Bishop Mandell Creighton, and one hundred pages of Bibliography at the end. The first chapter is 'The Age of Discovery.' It is written by E. J. Payne, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford. The second is 'The New World.' It also is written by Mr. Payne. The third is 'The Ottoman Conquest,' written by J. B. Bury, Litt.D., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History, Cambridge. 'Italy and her Invaders,' by Mr. Stanley Leathes, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, is chapter the fourth. The fifth and sixth chapters deal with Florence—'Savonarola,' by E. Armstrong, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford, being the fifth, and 'Machiavelli,' by L. Arthur Burd, M.A., the sixth. That is enough to show the manner and the men.

It is inevitable that there should be a certain amount of repetition; it is almost inevitable that there should be a little contradiction. Both are gains. It is the repetition that catches up the dropped thread; it is the contradiction that compels the reader to think. Had the editors sedulously striven to remove both, or either, they had misinterpreted Lord Acton's purpose, and misused their office. The clearest example of contradiction is between Dr. William Barry on 'Catholic Europe' and Mr. Henry Charles Lea on 'The Eve of the Reformation'; but it is no oversight. These chapters are placed by the editors side by side. To write history as we understand it to-day, this method must be followed. The 'Catholic' will approve of Dr. Barry and the 'Protestant' of Mr. Lea? Perhaps. It will be the worse for the Catholic and the Protestant, but it was no business of the editors to give either Catholics or Protestants common sense.

The style is not uniform. It could not very well be. But that also is a gain. If an eloquent writer has sent our critical faculties to sleep, he is at once followed by a matter-of-fact writer, who wakens them out of their sleep. And it is never what we receive from, but what we give to, a volume of history that makes it profitable.

The most difficult part of the whole work has no doubt been the preparation of the Bibliography. It is not altogether satisfactory. There is a separate list of books for each chapter. That causes repetition where it is no gain. And it prevents the student from tracing the course of the history *in its literature*, which he might have been encouraged to do, had the bibliography been arranged for the whole period and selected with care. No doubt this also was well considered, and we are sure that not the easier but what seemed the better way was chosen.

THE PATHWAY TO REALITY.

John Murray, 10s. 6d. net.

The Gifford Lectures in the University of St. Andrews for the session 1902–1903 were delivered by the Right Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P., LL.D., K.C. The first half has now been published by Mr. Murray under the title of 'The Pathway to Reality.' No series of the Giffords has been more purely metaphysical. Mr. Haldane knew it. To overcome the strain of following an abstract argument from lecture to lecture, he resolved to speak to his audience *ex tempore*. For he wished to watch his audience, to follow the working of its mind, and to mould his discourse accordingly.

His subject is Reality. This course covers the scaffolding or plan or pathway to Reality. In another course Mr. Haldane will deal with the meaning of that plan for Conduct and Religion. All Philosophy, the Philosophy of all the ages and all the schools, has been concerned with Reality. And every thinker has made some contribution to its discovery. For Mr. Haldane does not believe that any philosophical system has been

in vain. One may construct and another may criticize. The critic makes the basis broader for the construction, and still the work makes progress towards the perfect day.

Now the ultimate Reality is God. Therefore Mr. Haldane's work is to discover God. Not your God; not perhaps the God even of St. Paul; the only living and true God, as the full flower of philosophy can seek after and find Him.

So it is not a matter of mere speculative pastime. Mr. Haldane is too serious for play. To discover God is necessary for life. To eat, drink, and make merry is not the end of existence. Some men may rest content with the certainty that is offered by the physical sciences. Mr. Haldane is not content with that. He craves for reality in the things of beauty, of moral worth, and of religion.

> Thoughts hardly to be packed
> Into a narrow act,
> Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
> All I could never be,
> All men ignored in me,
> That was I worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.

Mr. Haldane craves for God. And the search is the more serious that he is shut up to the use of Reason alone to discover Him. He considers himself so shut up by the terms of Lord Gifford's will. That is why the lectures make such a strain on the attention, and demand so much from the listener as well as from the lecturer.

Philosophy is great. There is no limit to its greatness, except the limit of man's mind. Science is a small matter in comparison. It is content with small things—with certainties within a narrow range, with visions that are altogether of the earth. Mr. Haldane believes in his subject. And he makes his audience believe in it. If it has not done what Mr. Haldane holds it is its very task to do, if by searching we have not after all found out God, Mr. Haldane believes it is because Philosophy has not yet been criticized and constructed enough. It has not yet reached the perfection of its powers.

HEGEL AND HEGELIANISM.

T. & T. Clark, 3s. net.

Of all the volumes of 'The World's Epoch-Makers' yet issued, excepting Principal Lindsay's *Luther*, this was the most needful, and it is the best. The author is Dr. Robert Mackintosh of Manchester. This is not the first book Dr. Mackintosh has published. His little *Apologetics* was a great illumination to those who were happy enough to light upon it—almost that very 'new apologetic' so much prayed for. And his *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd* made men wonder why so good a scholar and so acute a critic of current philosophy was still described as 'Professor of Apologetics.'

This is not Professor Mackintosh's first book, but this is the book that will make his reputation. Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, who edits the 'Epoch-Makers,' will have the joy of one great discovery at least when he reckons up his jewels at the end.

The mere fact that a man of so much real modesty undertook *Hegel and Hegelianism*, was proof that he could do it. It was not evidence, however, that he could write well. And Dr. Mackintosh's first book (which we have not named) was not well written. The appropriate language and simple vigour of this book turn all hesitation as to its style into active delight. Surely it is a triumph of self-discipline for a man to convert a pointless clumsy style into one of ringing clearness and picturesqueness. It is a triumph of the use of the English language to make Hegel and Hegelianism so easy to read and remember.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

T. & T. Clark, 8s. net.

This book is as genuine a surprise as we have had for many a day. The Pauline Epistles—what new thing can be said under such a title? And who is 'the Rev. R. D. Shaw, M.A., B.D., Edinburgh,' that he should say it? Then we turned to the index. There is no test of scholarship like an index. It reveals the quality of the author's mind, his whole outlook, his sense of proportion, and especially his sensitiveness to truth in small things. The index was all right. It was reassuring. It even invited to a closer acquaintance by sundry tempting titles.

Choosing 'Atonement,' we turned to the pages it referred to. On the Atonement a man must say something or nothing. There is no middle way now. There is no room for mediocrity to flourish. Besides, the reference was limited—pages 225 to 228 it said. We turned to the Atonement.

It was found in the middle of the study of the Epistle to the Romans. We were interested enough to begin now at the beginning of that study. And long before we had finished it we saw that here was a thoroughly active mind,—clearly Mr. Shaw is one of the younger men of whom the Scottish Churches are so proud,—steeped in the literature of the subject he had chosen to write upon, and strong enough to handle it—even to handle van Manen himself—with refreshing candour, and yet concerned always and most entirely to reveal the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which the Pauline Epistles contain. From the Epistle to the Romans we passed to the Pastorals to test the critical faculty of a writer we had found so spiritually minded. Last of all we read the résumé—Paul's message to mankind—with which the volume closes. This for the author's insight and our own pure pleasure. We had better quote the end of it.

'Finally, Paul believed and declared that when the Lord comes again, He shall usher in a glorious destiny for all them that love His appearing.

'His gospel is ever illumined by this glowing hope. With Paul it is ever—"The best is yet to be, the last of life, for which the first was made." He leads every disciple upward to the heavenly vision, and when the heart is weary and broken he rouses it by whispering, "We shall be like Him. Eye hath not seen nor ear heard what He hath prepared." It is ours to have a part in the new heavens and the new earth, a place in the restitution of all things, a happy reunion with them that have slept in Christ before us, and an eternal fellowship with the Lord Himself.

'Such was the message. It is well to hear it, for sage or poet has never given better. It is as if the veil were rent, and the light of eternity streamed through. And Christ is the centre of all, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end.

'Christ! I am Christ's! and let the name suffice you,
Ay, for me too He greatly hath sufficed:
Lo with no winning words I would entice you,
Paul has no honour and no friend but Christ.

'Hearts I have won of sister or of brother,
Quick on the earth or hidden in the sod,
Lo every heart awaiteth mé, another
Friend in the blameless family of God.

'Surely He cometh, and a thousand voices
Call to the saints, and to the deaf are dumb;
Surely He cometh, and the earth rejoices,
Glad in His coming who hath sworn, I come.'

It is a popular book, and it is one of the best of its kind.

EGYPT.

A. & C. Black, 20s. net.

This is modern Egypt. The pictures—there are seventy-five of them, and they are all in colour—are pictures of what an observant eye can select and see to-day. The narrative is of the actual experience of him who is at once artist and author, Mr. R. Talbot Kelly, who has lived in Egypt long and likes it well. Here is a fair specimen of the narrative (the illustrations, alas! we can give no example or adequate idea of)—

'I had selected a subject several miles out in the desert from Tūra, and for lack of other means I reached the place on mule-back and my servant on a donkey, neither beast having either saddle or bridle, and as I had gone out for the day, a heavy lunch-basket was added to the other impedimenta. After working all day, at sunset I prepared to return, and, putting my boy on the mule, loaded him up with as much of my baggage as he could well manage. Just as I was mounting my steed, I heard a shout from my servant, and turned round in time to see him spread-eagled in the air, the baggage scattered in all directions, and the mule stampeding for the hills! My donkey immediately followed the example and left us stranded miles from anywhere and night approaching. The chance of catching a train at Tūra being remote, I decided to tramp back to Cairo, and, guided by the distant Citadel, we began the march. Loaded as we were with the various paraphernalia, it was no easy work even on good ground; but, just as darkness overtook us, we got into some miles of rough débris from old quarries, over which we alternately climbed and stumbled. After three hours of most wearisome and dangerous walking, we eventually reached the Citadel and got a conveyance home. My boy, who had been silent for a long time, suddenly broke out: "My master, I will always thank Allah for this day." "Why?" I said. "Because never again in my life can I be so unhappy as to-day." Eastern philosophy evidently has its advantages.'

But, although this is modern Egypt, the distance between ancient and modern Egypt is not

very great. Mr. Kelly finds biblical parallels at every turn. The land of Goshen 'still retains many traces of Israelitish days,' and even the speed of the railway train does not hinder 'a quick impression of biblical picturesqueness and simplicity.' Soon it will be otherwise. More even than Palestine, Egypt is passing under the hand of Western civilization, and all that is 'biblical' will be gone. So Mr. Talbot Kelly is just in time. He has gathered materials for the history of Egypt which no historian can neglect, and he has given us the opportunity of presenting our friends with a gift which will please the eye and enrich the mind. There are two ways of getting acquainted with Egypt, one to visit the country, the other to read Mr. Talbot Kelly's book.

Books of the Month.

CRITICA BIBLICA. Part I. ISAIAH AND JEREMIAH. By T. K. Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D. (*A. & C. Black*, 2s. 6d. net).—This is the first part of the work which Professor Cheyne promised in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. It is the work which he promised would give the grounds of his numerous new readings and renderings of the Hebrew Scriptures there, and especially of his discovery at every turn in the Old Testament narrative of the name of Jerahmeel. It does none of these things, however. It simply affords more examples of new readings and renderings, more instances of the occurrence of the name Jerahmeel. This is a very great disappointment. The second volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* was published before Dr. Cheyne had recognized the marvellous potency of the name Jerahmeel in the Old Testament, and the article under that name gives no explanation of the marvel. It was above all expected, therefore, that *Critica Biblica* would bring the *Encyclopædia Biblica* up to date. Why has Dr. Cheyne not done so? Why has he only the more liberally strewn the pages of the Old Testament with this puzzling word?

Let one example of the result be given. In the 21st chapter of Isaiah we have 'the Burden of the Wilderness of the Sea,' and the 2nd verse specifies Elam and Media as the special objects of this 'Burden.' Dr. Cheyne says that both Elam and Media represent fragments of the name Jerahmeel, and that Babylon, which occurs in the 9th verse, is also a popular corruption of the same name. Then he rewrites the prophecy. Verse 1, 'The burden of the wilderness of the sea. As whirlwinds in the South sweep through' (R.V.), becomes, 'Oracle of the wilderness of Jerahmeel. Like tempests in the Negeb of Jerahmeel.' And the rest of the verses are similarly dealt with. What has Dr. Cheyne to go upon? He says that all critics are liable to errors of judgment when they cease to suspect the traditional text. Why is it that he himself so utterly suspects the traditional text, and what is it that preserves him from errors of judgment?

Dr. Edwin A. Abbott has written another book. It will be published very soon by Messrs. A. & C. Black. Its title is to be '*From Letter to Spirit*, an attempt to reach through Voices and Words the Man beyond them.' The Voices and Words are, we fancy, those of the Gospels: the Man is Christ Jesus. Meantime, till the book is bound, Dr. Abbott has published its Introductions (two in number), and one of its Appendixes. He calls this *Contrast; or, a Prophet and a Forger* (A. & C. Black, 1s. 6d. net). The Prophet is the writer of the Fourth Gospel: the Forger the writer of 2 Peter. And the puzzle is how Dr. Abbott deals so tenderly by the former, so severely by the latter. The Appendix is a résumé, with notes, of Dr. Chase's article on 2 Peter in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

QUIS HABITABIT? By James Adderley (*Brown, Langham, & Co.*, 1s. 6d.).—This is 'the substance of three addresses delivered to the Christian Social Union at their annual Retreat, Passiontide, 1901.' The title is the beginning of the 15th Psalm according to the Latin Bible, and the book is an exposition of that Psalm. It is an exposition for heart-searching. Who has a right to belong to a Union for social good? That is the modern rendering of 'who shall dwell in thy tabernacle?' And the answer is sent home with great affectionate insistence. 'He that speaketh truth in his heart.'

The third part of the fifth volume of 'Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica' has been issued from the Clarendon Press. Its title is *The Place of the Peshitto Version in the Apparatus Criticus of the Greek New Testament*, and its author is the Rev.

G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., late Fellow of Hertford College (2s. 6d.).

THE CREATION OF MATTER. By the Rev. W. Profeit, M.A. (*T. & T. Clark*, 2s. net).—The title is unpromising, but the book is a pleasure. It is the easiest introduction to science that an outsider can desire. It is a good book, a Christian book, but it is never traitorous to physical science. This is the book to get for the purposes of the Bible class, for sermon suggestion also, and for personal enjoyment.

APOSTOLIC ORDER AND UNITY. By Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D., Vicar of S. Nicholas and Hon. Canon. of Durham (*T. & T. Clark*, 2s. 6d. net).—There *is* some hope for union, or at least real Christian fellowship, not merely between Churches that are all Presbyterian or Episcopalian or Congregational, but even between Churches that differ on the great principles of Church polity, when a book like this can be written by a vicar and honorary canon of the Church of England. Dr. Bruce has learned the great lesson for which life is given us, the lesson of distinguishing between the essential and the accidental, the inward and the outward, and then making the outward the channel whereby the inward flows forth to blessing; it is the lesson of love—

> What love may be, hath been indeed, and is.

Principal Lindsay of Glasgow wrote a great book on the Christian ministry. Canon Bruce of Durham writes a small book. They are in substantial and most cordial agreement. Let formal unions come when they are ripe, the union of heart and mind must come first, and these two books will greatly hasten it.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD PULPIT. Vol. LXII. (*Clarke & Co.*, 4s. 6d.).—The *Christian World Pulpit* is the sole survivor of a class of periodical which was once very numerous, and it has survived by sheer merit. The best sermons of the best preachers—that is what it contains, and it makes no matter to the *Christian World Pulpit* what denomination the preacher belongs to, or what subject he preaches upon. In this half-yearly volume are found Bishop Gore and Professor Rendel Harris, Sir Samuel Chisholm and Principal Fairbairn, Dean Armitage Robinson, and Dr. Robertson Nicoll. Is it not a dangerous book to buy? Its high level is our safety. We may read these sermons, we dare not preach them. We may read them?—We must read them; there is no better way of knowing what preaching is, or of learning how to preach.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev. S. W. Pratt (*Funk & Wagnalls*, 4s.). This is a 'Life and Epistles' after a new method. St. Luke and St. Paul himself tell the whole story. Their words, epistles and all, are divided into paragraphs with titles, and so there are no wrong estimates or misplaced heroics.

THE MORAL LAW. By Edward John Hamilton, D.D. (*Funk & Wagnalls*).—In their study of theology, our fathers considered what God ought to be and do; we consider what He actually does, and rise from that into what He is. The difference is momentous. The study of Ethics has passed through the same change. Dr. Hamilton claims it as the first and most significant merit of his important book that the doctrines it contains 'have been very carefully formed according to the rules of inductive logic.' How does man behave? That first; and all the rest must follow that.

Besides the inductive method, Dr. Hamilton claims a dispassionate survey of schemes of Ethics. But his dispassionateness does not go the length of leaving it an open question whether there is a God or not. It is not the business of Ethics to prove the existence of God, it must either take God for granted or reject Him. Evolutionary Ethics sometimes rejects Him. Mr. Herbert Spencer starts with the assumption that 'all phenomena, including the spiritual and the moral, are the gradual outcome of self-governed atomic or molecular interactions of greater or less complexity.' Dr. Hamilton is modern enough to be an evolutionist, but he is a theistic evolutionist. His belief is that out of 'a homogeneous nebula of inconceivable extent' the universe has arrived at its present order by a steadily progressive development, but that development is due to the directing interest of 'a superintending wisdom.'

He has a basis for his ethics then, and it is theistic. But he is most anxious to assure us that his ethical principles rest on no *à priori* doctrine

whatever, but immediately on the facts of rational and moral life as they present themselves for our observation or are historically known. The book is the best vindication of this position. From first to last, schemes and theories of Ethics are tested by experience. And since experience is interpreted largely enough, there is a comfortable sense that actual progress is being made, and that even the study of Ethics deserves the name of science.

PREPARE TO MEET THY GOD. By the Rev. F. Douglas Robinson (*Wells Gardner*, 2s. net).—The sub-title of this little book is 'Instructions and Devotions in Preparation for the Four Sacraments most commonly required.' The sub-title is better than the title. It explains both the book and Mr. Robinson's Church attitude. *Four* Sacraments? Yes. They are Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion, and Penance. Mr. Robinson does not take the four for granted; he gives an appendix of opinions on the number of the Sacraments. And he is honest enough to give contrary opinions also, so much so that, on the whole, the evidence of authority in the Church of England is seen to be against him. On the Sacraments, on every one of his four, he writes with great seriousness. Those who deny four Sacraments will profit not a little by what he says on the two they hold by.

THE FIELD OF ETHICS. By George Herbert Palmer (*Houghton, Mifflin*, $1.10 net).—The science of Ethics is receiving a very large share of literary attention just now. Several books have come to us this very month. Out of them all we have found most pleasure in Palmer's *Field of Ethics*. It is the work of a careful scholar, but it is written with much generosity and literary finish. The six lectures it contains treat of Ethics and the Descriptive Sciences, Ethics and the Law, Ethics and Æsthetics, Ethics and Religion. The discussion of Ethics and Religion is the fullest and most impressive, but the chapter on Æsthetics is most useful, perhaps most original. It is a book perfectly well suited for both fireside reading and patient study. For the student's sake a well-chosen list of books is prefixed to every chapter.

MEDITATIONS ON THE PASSION. By the Rev. Alfred Mortimer, D.D. (*Longmans*, 5s.).—Some years ago Dr. Mortimer published a volume of Meditations on the Passion of Our Lord. It started in the middle; its first Meditation being on the Scourging. The present volume completes the work. Its place is in front of the other. It begins with the Washing of the Disciples' feet and ends with the Washing of Pilate's hands.

The book is a happy mixture of criticism and devotion. The right reading is sought before it is spiritually expounded. And never does the scholar's hand interfere with the soul's quiet. Why should it? The God and Father of our Lord and Saviour is as much honoured in the search for a true text as in the rapture of adoration. But the combination demands great circumspection, and therein is revealed the patience and the power of this very acceptable expositor.

THE GOSPEL IN THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. By Randolph H. McKim, D.D. (*Longmans*, 6s. net).—Such a volume of sermons as this lets us see how thoroughly the doctrine of evolution has penetrated the theological thought of America. Deliberately and openly, there is no reference to evolution, but every doctrine is expressed in its language, and every thought is breathed through its atmosphere. Much more in America than in Britain yet, one finds that the difference between theologians is simply the extent to which evolutionary methods are made use of. Dr. McKim is not one of the most extreme. But when he preaches on the Parable of the Sower, he calls his sermon 'Heredity, Environment, and Free Agency.' And the objections that he answers in the sermon—'Who shall roll away the stone?'—are objections that come from the doctrine of development. This does not mean that evolution is protruded to offence. The life of the Spirit is too fully recognized for that. It is only that this is the way in which it is expected that the spiritual life will bring every thought into subjection to the mind of Christ.

SPIRITUAL STUDIES IN ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL. By the Rev. Arthur Ritchie (*Longmans*, Two vols., 12s. net).—Mr. Ritchie is Rector of St. Ignatius' Church in New York. But there is neither barbarian nor Scythian in Christ; these

Spiritual Studies have no such 'local colour' as need disturb our meditation. They are occupied, not with the whole of St. Matthew's Gospel, but only with the words of our Lord in that Gospel. Their method contains a curious self-denying ordinance. Each of our Lord's sayings has first an exposition, and then three thoughts. The exposition is never omitted, and the thoughts are never more or less than three. This uniformity must have cost Mr. Ritchie something, but it is good for us. The 'Studies' may thus be read as morning or evening lessons—private lessons, of course—and meditated upon thereafter in their completeness. And this, or something like this, must have been Mr. Ritchie's intention. For the 'Studies' are simple and universal, sent not to startle or delight the scholar, but to edify the Body of Christ.

To the 'Eversley' Series Messrs. Macmillan have added Huxley's *Life and Letters*, in three volumes (12s. net.). They stand by themselves, but they also make the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth volumes of Huxley's works in the same series. The book needs no review. It is one of our classics in biography. That is why it is included in this series. All that has now to be said is that if this series is enriched with Huxley's *Life and Letters*, it also will do something, by its perfection of printing, on behalf of the book. There are books that are bought for their outward appearance, and books that are bought for their intrinsic worth; here the two attractions come quite uniquely together.

THE END OF THE BIBLE. By Mrs. John Stewart Oliphant (*Marshall Brothers*).—The 'End of the Bible' is the Apocalypse, and this is an exposition of that book. Not of all that book, however, of its prophecies only; and of more than that book, of all the prophecies the Bible contains. The method is the old one. Wellhausen and all that ilk are utterly ignored. Prophecy is prediction. In Mrs. John Stewart Oliphant's words, 'Prophecy is the story told us beforehand of God's dealings in judgment with this earth, and the dwellers upon it.' It is a sad story, a story of judgment unrelieved by a gleam of mercy. But Mrs. Stewart Oliphant writes not for those on whom the judgment will fall, but for those who are safe sheltered. 'How should I speak to others of coming woes, when it is upon their own heads that these very woes will fall?' The book is written in elementary language, for its first thought came from the question of a child, 'Tell me about the end of the Bible.' There is no discussion of difficulties; why should there be? The 'book written within and on the backside,' is the book of God's counsels and purposes, and there is no hesitation or perplexity.

THE NEXT GREAT AWAKENING. By Josiah Strong (*Melrose*, 2s. 6d.).—The title of this book will attract attention to it. It is an awakening, a great religious awakening, that the earnest in the land are praying for. When is it to come? Mr. Strong cannot answer that. How is it to come? To answer that, Mr. Strong writes his book. How did the great awakenings of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries come? And the awakenings in both halves of the nineteenth century? *They came in connexion with the preaching of a neglected scriptural truth, which was precisely adapted to the peculiar needs of the times.* That is Mr. Strong's answer, and he prints it in italics. The special need of our time is the apprehension and application of the social teaching of Jesus. The great word is the 'Kingdom of God.' When that word is preached, the next great awakening will come.

THE TRUTH AND ERROR OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. By M. Carta Sturge (*Murray*, 6s.).—This is a most opportune book. For there is no knowing where the Christian science microbe will settle next. Our nearest and our noblest may be attacked by it. Now, Miss Sturge has studied the matter, and she has no axe to grind. She acknowledges good where she finds it, and she finds it where it is. She plainly lays the evil bare. This, therefore, is the tonic to fortify oneself and all one's friends with. Whoso reads this book, not yet overtaken by the Christian science malady, will never be laid low by it. Canon Scott Holland has given it an introduction. He also is convincing, for he is quite calm and quite unreserved. His exposition of the *theology* of the business is a chapter which should rank as history.

Mrs. Spurgeon publishes her report of 'The Book Fund and its Work' for 1901 and 1902

through Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster. It is a tale of deep distress, not because of the Fund, but because of the need of it. The letters published in the Report are sad reading. That ministers should have to beg so piteously for books is scarcely more honourable to the Church than that they should have to beg for clothes.

A cheaper (3s. 6d.) edition of Mr. Lovett's *Autobiography and Letters of James Chalmers* has been published by the R.T.S. It is indistinguishable from the original (7s. 6d.) edition.

OUR LIFE IN PARADISE. By the Rev. E. A. Down, M.A. (*Rivingtons*, 5s. net).—There are three sources of knowledge about our life in Paradise: Scripture, the Church, and our own imagination. Mr. Down follows the Church mainly. He adds somewhat from his own imagination, and even refers to Scripture occasionally. But his standby is the Church. And he has too much respect for the Church to distinguish degrees of enlightenment in her. His book is a good honest gathering of the teaching of the Church on the things behind the veil. Viscount Halifax writes an introduction to it. He especially praises the stand Mr. Down makes on Prayers for the Dead. Pray for the dead? he says; you not only may, you not only ought; you must. 'If you fail to do so, you are neglecting not merely a privilege but a duty.'

Mr. A. Brodrick Bullock has done a piece of good service to the study of Ethics in translating Schopenhauer's *Basis of Morality* into faithful and natural English. He has added to his thankworthy task in a very short but very useful preface. The publishers are Messrs. Sonnenschein (4s. 6d.).

THE QUESTION OF REUNION WITH ROME. By B. Willard-Archer (*Sonnenschein*, 6s.).—Reunion with Rome?—the answer is Punch's advice to those about to get married: Don't! Who would join Rome after reading an indictment like this? And it is all true. Unrelieved the truth is, no doubt; other things that are more creditable are passed over. We are simply told the worst. For it is a doctor that writes, and from a doctor we desire to know the worst. It is well for us that the history of the Papacy is not the history of Christianity.

FALLACIES IN PRESENT-DAY THOUGHT. By J. P. Sandlands, M.A. (*Stock*, 6s. net).—It was lucky for the Vicar of Brigstock that he wrote a book. He himself must be a trying man to live with; but in a book his omniscience is great fun. He knows everything; no one else knows anything. And he uses every opportunity to make both facts known, the more delicate the situation (as at the other man's own table) the better. It sometimes looks as if the book were written to show how rude Mr. Sandlands can be, perhaps only to show how clever. Its inconsequence is due to this desire. He jumps from one topic to another, but the agility is with a purpose. 'Some years ago, I was talking to a friend *on kindred subjects*, and he said to me, "Grace comes to us according to certain laws." He would have gone on to say that these laws were illustrated in their operation in the Sacraments. But I stopped him with the observation, "My good friend, but law and grace are contradictory terms. Where grace is there can be no law."' Six shillings is a good price to pay for it, but the book is full of fun.

WHAT A PIECE OF WORK IS MAN. By F. J. Gant, F.R.C.S. (*Stock*, 2s. 6d.).—Mr. Gant is a theological surgeon, and very orthodox in his theology, but he reaches his orthodoxy by wading through a very sea of heretical statement. It is not conscious heresy. Mr. Gant will be shocked when he hears he is a heretic. And it does no harm. It is just Mr. Gant's way of getting at the truth for himself. And surely it says something for St. John's Gospel that along his own road Mr. Gant at last arrives there and heartily agrees with it.

Mr. Stock has also published—

1. *The Secret of the Cross*; or, How did Christ Atone? by J. Garnier (1s. net).

2. *The Lord's Supper*: What it is and what it is not, by Werner H. K. Soames, M.A. (1s. net).

3. *A Study of the Christian's Intermediate State*, by the Rev. E. T. March-Phillipps (9d. net).

Mr. Stockwell has again published a great bundle of small books. Taking them as they come, we have—

1. *Christ's Mission in the World*, the twenty-seventh volume of the 'Baptist Pulpit,' by the Rev. Walter Wynn (2s. 6d. net). It is direct and fear-

less preaching. This paragraph is from the sermon on 'Christ in the Home': 'I have known hundreds of cold, professing Christians who never pray at home; who stay in bed on Sunday mornings; who never read the Word of God; who slither into God's House and slither out again after giving the least coin they can find to the collection; who sit in the pew with their heads dropped or turned from the preacher, with a growl in their hearts and a frown on their faces; who grunt and snarl when you speak kindly to them, and who stay away from all the work of the Church, but favour you with elaborate criticisms of the men who are doing it.'

2. *The Village Blacksmith*, by the Rev. Mark Bairstow (2s. net), a story of country life and tragedy.

3. *I Want*, a story for the children, by Mrs. Ernest Carr (1s. net).

4. *Theories of the Person of Christ*, by James Marchant (2s. 6d.). Professor Orr says that he was struck with the freshness and merits of Mr. Marchant's former book, 'Theories of the Resurrection of Christ,' and the present book seems to him to show equal ability in conception and execution.

5. *Sermonic Studies*, by the Rev. Thomas Davies (2s. 6d. net).

6. *The Salvation of God*, by L. Battersby (2s.), dealing popularly with Conversion, Faith, Repentance, the Forgiveness of Sin, Redemption, Regeneration and Eternal Life, Sanctification, and Consecration.

7. *A Book of Illustrations*, by John Robertson, LL.D. (1s. 6d.).

8. *Looking Backward and Looking Forward* (1s. net), being sermons by the Rev. J. G. Greenhough, the Rev. R. J. Campbell, M.A., the Rev. A. T. Pierson, D.D., and others.

9. *The Undying Christ* (1s. net), by the Rev. J. W. Ewing, M.A., B.D., a volume of sermons, in one of which Mr. Ewing gives these four as the principles on which the Baptist Church is built: (1) That the Church of Christ consists of spiritual and regenerate persons; (2) That of that spiritual and regenerate Church Christ is the sole head; (3) That the will of Christ is revealed in the New Testament; (4) That every believing soul is responsible immediately to Christ.

10. *The Fall of a Man*, by Miriam Thorn (1s. net).

11. *The Life-Giving River*, by W. A. Dale (1s.).

12. *The Altar of Mind and Soul*, by Melson Godfrey and Charles Turner (3d.).

THE CONFLICT OF DUTIES. By Alice Gardner (*Fisher Unwin*, 7s. 6d.).—There is much more in these essays than essays usually contain. They are magazine articles in their timeliness and readableness (if you will allow the word), but they are also thorough studies of their subject, and each study is carried out in relation to the whole science of Ethics. The essays were written for (and we suppose read to) students of Newnham College, and their union of scientific breadth and everyday insight is a good example of the progress which education has made, most of all in the schools and colleges of women. There is just one criticism which might be made, and it is quite a trifling one. Miss Gardner has the courage to utter truisms, but not yet the courage to omit saying so. Does she suppose that the students of Newnham College expected an original utterance every time she opened her mouth? What would these essays have been then? But about their topics—Sectarianism, Hatred and Charity, Truthfulness, Religion and Good Taste, Early Christian Mysticism—those are some of them. In every case a good line is taken, memorable things are spoken, a fine spirit is given.

A DAWNING FAITH. By Herbert Rix, B.A. (*Williams & Norgate*, 5s.).—If this book could be put into the hands that are stretched out for it, it would do much good. It is not for those who say that doubt is devil-born. It is for those who have touched a jarring lyre in their life and are striving still to make it true. They are perplexed in faith because their old creed was based on the Bible, and the Bible is gone. The expression is emphatic—Mr. Rix is often emphatic in expression—but it correctly describes the feeling, and repeats the very words of many a man and woman to-day. And now that the Bible is gone, their life has fallen into confusion. It lacks a binding theory, which it is the purpose of Mr. Rix in this book to supply. After the thought of God has come to them, and they can rest assured that He ever lives and loves, they may get back their Bible again. Perhaps Mr. Rix himself may get it back some day.

The Motive and Date of the Epistle of St. James.

By the Rev. T. A. Gurney, M.A., LL.B., Emmanuel Vicarage, Clifton, Bristol.

We will assume, since it has so often been proved already, that this Epistle was authentic, and that its author was the James known as 'the Lord's brother,' the first President or Bishop of the Church at Jerusalem. (Gal 1^{19}; cf. Ac $15^{13.\ 19}$). Then the question of its date will have clearly defined limits. It cannot be earlier than 40 A.D. (about), and it cannot be later than James' own martyrdom, which occurred in 63 or 68 A.D., according as we take Josephus or Hegesippus as our authority. The question of date, therefore, does not seem at first sight of much significance or importance. It may indeed be the earliest, but it cannot by any possibility be among the latest of the Epistles of the New Testament.

But a secondary consideration makes the question of date of more concern. In the well-known passage upon the relation of faith and works, the inquiry is suggested, Have St. Paul's words (Ro 4^{1-7}) and St. James' any relation to each other? If so, which is attempting to modify the view of the other?

We grant the interest attaching to this question, but it is not the real interest attaching to the question of date. There is a far higher, an even thrilling historical and spiritual interest which attaches to one view of its contents. Is it a last message on the eve of a great coming of Christ? Is it God's final word to His own people before their overthrow as a nation and the ushering in of those times of the Gentiles which have succeeded the Jewish age of the world's history? Then every word of the Epistle becomes absorbingly interesting. There is the interest of historic situation. Here we shall find a picture, inimitably vivid and startling, of the state of things immediately before the coming of the Romans and the Fall of Jerusalem. There is the interest of historic parallelism. We ourselves seem to be nearing the close of another long epoch—the epoch of the Gentiles. Does the picture here presented correspond, possibly even with startling accuracy, to the features of our own age? There is the interest of historic sympathy. The words of guidance, of warning, of consolation which they needed then may be needed by ourselves still. There is another important point in this view of the Epistle, if tenable. We can see at once that it might explain upon other grounds many peculiarities in the Epistle which are now wrongly attributed to an early date. And thus it will reconcile divergences which seem at present a mystery to scholars—such authoritative names as Schneckenburger, Neander, Huther, Beyschlag, Weiss, and Lechler standing in favour of an early date; whilst, on the other hand, we have such scholars as Weisinger, De Wette, Wordsworth, and Farrar claiming that it was written near the close of St. James' life.

The Epistle is a Last Message, written probably on the very eve of James' martyrdom. What authority have we for such an affirmation? Let us consider for a moment some general features of the Epistle in the light of such a statement. First of all, we note the fact that it is addressed to the nation in its ideal unity, the 'Twelve-tribed nation in the Dispersion.' We are quite aware that this very fact has been used as an argument for its early date upon a false supposition. But if James was commissioned to address a last message to Israel, he would address Israel as a whole. Then, passing into the Epistle, we mark in its very authorship, and still more in its contents, a message from first to last to Israel as such. The writer himself is an Israelite to the core. He holds in passionate devotion all that Israel holds dear. He seems to gather up into his own person all the influences which go to make the true Jew. The Law is to him no rule of bondage to be set aside, but 'the royal Law,' the perfect Law of Liberty (1^{25} 2^{8}). This is his answer to those who at the very time, probably, when he wrote, were leading multitudes forth into the wilderness promising to show them the σημεῖα ἐ ενθερίας. The prophets are his examples of suffering and of patience (v.[10]). 'The Name' is so sacred to him that, above all things, swearing is forbidden. The language and imagery he uses are the language and imagery of the Old Testament in their contents, their spirit, and their style. There is no other Book in the New Testa-

ment which so completely reminds us of Isaiah on his sterner side. There is no other New Testament writer who has drunk so deeply from the spirit of the later Books of Wisdom, the last source of enlightenment for Israel before Christ came. There is no such reflexion in the Bible of the Sermon on the Mount. All the influences brought to bear upon the Chosen People before and at Messiah's coming are focused in this Epistle. The character of the writer as we know it from history, even making allowance for the fabulous exaggerations due to reverence for his memory, mark him as the ideal Jew, and therefore make the message of his Epistle more significant. He who speaks of 'the Just One' is himself 'James the Just,' a Hebrew of the Hebrews, the 'bulwark of the people,' a Nazirite whiter than snow, a devoted attendant at feast and fast and office in the temple, wearing on his brow, so tradition pictured, the gold plate of the high priest with its inscription, 'Holiness to the Lord,' dwelling in the Holy City to the last, laying down his life as a witness to Messiah.

Of course these facts in themselves are no complete argument that the Epistle was a last message to Israel as such. But they wonderfully correspond with such a fact if on other grounds it is shown to be likely. In nothing could the tenderness of God for His own people have been more wondrously shown than in sending them as their final opportunity 'the Lord's brother' with a message so appealing to their past.

But there are other and stronger arguments. What should we expect a sacred writing to be which was a last message on the eve of doom? It would be intensely practical in character; it would glow with the fires of moral conviction, rather than orthodox zeal; it would regard the controversies aroused by a new order of things which lay *behind* the goal towards which it travelled as outside its scope; it would emphasize the truth already familiar, and would apply it relentlessly to life; it would expose with passionate earnestness the awful want of correspondence between creed or code and practice; it would scathingly denounce the fashionable sins which were hastening the already impending judgment; it would appeal to that which was common to the nation as a whole (whether Christian or non-Christian); it would speak in a language mindful of its sacred past.

These are the very peculiarities which we find in the Epistle. They are sometimes urged as an argument for an early date. But the difficulty is that no date, however early, is early enough to account for them. The Judaic tone is pronounced, decided, and clearly reflects a character, which, if history is to be trusted, continued the same to the very last. Does the tone of authority read like the language of a young man or a father in God? The question of the admission of the Gentiles had become a burning one long before the Council over which James presided (Ac 11^{1}). If the subject had lain within his province, it would have been necessary to speak of it in 41 A.D. as much as in 52. Take the other view of the Epistle, as a Last Message on the eve of judgment, and all becomes explainable. Its omissions, as well as its inclusions, bear witness to its aim. We should not expect to find a new Christian nomenclature which would offend the stricter Jew. The 'Synagogue' would be Synagogue still though Christians formed a large part of its congregation. Controversies arising from the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Christian Church would be studiously avoided. This would explain the absence of any allusion to the First Council at Jerusalem. It is the last thing we should expect. But, on the other hand, we should expect to find some differences drawn between Christian and non-Christian Jews, both of whom are addressed in turn. Sufficient time will have elapsed for those differences to have become acute. In no Epistle, accordingly, is there such contrast of address (*e.g.*, 1^{2} $1^{16\text{-}19}$ $3^{17.\ 18}$ $5^{7\text{-}11}$, and cf. with these the following, $2^{19.\ 20}$ $4^{1\text{-}4}$ (μοιχαλίδες), $4^{8.\ 9}$ $4^{16.\ 17}$ $5^{1\text{-}6}$).

And as an ever-present thought, darkening the horizon, throwing its lurid hue into warning and word-picture, would be the thought of impending doom ready to fall. It emerges everywhere. Let the rich man rejoice in his humiliation, for otherwise, as a flower of the field, he (and not merely his riches) will pass away (1^{10}). Let them so speak and so do as those who are 'about to be judged' by a law of liberty which makes mercy to others the standard of mercy to ourselves (2^{12}). Let them howl (5^{1}) at the miseries which are coming upon them. Already the stored up wealth is corrupted, the choice shining garments (cf. 5^{2} and 2^{2}) are moth-eaten, the gold and silver are rusted, clutched all in vain in the fingers which they burn. The treasure, so wickedly accumu-

lated, is but laid up 'in last days' (5^3). It cannot be enjoyed. The cry of the unpaid labourers has already been heard. They have nourished themselves and pampered themselves . . . only to be fattened for slaughter (5^5). Where in the New Testament have we a social condition like this? In the days of Felix and Festus, which immediately preceded James' death. The curious order of the words, 'Ye kill and covet,' exactly describes the strife of the robber hordes of those lawless last days over their ill-gotten gain (4^2). In the light of such facts we can see the substantial truth of the words of Eusebius, which are confirmed by Josephus and Origen, that in the maryrdom of James the Just the cup of iniquity was filled, 'and then the Romans, under Vespasian, besieged the city.'

Hilprecht's Discoveries at Nippur.

By the Rev. A. T. Clay, Ph.D., Assistant Curator of Babylonian Antiquities, University of Pennsylvania.

The first complete account of the excavations at Nippur is offered to biblical and historical students in a volume that has just been published, entitled *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Professor Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark). In the preparation of his large volume, Dr. Hilprecht has had the co-operation of four well-known German scholars. Professor Hommel, of the University of Munich, has written the section on 'Arabia'; Dr. Benzinger, of Berlin, on 'Palestine'; Professor Steindorff, of Leipzig, on 'Egypt'; and Professor Jensen, of Marburg, on 'The Hittites.'

The volume contains four specially prepared maps, nearly 200 illustrations, and about 900 pages, nearly 300 of which are devoted to the history and epoch-making discoveries of the recent excavations at Nippur.

Among the most important results achieved on the last campaign, as referred to by Professor Hilprecht, besides the many valuable discoveries of antiquities, may be said to be the determination of the character of the Babylonian temple and its storeyed-tower, or ziggurrat. His understanding of the tower of the Temple of Bel, is especially interesting to biblical students, as it offers the first reasonable interpretation of the passage in Genesis concerning the erection of the Tower of Babel. The expression, 'whose top may be in the heavens,' is found to have been commonly used on building inscriptions concerning these towers. Dr. Hilprecht has shown that most of the names of the Babylonian temples express a cosmic idea. Anu was god of the upper or heavenly ocean, or 'the waters which were above the firmament.' Ea's region was the underworld, the terrestrial ocean, or 'the waters which were below the firmament.' Bel's sphere of influence embraced the world, and was not only between that of Anu and Ea, but extended into them. Professor Hilprecht now shows that the ziggurrat of Bel, *Dur-anki*, 'the link of heaven and earth,' as it is called, is the local representation of the great mythological mountain of the world, the summit of which reaches into the heavens, and the foundation of which is laid in the subterranean ocean.

Contrary to the view that these storeyed-towers had been introduced by Ur-Gur, 2700 B.C., Professor Hilprecht has shown that they had their origin prior to the fourth millennium B.C., in the early Sumerian period. Four feet behind Ur-Gur's facing wall of the Nippur tower were found the facing bricks of another. These were characteristic of the period of Naram-Sin, 3750 B.C. Ten feet within the latter was found the smooth and plastered surface of a ziggurrat of the early Sumerian days, recognized by the peculiar crude bricks of that period.

The walls of the temple area were partly excavated. While the ziggurrat was the most prominent feature of the temple complex, it has been determined that it was not the temple proper. This stood alongside of the tower, and was the 'place where sacrifices were offered, and the most valuable votive offerings of the greatest Babylonian monarchs deposited.' The complete excavation

of this important part of the temple had to be postponed because of the immense dump heaps raised upon its mound.

Adjoining the inner court Professor Hilprecht determined that a somewhat smaller, or outer court existed, in which had been found by Dr. Peters, in a former year of the excavations, the shrine of Bur-Sin, 2400 B.C. From a recently discovered tablet he learned that besides Bel, at least twenty-four different other deities had their own 'houses' in the sacred precincts of Nippur. These, the author thinks, should be sought for in the outer court of the sanctuary.

The character of the temple and its tower was quite different prior to the Semitic occupation of the country, in other words, before about 4000 B.C. In the lower strata around the early ziggurrat were seen masses of fragments of pottery intermingled with ashes, the remains of bones and wood consumed by fire. Professor's Hilprecht's investigations led him to the conclusion that the early inhabitants of Nippur cremated their dead and buried the remains after the incineration, which in many cases was not entirely complete, in jars or funeral vases about the ziggurrat. Dr. Haynes, during the third campaign, unearthed what was then called an altar. This, Professor Hilprecht now suggests, was 'one of the crematoriums on which the bodies of the dead were reduced to ashes.' These ash-graves being within the sacred enclosure and around the base of the ziggurrat, the same having been found by Koldewey at El-Hibba, led Professor Hilprecht to connect them with the ziggurrat itself; and he shows that, like the step pyramids of Medum and Saqqara in Egypt, these towers must have been regarded originally as tombs; that the temple of Bel was a 'place of residence for the gods, as a place of worship for man, and as a place of rest for the dead,' a conception expressed by churches of to-day which contain tombs within their confines, or are surrounded by graveyards.

The locating and partial excavating of the famous temple, library, and priest school of Nippur, which has been pronounced 'one of the most far-reaching Assyriological discoveries of the whole last century,' is fully treated in Professor Hilprecht's volume. He tells us that the mound covering the library rises on an average of twenty-five feet above the plain, and covers an area of about thirteen acres. Only about the twelfth part of the library has thus far been excavated, out of which were taken over twenty thousand cuneiform tablets and fragments, mostly belonging to the third millennium B.C., prior to the birth of Abraham.

The contents of the library, as far as examined, proved to be quite varied. There are mathematical, astronomical, medical, historical, linguistical, and religious inscriptions. The tablets recovered clearly indicate that at least two periods are to be distinguished in the history of the temple library. On the one hand, the great mass of unbaked literary tablets belong to the third millennium before Christ. Besides these were found in a later stratum a goodly number belonging to the Cassite and the Neo-Babylonian periods. At first it was thought that the library, after it had been destroyed, had never been restored, but in view of the fact that in Ashurbanapal's library, which belongs to the seventh century B.C., were found inscriptions which are copies of originals coming from the library of Nippur, and also because of the literary records discovered which belong to the sixth century B.C., it must be assumed that at least part of the ruins of the earlier library had been cleared, and its contents recopied for the later, or else part of it had been occupied continuously, or from time to time restored. The fact that the greater portion of the library had been allowed to lie in ruins for a considerable length of time, points to a great national calamity from which the entire country suffered for years.

The great library of the temple of Bel was not only a repository for all kinds of learning, but it included the school or college of Nippur, as well as being a storehouse for valuable literary records. In a number of rooms of the educational quarter were found hundreds of 'school-books' and students' exercises. Rudely fashioned tablets, inscribed in a 'naïve and clumsy manner with old Babylonian characters,' indicated that they were the first attempts at writing by unskilled hands. 'There are also grammatical exercises, exhibiting how the student was instructed in analyzing Sumerian verbal forms, in joining the personal pronouns to different substantives, etc. etc.' Special attention in the College of Nippur was paid to counting and calculating, as determined from the multiplication tables discovered; also to drawing and sculpturing.

The excavations at Nippur revealed not only the

oldest sanctuary, library, and school that are known up to the present time, but also the most ancient archæological museum. In an upper stratum of the library mound, the first museum known in history was unearthed. The collection was preserved in an earthen jar, and consisted of nineteen very choice specimens of antiquities. An archæologist of the present day, after handling many thousands of objects from the ruin hills of Babylonia, is naturally able to judge concerning the real merits of antiquities discovered. This little museum illustrates the fact that the collector, who lived about the time of Belshazzar, in the sixth century B.C., had the same high regard for that which would be considered especially valuable by a modern archæologist. Whether the specimens were excavated or purchased we know not, but the collector has handed down to his illustrious colleague in the same science the following very choice antiquities.

The earliest inscription in the collection, though somewhat fragmentary, contains the titles of Sargon I., 3800 B.C., most of which were hitherto unknown. A black stone votive tablet, belonging to Ur-Gur, 2700 B.C., is the next in chronological order, which informs us that the king built the wall of Nippur. The section of the wall excavated revealed bricks with this king's name and titles. Then follows a terra-cotta brick stamp of Bur-Sin, the first found of this Babylonian ruler; an excellently preserved tablet stating that the great hall of the temple was called Emakh, and also, to Professor Hilprecht's surprise, that there were twenty-four shrines of other gods within the precincts of the temple besides Bel and his consort Beltis. Tablets dated in the reigns of Marduk-nadin-akhi, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I., and Adad-apaliddina, 1060 B.C., the first thus far known; two tablets of great chronological importance, inscribed by Ashur-etil-ilani, 625 B.C., and Sin-shar-ishkun; an astronomical tablet giving observations concerning Virgo and Scorpion, and a large fragmentary plan of the city of Nippur, which will prove of great value in the reconstruction of the ancient cities.

Professor Hilprecht, in his volume, gives a complete account of the important discoveries made during the four campaigns of the excavations. Concerning the close of the last, he says:—

'On May 11, 1900, the most successful campaign thus far conducted at Nuffar terminated. Excavations having been suspended, the meftul was sealed, Arab guards were appointed, shaikhs and workmen rewarded, and the antiquities transported to six large boats moored in the swamps. Accompanied by the workmen from Hilla, their wives and children, and blessed by thronging crowds of 'Afej, who had assembled to bid us farewell, eagerly inquiring as to the time of our next return, we departed with a strange feeling of sadness and pleasure from the crumbling walls of *Dur-anki*, "the link of heaven and earth," which Ninih's doleful birds, croaking and dashing about, still seem to guard against every profane intruder.'

Recent Foreign Theology.

Primitive Christianity.[1]

Professor Heinrici of Leipzig is known as a scholar of great thoroughness and independence. These qualities show themselves in work marked by an unusually judicial spirit, as free from obvious bias towards foregone results as may well be. He has not published much; but he has worked very close to the original sources; and his edition of *Corinthians* in Meyer's 'Kommentar' (eighth edition) has the reputation of real scientific method. Accordingly, the present sketch of 'the contents and development of primitive Christianity' deserves the attention of those who prize fresh work on this vital subject, even where special points cannot be argued out within the given limits. The author defines his own attitude as follows:—'In my life-work the perception has forced itself upon me with growing certitude, that Christianity, as regards its formative forces, evidences itself in the organism (*im Zusammenhange*) of history as an original fact. Only by misuse of the method of analogy—how widespread this

[1] *Das Urchristentum.* By F. G. Heinrici. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1902. Pp. viii. 143. Price 2s. 9d.

is, the student knows—and by one-sided emphasis on its temporal conditioning, does the illusion arise that Christianity can be derived from earlier streams of spiritual tendency. I have been at pains to understand it as an historical magnitude after its own kind, not as a *homo unius libri*, but certainly in the conviction that the classic literature of early Christianity collected in the N.T. contains in fact the sole trustworthy contemporary sources which we possess. Karl Weizsäcker wrote to me, *à propos* of my essay on *Early Christian Tradition and the N.T.*: "The significance of the Canon, which it has for the Church (*Gemeinde*), is building itself up again in an historical way. This involves even the historical proof of uniqueness" (*des Eigenartigen*). In this spirit I could wish to see my work judged.'

'Primitive Christianity' is an idea of uncertain limits. Heinrici takes it to cover the period before 'the Christian religion made itself felt in the Roman Empire as a fact of world-wide meaning and as a factor in culture.' Hence 'its proper development takes place in classes and circles which had no thoroughgoing feeling for the current forces which ruled politics, religion, and culture.' Conversely, 'it stood to men of that day, where they had any inkling of it, for an under-current'—to be ignored, or, where it became a nuisance, to be repressed in individual cases. This view is surely true in the main, and it goes along with a due recognition of the large element of continuity existing, and continuing to exist, between certain sides of Judaism and primitive Christianity. It is one of the most needful things to see that there were several types of Jewish piety, and that all these, save the Sadducaic and Herodian,—both at bottom too political to have positive affinities with the Gospel,—reappear within the *Urgemeinde*. The more liberal Hellenistic type comes to the surface in Stephen, and henceforth plays an important part for those who can read between the lines of the narrative in Acts—which one is glad to see that our author finds to set forth a truly historical picture of the inner development of the Church, one borne out by James, 1 Peter, and Hebrews (40 f.). As for the Pharisaic type, as distinct from the simple, popular piety 'which knew not the law' and most welcomed the gospel, Heinrici sees that its infiltration after a time was a main cause of the *reactionary* movement at Jerusalem, which arose when it began to be realized that the Gentile element promised to be a dominant one in churches like Antioch. At first, no doubt, it had been assumed that Gentile believers would form a mere fringe on the skirts of the new Israel, like the uncircumcised proselytes so far countenanced in the Diaspora of national Judaism. But soon it began to be felt that they would come to absorb, rather than be absorbed by, the national Messianic community, unless a check were put upon their admission without circumcision—regarded as quite an exceptional expedient, necessitated by the sovereign working of the Almighty in giving His Spirit to certain uncircumcised believers. Thus the movement recorded in Ac 15 and Galatians was an effort to prevent certain exceptions becoming the rule, an effort in which men of Pharisaic antecedents were the active parties. Heinrici has grasped this central problem of the Apostolic Age with a sure hand, when he says that 'for Judaism it was a life-or-death question to maintain itself in its separateness as a national religion, both in Palestine and in the Diaspora'; and that the difficulties of exegesis connected with Ac 15 and Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$ are only witnesses to the great difficulty of nationalism in relation to the Gospel, the very newness of which turned largely on its essential transcendence of this age-long, old-world limitation (55, note, and 143).

Throughout, our author shows a proper sense of the importance of Judæo-Christianity in the Apostolic Age, without any tendency to exaggeration. This helps him to avoid certain literary judgments fashionable in his own country, and to find a place for the Epistle of James, 1 Peter, and Hebrews, prior to 70 A.D.—the enormous significance of which date, especially for Judæo-Christianity, he fully appreciates and sets in clear light. In 1 Peter and Hebrews he sees 'memorials of the Judæo-Christianity which in the spirit of the piety of the prophets confessed in Jesus the fulfiller of Messianic prophecy' (p. 105). In the Epistle of James he recognizes a genuine 'hortatory address' (rather than letter) of Jesus' own kinsman, whose attitude to the Law naturally reflected that of the Sermon on the Mount. Like Hort in his *Judaistic Christianity*, Heinrici perceives that the germs both of the Judæo-Christian and the Pauline attitude to the Law lie already in the Lord's words, as they reach us in the

Synoptic tradition: and this fact no doubt helped, more than is often noticed, to keep the two wings of the Church together. He holds, too, with great probability, that but for the events of 70 A.D., Jerusalem would have remained a most potent influence in the development of Christianity. In leaving this part of the subject we must express a conviction that much at present turns upon a right estimate of the three writings just named, and that Heinrici is here nearer the truth than Holtzmann and those who go with him (*e.g.* McGiffert).

The value of all this is the greater that Heinrici is uncommitted to 'conservative' views, as Zahn might be suspected of being at least in some cases. Thus he does not see his way to accept the Pauline authorship of Ephesians, for which Hort seems to ourselves to have made out a convincing case;[1] and the like may be said of his attitude to the Pastoral Epistles, though he hesitates as to 2 Timothy. Again, he assigns the Apocalypse to John the Presbyter, whom he distinguishes from the Apostle and regards as the author of 2 and 3 John. As to the Fourth Gospel, he thinks that 'the oral preaching of the apostle is presented in it; and that with his consent, perhaps even by the aid of his notes (*Aufzeichnungen*), it was worked up into a whole by that disciple or fellow-worker who later, after the apostle's death, added to the book the appendix intended to set right the mistake about a word of Jesus. . . . This apostolic witness was in its final form truly written down by the hand of the guarantor, who with his brethren could say of the Apostle John, "we know that his witness is true."' Whether this theory suffice or not, at least it fairly indicates the general spirit of this interesting and suggestive book, which leaves us with an enhanced sense of the substantial historicity of the N.T. writings and of the life of which they are the spontaneous expression.

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Psychology in Conflict.

DR. KARL HEIM dedicates his work[2] to Professor Dr. Uphues, known for his eminence as a psychologist. It deals with the question presently disturbing the logical world, whether logical laws are psychological laws of nature, or whether they have a metaphysical background, or whether they lie beyond psychology and metaphysic. With this inquiry as his point of departure, Heim hopes to reach universal findings, which will be of service in the final upbuilding of the modern world-view. It is to Heim an impressive fact that many scientists have undergone a change in their fundamental views through their growing conviction that we are confronted with the complete breaking up of the mechanical world-view. He points to prominent scientific inquirers like Ostwald and Stallo, who think the atomic theory may well be a scholastic survival within the modern life of spirit. In the event of such an interpretation of energy, our whole understanding of the process of knowledge would, Stallo thinks, be affected. For then all our knowledge would be a knowledge, not as of entities absolutely given, but only of relations. This truth, voiced in various forms from Hobbes to Mill, could not, in Heim's view, avail for the solution of all philosophical problems, because it stood in irreconcilable conflict with the rigid forms of the mechanical world-idea. Heim's book is an effort to draw out the weightiest of the new consequences from that old truth, after the mechanical world-view has been set aside. Also, to make them fruitful for the modern world-representation, as based on this theory of knowledge.

Heim's polemic is directed largely against Husserl, who belongs to the group of philosophers distinguished for their meta-geometrical speculations. Husserl wages war against the psychological conception of logical laws as nature-laws of the psychic life, and makes for a radical clearing of the logical territory of all psychological and metaphysical elements. He takes logical principles for absolute possibilities, and views logic as the ethic of thought. To him, therefore, the relation of logical laws to psychic event is other than that of the nature-laws of knowledge. After criticizing the presuppositions of Husserl's theory of knowledge, Heim proceeds to the positive presentation of his own view. He shows the senses in which every content of consciousness is a relation, and every relation is a content. He takes possibilities, in the absolute sense of Husserl, to be logically unthinkable. He holds every logically justified deliverance to be given through a positive

[1] *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians.*

[2] *Psychologismus oder Antipsychologismus? Entwurf einer erkenntnistheoretischen Fundamentierung der modernen Energetik.* Von Dr. Karl Heim. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1902. Pp. vi. 159.

choice in a determinate manifoldness. This position he maintains to be the basal one for psychology, in opposition to the metaphysical grounding of Logic. Heim's work is an interesting and able performance in the region of air-drawn theory.

JAMES LINDSAY.

Kilmarnock.

German Philosophy and Theology in 1902.

AN excellent feature in the *Türmer-Jahrbuch*[1]—a popular German annual—is the review of the year, to which under twenty-three headings the same number of specialists contribute. Dr. F. Heman claims for PHILOSOPHY a modest, probably a too modest, place in the intellectual activities of 1902. He does not agree with the pessimists who say that the era of great inspiring systems is irrevocably past; but he does lament the non-appearance of any powerful, creative genius, with such intuitive perception of the eternal ideas as would enable him to lift our thoughts to a higher plane and to unfold an ampler knowledge than comes within the purview of empirical science. There is reason for the complaint that 'first of all we bind philosophy down upon a procrustean bed, cut off her head and feet, and then bewail the lack of philosophers of the grand style.' A welcome and hopeful sign, however, is the fact that scientists are themselves being driven to philosophize.

Honourable mention is made of the important book *Die Welt als That*, by the well-known botanist, Dr. Reinke, a second edition of which has already appeared. The significance of this work is truly said to be 'its frank acknowledgment that a teleological causality is necessary to the understanding of organic nature, and that there must be an intelligent cause, active in the processes of nature, and directing physical and chemical energies in the building-up of organisms.' Such utterances indicate that 'the era of the autocratic rule of natural science has come to an end.'

To English readers the most interesting section in this article is that which comments on the publication of the fifteenth volume of Nietzsche's works. In the preface his sister claims for it 'a world-wide significance,' but Dr. Heman describes its contents as 'chips and shavings from Nietzsche's workshop.' Many of the sayings embody thoughts which are better expressed in his earlier aphorisms, but there are other sayings which contain his ideas in the rough, and there are some which give his philosophy in a nutshell. In these latter sayings is clearly seen the thoroughgoing scepticism of 'the first complete Nihilist of Europe,' who 'himself outgrew Nihilism' and taught a system of metaphysics opposed to it. This system ultimately amounts to 'the ancient Pythagorean-Heraclitean dream of the eternal flux and reappearance of all things. It furnishes a new confirmation of the view that men have at their disposal only a limited number of ideas on which they ring the changes; even the original Nietzsche convinces us again that there is nothing new under the sun.'

The latest world-view, it appears, is that of Julius Hart, who has published two volumes and announces a third. Amongst creeds outworn, not only Christianity, but also Materialism and Idealism are reckoned, and amongst teachers who have had their day, not only Jesus, but also Nietzsche and Tolstoi. Dr. Heman treats Hart's *Zukunftsland* as the *reductio ad absurdum* of philosophy 'so-called'; he summarizes the new wisdom in the formula: 'God = The World = Ego,' and describes the author as 'a feeble imitator of Nietzsche.'

There is no separate heading for THEOLOGY, but in an article on *Evangelische Kirche* Ober-Pfarrer Christian Rogge suggestively discusses the main questions on which there has been any conflict of opinion during the past year. In regard to Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christenthums* he is of opinion that a formidable opponent on the left is Baumann, who severely criticizes Harnack's attempt to relegate reason to the background. Cremer and Walther have been the principal champions of the orthodox Lutheran school; but to those mentioned by Rogge should now be added the able work[2] by Dr. Reinhold Seeberg, already in its third edition. These lectures on 'The Foundation Truths of the Christian Religion' by a comparatively young theologian, who belongs to the right centre,

[1] Herausgeber: Freiherr von Grotthuss. Williams & Norgate. M.6.

[2] *Die Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion.* Von Reinhold Seeberg. Williams & Norgate. M.3.

were delivered, two years after Harnack's famous course, in the University of Berlin to students of all faculties. Dr. Seeberg is fully sensible of the difficulties encountered by present-day seekers after truth, but he shows with great force that it is impossible to exclude Christ Himself from the gospel He brought to men. Rogge is disposed to minimize the differences which separate Harnack from such defenders of the older Lutheran teaching as Cremer. He is doubtless right in saying that Harnack's book — *The Essence of Christianity* — has a title far too high-sounding and quite misleading; it would more correctly be described as *An Introduction to Christianity*, and in Rogge's judgment it may commend Christian modes of thought to many who are now altogether estranged from Christianity.

During 1902 several German theologians have expressed their views on a subject of far-reaching significance. 'Ought not the study of Christian theology to be one branch of the study of the science of religion?' is the much-debated question. Professor Tröltsch of Heidelberg is the leader of the school that answers this question in the affirmative, arguing that Christianity should be historically and scientifically studied as one of many religions. Harnack and Heinrici have been the foremost advocates of the opposite view; amongst minor reasons given for answering the question in the negative are the wide extent of the domain which the student of Christian theology would be compelled to traverse, and the danger of fostering an unhealthy dilettantism; but the main reason is that Christianity is to so great an extent *the* religion, and the Bible so far surpasses all other religious literature in value, that it would be doing violence to history, and would involve the adoption of a false method, if the true state of the case were not frankly recognized at the outset of the inquiry. Rogge expresses hearty approval of these views, but regards it as a very hopeful sign that commercial intercourse with foreign nations and the spread of Christian missions are leading to a more thorough study of non-Christian religions. 'Christianity cannot but gain from comparison with other religions.'

It may be taken as an indication of the widespread interest in the problems raised by modern criticism of the Gospels that the position of honour is assigned to an article by Rogge, entitled 'What do we know of Jesus?' in a high-class German annual mainly concerned with art and general literature, and including in its table of contents a novel, poetry, an illustrated article on Max Klinger, the painter and sculptor, etc. With one striking exception—the politics of Great Britain—the outlook of all the contributors to the *Türmer-Jahrbuch* is broad, their opinions are liberal and their judgments fair.

Handsworth College. J. G. Tasker.

Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology.

By A. H. Sayce, D.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.

Dr. Knudtzon has again rendered Oriental research an important service.[1] Among the Tel el-Amarna tablets are two of peculiar philological interest, as they are in a new language. The longest and best preserved of them, now in the Cairo Museum, was written by or to the king of a country named Arzawa; the second, which is in a less perfect condition, is at Berlin. The only edition of the Berlin tablet hitherto available left much to be desired, and it is therefore a matter of congratulation that Dr. Knudtzon has devoted his accuracy of eye and unrivalled powers of deciphering half-obliterated characters to a revision of it. He has at the same time published a revised text of the Cairo tablet.

I, too, have spent a considerable time in re-examining the latter. For the most part our revised readings agree; where they differ he is certainly right in some cases, though not in all. In line 24, for instance, what he makes *ú-it* is really the ideograph *bit*, 'house,' with the phonetic complement *it*. In line 22, again, the character which he makes *ú* is *mâ*, *ú* being formed differ-

[1] *Die zwei Arzawa-briefe, die ältesten Urkunden in indo-germanischer Sprache.* By J. A. Knudtzon. With notes by Sophus Bugge and Alf Torp. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 5s.

ently. The last character of the previous line seems to me to be *ta* rather than *sa*, and in the next line I should transcribe *du-zu-un* instead of *ba-as-su-un*. In line 28, what he makes doubtfully *up-pa* . . . should be *li*, and the first two characters of line 19 can hardly be *na-as*; they look to me like *pal*. Nor am I satisfied that the last syllable in the name of the king is *ba*.[1]

But Dr. Knudtzon has not only improved our copies of the texts, he has also introduced important corrections into the transliteration of them, and has furthermore made a discovery of extraordinary interest. This is nothing less than the fact that *êstu* signifies 'may there be'! Somewhat naturally he has concluded from this that the language of Arzawa must be Indo-European, more especially as its resemblances to Greek had already been pointed out by myself and others in its possession of a nominative in *-s* and an accusative in *-n* and of the possessive pronouns *mi*, 'mine,' and *ti*, 'thine.' Dr. Knudtzon's conclusions have been further worked out by the eminent philologists, Professors Bugge and Torp, and the result is, not only a complete translation of the Cairo tablet, based upon the assumption that the language of it is Indo-European, but also a comparison of the language with those of the Lycian and Etruscan inscriptions, which are likewise assumed to belong to the Indo-European family of speech.

But in spite of *êstu* and the authority of the sponsors for the Indo-European character of the Arzawan language, the result is very far from being proved. In the first place, no notice is taken of the tablets of Boghaz Keui, the Hittite capital in Cappadocia, which are in the same or an allied language and form of cuneiform script. Secondly, as we have seen, the readings of Dr. Knudtzon are not always to be accepted, a fact which vitiates several of the supposed Indo-European analogies. Then, thirdly, though I willingly admit that there may be a relationship between the language of Arzawa and that of Lycia, Kretschmer, Thomsen, and other scholars are certainly right in denying the Indo-European character of Lycian: as for Etruscan, Professor Bugge stands almost alone nowadays in believing it to be Indo-European.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that between Arzawan and Greek, as also between Lycian and Greek, there are striking points of resemblance. It will be remembered that in describing my recent decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, which turn out to be in a language closely allied to that of Arzawa, I mentioned that I had been puzzled by the same fact. But it is a fact which admits of another explanation than that which would transform the languages of Asia Minor into Indo-European dialects. The Javan of Genesis belongs to Cilicia, from whence also the Lycians seem to have originally come, and he was the brother of the Asianic nations of Meshech and Tubal. The language of the Vannic inscriptions, which no scientific philologist would dream of including in the Indo-European family, displays some of the same resemblances to Greek as Arzawan or Lycian; so, too, does the language of Mitanni, though to a lesser degree. The fact is that the Asianic group of languages form an intermediate geographical link between Vannic and Indo-European as represented by Greek, the philological relationship between them having a geographical and not a genetic origin. Where languages are in contact with one another, grammatical forms as well as words are apt to be borrowed. One of the most striking points of resemblance, moreover, would be lost, if Dr. Knudtzon and his coadjutors are right in thinking that the Arzawan suffix *-s* denotes, not the nominative singular, but the genitive. This, however, is questionable.

It goes without saying that the translations proposed by the three northern scholars are tentative only. With some of the explanations of words and forms upon which their Indo-European theory rests I should entirely disagree. The first person of the verb is denoted, not by *-n*, but by *-i*; that is proved by the position of the word *assul-i* at the end of the Cairo tablet after the list of presents sent by one of the kings to the other, and which here and elsewhere where it occurs can mean only 'I have sent.'[2] The suffix of *uppakhu-n*

[1] At the beginning of line 2 I question the reading [*a-*]*na*, as the second character is *ut* rather than *na*.

[2] Other instances of the form are *auman-i*, 'I have despatched'; *lilkhuw-i*, 'I have given'; *ubb-i*, 'I have written (?).' The third paragraph of the Cairo letter will be *Kâsmá-ta uienum Irsappa* D.P. *khalugatallan-min aumani* TUR-SAL-*ti* AN UT-*mi kuin* DAM-*anni uwadanzi nú-si lilkhuwî* NI-*an* SAK-DU-*si kâsma-ta uppakhun* I *'sukhalaliya* AZAG-GI-*as* DAMQU-*an-ta*, 'For thee now Irsappa, my messenger, I have despatched, thy daughter, the consort (?) of the sun-god, for a wife to ask; to her I have given oil for her head; for thee as a present I *sukhalaliya* of gold for thy

is not that of the first person of the verb, but of the accusative, as in other cases; the word, which occurs also at Boghaz Keui, means 'as a present.'

In the Berlin tablet Dr. Knudtzon has found the proper name, which may be read Labbaya, though the first character in it has the values of *rîb* and *kal* as well as *lab*. Labbaia reminds us of the Canaanitish chieftain Labai, who plays an important part in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, and, like Dr. Knudtzon, I am inclined to identify the two. If so, Labai, if not himself a Hittite, would have been in communication with Hittites in southern Palestine.

Two years ago M. Legrain uncovered at Karnak for the first time the concluding portion of the famous list of Palestinian towns and districts conquered by Shishak. Several of them are destroyed, but among those that remain is 'the country of the Jordan.' It is at the extreme end of the left-hand side of the last line of the list which begins with the names of Zurḫam (Jerahme-el) and ʿAnnîn, 'the two springs,' a locality also mentioned in the travels of the Mohar. The fourth name from that of ʿAnnin is a Migdol. On the right side the list concludes with the following names:—Sh-r-d-d, R-p-ḫa, L-b-u-n (or L-b-n-u), ʿA-n-p-r-n, and H-a-m. The second is Raphia, the last the Hum of the Palestinian list of Thothmes III. The third is a Libnah, but it is the fourth which possesses the greatest interest. It is evidently ʿAn-Paran, 'the Spring of Paran,' the site of which is thus fixed in conformity with the geographical notices of the Old Testament. This 'Spring of Paran' must have been an important place, and the question rises, therefore, whether it was not the spring 'in the wilderness of Beer-sheba' where Hagar found water for Ishmael, who, as he grew up, 'dwelt in the wilderness of Paran.'

But this is not all. The 'Spring of Paran' must have been on the high road from Raphia to Seir, and consequently would seem to be that 'En-Mishpat, which is Kadesh,' reached by Chedorlaomer and his allies as soon as they had smitten 'the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-Paran, which is by the wilderness' (Gn $14^{6.7}$). Now, it was at Kadesh (now ʿAin Qadîs) in the wilderness of Paran that the Israelites encamped, according to Nu 12^{16} 13^{26}, after leaving Hazeroth and Kibroth-hattaavah, or Taberah, the latter being only three days' distance, or between fifty and sixty miles, from Mount Sinai (Nu 10^{33}).[1] In Dt 9^{22} Taberah is distinguished from Kibroth-hattaavah, and Massah is interpolated between them. According to Ex 17^{7}, however, Massah was visited before Sinai, and that the account given in the Book of Numbers is the more correct is shown by the itinerary in Nu 33^{16}, where Kibroth-hattaavah is the next station to Sinai. In the itinerary Rithmah, 'The Brooms,' and Rimmon-parez take the place of Kadesh, and then comes Libnah, in which we may see the Libnu of Shishak's list. In Dt 1^{1} Laban is similarly coupled with Paran and Hazeroth. That Sinai was a 'mount of Paran' is indicated in one of the oldest fragments of Hebrew literature (Dt 33^{2}), 'The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from mount Paran, and he came with ten thousands of saints.' The district in one form or another must have been handed down from the earliest days of Israelitish history, as we not only find a variant in Habakkuk (3^{3}, 'God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran'), but also in the Song of Deborah (Jg $5^{4.5}$, 'Lord, when Thou wentest out of Seir, when Thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water. The mountains melted from before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the Lord God of Israel'). The three variants mark out the position of Mount Sinai pretty clearly; it was on the borders of Seir and Paran towards Teman, the southern part of Edom.

prosperity.' Dr. Knudtzon has shown that I was wrong in transliterating *ḫalatta*, instead of *ḫasmatta*, and in making *laliya* the first person of a verb. In the next paragraph but one we have *uwanzi mâdanzi*; the last word is found at Boghaz Keui along with the borrowed Assyrian *madattum*, 'tribute.' The word *essar*, *essaras*, which occurs in both the Arzawan letters, I believe to mean 'bronze' or 'copper.' Line 28 of the Cairo tablet is *nú-ta kâsma bibbi essar uppakhun assuli*, 'to thee bronze for a chariot as a gift I have sent.'

[1] In the itinerary, however, the camp is transported at once from Sinai to Kibroth-hattaavah (Nu 33^{16}), so that the three days of Nu 10^{33} may mean the three stages Taberah, Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth, or Kibroth-hattaavah, Hazeroth, and Kadesh, if Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah are one and the same.

The Argument of Wendt's 'Gospel according to St. John.'[1]

By the Rev. J. A. Cross, M.A., St. John's Vicarage, Little Holbeck, Leeds.

Wendt's position is that, while the historical narrative of the Fourth Gospel is obviously of a late date, and cannot have been the work of the Apostle John, the discourses can be separated from the narrative which forms their present setting, and that there is evidence to show that they were taken from an earlier source, which the writer of the Gospel used. This source is not primary. Its language cannot be regarded as the language in which Jesus spoke. But it contains the substance of what He said.

1. The first proof which is given of the distinction between the narrative and the discourses is that the miraculous signs (σημεῖα) upon which the evangelist lays such stress in the narrative do not appear in the discourses. In the discourses the proof of the divine mission of Jesus consists in His 'words' or teaching. It is true that His 'works' are also mentioned. But His 'works' do not mean specially His miraculous works. They mean His whole work, miraculous and otherwise, of which His teaching was the main part.[2] Thus the distinction between the narrative and the discourses is clear and well defined, and the only hypothesis which reconciles the discrepancy between them is that the evangelist has reproduced the discourses of Jesus from an older document, the form of which was already fixed, and that he used them without altering them to suit their new surroundings (p. 66).

2. A second argument in support of the hypothesis is that the evangelist, commenting on certain utterances of Jesus, has misinterpreted their meaning, that is, that he has clearly misunderstood the source which he was using. The passages in which this has occurred are 2^{19} 7^{38} 12^{32} 17^{12} (18^{9}).

3. Wendt finds a further confirmation of his hypothesis in the inappropriateness of some of the discourses to their present surroundings, and in the way in which they appear to have been cut up and disarranged by their present editor. Two examples will show what he means. After the miracle of the feeding recorded in chap. 6, the Jews ask Jesus for a sign. In His reply He makes no reference to the wonderful sign which has just been given, but passes on to speak of the true bread from heaven. This is certainly a striking omission. According to Wendt's view, 'the only hypothesis which solves the enigma is that in an older document, used by the evangelist, the passage in 6^{27} sqq. ("Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but," etc.) was given without the preceding account of the feeding of the multitude, and generally without the presupposition of earlier miracles publicly wrought by Jesus' (p. 77). Another instance of inconsistency, this time between two different parts of the source, is seen when we compare 13^{36} ('Simon Peter said unto Him, Lord, whither goest Thou?') with 16^{5} ('None of you asketh me, Whither goest Thou?'). Wendt supposes that this inconsistency is due to the present editor having transposed the two passages, their original order having been different.

While we cannot refuse attention to the remarkable facts which Wendt marshals in support of his theory, there are some considerations which lessen their force as arguments in support of the particular theory which he advocates.

The first of these that strikes us is the difficulty of laying down any definite line of demarcation between the discourses and the narrative. There is a considerable quantity of matter in the Gospel which may be connected either with the one or with the other. In view of this fact Wendt is

[1] *The Gospel according to St. John.* An Inquiry into its Genesis and Historical Value. By Dr. Hans Hinrich Wendt, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena. Translated by Edward Lummis, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1902.

[2] 'In the narrative parts . . . we are directed to Jesus' "signs"; in the discourses we find that the demand for a sign is refused, and we are directed to Jesus' words of spirit and life and to His "works"—that is to say, to His whole ministry of teaching, which attests itself as a thing divine' (p. 65).

hardly justified in saying that there is only one passage in the source in which the signs are mentioned. There are at least four passages which are affected by this uncertainty, namely, $2^{18\text{-}20}$,[1] 3^{2} 6^{26} 6^{30}. The signs are also mentioned in 6^{2} ('because they saw His miracles'), a passage which cannot be very easily separated from the succeeding discourse, in spite of the undeniable discrepancies which Wendt points out.

Another passage which presents a difficulty to Wendt is that which contains the words of the Baptist in $3^{31\text{-}36}$ ('He that cometh from above is above all,' etc.). The resemblance of this passage in thought and style to the discourses of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel has often been observed. But Wendt's theory compels him to assign the passage to the evangelist, and not to the Source. How does he explain its resemblance to the discourses attributed to Jesus? He is obliged to suppose that the evangelist intentionally imitated the style of the discourses in order to show that the teaching of John was the same as the teaching of Jesus: 'He was no doubt guided by the intention of making clear that what the Baptist said about the divine mission of Jesus, and the saving power of belief in Him, differed in no wise from what Jesus said Himself' (p. 122).

The episode of the woman of Samaria ($4^{1\text{-}42}$) also presents difficulties, because it exhibits the characteristics both of the evangelist and also of the source. It has, therefore, to be divided into nine sections, of which five are assigned to the evangelist, namely, $^{1\text{-}3}$ $^{15\text{-}18}$ ^{26} $^{28\text{-}30}$ and $^{39\text{-}42}$, and four to the Source, namely, $^{4\text{-}14}$ (with possible exceptions in ^{10} ^{11} and ^{15}) $^{19\text{-}25}$ ^{27} $^{31\text{-}38}$. In this division it will be noticed that the narrative section $^{4\text{-}14}$ has to be assigned to the Source, while the words of Jesus in $^{15\text{-}18}$ and ^{26} are assigned to the evangelist.

There are also two other passages which militate against Wendt's theory. They are John 4^{48}, 'Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe,' and 20^{29}, 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.' The first of these passages belongs to the narrative, not to a discourse, and the word σημεῖον occurs in it. It ought, therefore, to agree with the evangelist (the writer of the narrative portions) in his high estimate of the value of the miraculous signs. Instead of doing this it disparages them. A similar remark applies to 20^{29}. Wendt foresees these objections, and meets them as follows:—'The interpretation which takes these words as directed against the seeking for a sign is a distorted one. In each case the context shows that there is no intention to contrast a faith without signs with a faith founded on signs. The whole stress lies on the idea of *seeing*. A faith which depends upon its owner having *seen* a miracle with his own eyes is set over against one which, though it is concerned with miracles, has yet no prurient desire to *see* one, but believes the *word* which testifies of them' (p. 31), as the king's officer 'believed the word that Jesus spake unto him' (4^{50}). 'So on the other hand, Thomas earned the rebuke of the risen Jesus, because he would not believe the word of his fellow-disciples about the resurrection of the Lord until he had himself beheld the miracle' (*ibid*). Here the argument is made to depend upon an interpretation of the two passages, which, to say the least of it, is not the interpretation most generally accepted.

But there is a more general objection to all arguments such as that which Wendt uses. Having made his statement about the use of the word σημεῖον, he says that there is one, and only one, hypothesis that explains the facts. Is this a safe assertion? Is it certain that the hypothesis proposed accounts for all the facts? Is it certain that there may be no other hypothesis which can do so? As the Gospel stands at present, whatever may have been the materials which the writer used, it deals largely with the subject of Christian evidence. Paragraph after paragraph introduces us to some new proof of the divine mission of Jesus. And frequently comparisons are made of the relative values attached by the writer to these different kinds of proof, and of the different effects which they produced. All this cannot be explained by supposing that the Gospel was written by a redactor who valued the evidence of miracles dealing with a source which did not.[2]

Let us turn next to the four passages in which

[1] In the section $2^{18\text{-}22}$ vv.[18] and [19] exhibit the characteristics of the evangelist; vv.[19] and [20] are attributed to the source, and vv.[21. 22] to the evangelist.

[2] Jn $1^{1\text{-}5.\ 6\text{-}8.\ 9\text{-}14.\ 15\text{-}18.\ 19\text{-}28.\ 29\text{-}34.\ 35\text{-}42.\ 43\text{-}51}$ $2^{1\text{-}11.\ 18\text{-}22.\ 23\text{-}25}$ $3^{2.\ 18\text{-}21.\ 25\text{-}36}$ $4^{16\text{-}19.\ 29.\ 39\text{-}42.\ 45.\ 46\text{-}54}$ $5^{31\text{-}47}$ $6^{2.\ 36.\ 66\text{-}71}$ $7^{31.\ 37\text{-}44}$ $8^{12\text{-}20.\ 30}$ $9^{17.\ 32.\ 33.\ 39}$ $10^{19\text{-}21.\ 41.\ 42}$ $11^{15.\ 45.\ 46.\ 47}$ $12^{9.\ 30.\ 37\text{-}50}$ $14^{8\text{-}24}$ $19^{31\text{-}37}$ $20^{1\text{-}10.\ 11\text{-}18.\ 19\text{-}25.\ 26\text{-}30.\ 30.\ 31}$ $21^{1\text{-}14.\ 24.\ 25}$.

the evangelist, commenting on words of Jesus, has misinterpreted their meaning, that is, has not understood his source, namely, 2^{19} 7^{38} 12^{32} 17^{12} (18^{9}). These four passages certainly seem to agree in giving a poorer and less spiritual sense to words which originally were intended to bear a higher meaning. But there is in 21^{19} a fifth instance of a comment made on a saying of Jesus ('This spake He, signifying by what death He should glorify God'), which bears a strong resemblance to the other four, and which cannot be traceable to the use of the source here, for Wendt does not suppose the appendix to have formed part of the source. It is also worth noticing that the first of the misinterpreted sayings ('Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it up') does not occur in one of the discourses, but in the conversation with the Jews about the cleansing of the temple, and is in answer to a question in which the word σημεῖον occurs, and ought therefore to be assigned to the evangelist rather than to the source.[1]

With reference to the supposed disarrangement of the original text of the discourses and the inconsistencies between them and their present setting, all of which is attributed to the action of the evangelist in dealing with his source, it may be remarked that here again the proposed hypothesis does not altogether account for the facts, or if it does, it accounts for too much. The difficulty is not only to explain how the confusion or inconsistency could have arisen, but why the writer should have allowed it to stand uncorrected. He may have been careless, or indifferent, or deficient in literary skill, or the work may have been a rough draft which somehow escaped revision. But if so, then these explanations might account for the origin of the blunders, as well as for the perpetuation of them, without having recourse to the hypothesis of a source. Much may be accounted for by the writer's style, which is certainly peculiar. It is, in the strict sense of the word, incoherent. There is a constant lack of clear logical sequence, and the fact that the same characteristic is to be found in the first Johannine Epistle looks as if it were due to the writer, and not to the use of a source, unless we are to suppose that the source was used in writing the Epistle as well as the Gospel.

These considerations, while they do not lessen our admiration for the thoroughness and ability with which Professor Wendt has worked out his case, incline us to doubt whether his hypothesis will permanently hold the field. But, whether it does or not, his book will nevertheless remain an interesting and suggestive contribution to the study of the Johannine problem, and a valuable storehouse of facts and opinions. It contains much that will be of special interest to those who are disposed to think that the Gospel is not so homogeneous a composition as is generally supposed, and that it contains a tradition which is different from those of the Synoptic Gospels, though related to them.

[1] There is no fixed rule as to the classification of the conversations. Sometimes they are regarded as belonging to the source, and sometimes as belonging to the evangelist's narrative.

Contributions and Comments.

Discovery of the Tomb of Thothmes IV.

Mr. Theodore M. Davis, who has for the last two years been engaged in the work of systematically clearing the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes of sand and rubbish, has been rewarded by the discovery of the tomb of Thothmes IV. A hieratic inscription in the tomb, dated in the eighth year of Hor-em-hib, states that it had been broken into and plundered by thieves, but that the mischief had been repaired as far as possible by Hor-em-hib. Since then the tomb has remained inviolate, so that a rich booty has awaited the excavators. The most interesting and precious discovery is that of the royal chariot, the wooden frame of which was covered with stucco, inside and out. The stucco has been carved into pictures representing scenes from the battles fought by the

Pharaoh in Syria, and displaying an art of the very highest character. The figures of the Syrians seem to have been drawn from life.

A. H. Sayce.

Egypt.

On the Parable of the Unjust Steward.

Will you allow me to suggest an explanation of the Parable of the Unjust Steward in Lk 16^{1-9}, which I do not think has occurred to any of our learned commentators? It has been a puzzle to many to know why, for remitting on his own authority a portion of the debts that were due to his master, the steward should have been commended by him.

It seems to me that the difficulty lies simply in our not being sufficiently familiar with Eastern customs. What may have been the practice of stewards in our Lord's time, I hope that better antiquaries than I am will take the trouble to tell us; but I know that at the present time, wherever Orientals are left to their own methods, uncontrolled by any protectorate of Europeans, the plan is to farm out taxes or property of any description. The steward would therefore demand from the cultivators much more than he would pay to the overlord, perhaps even double, and pocket the difference himself. This is so usual in the East that those who were listening to our Lord, many of whom were themselves publicans, *i.e.* farmers of taxes, would understand the situation intuitively, and would not need any explanation. They would know that the steward, in telling the cultivators to write less in their bills than he had originally demanded from them, was simply renouncing his own exorbitant profits, without in any way defrauding his master. Perhaps some of your readers may be able to throw a little more light on this idea.

Cambridge. Margaret D. Gibson.

P.S.—Since writing the above I find that Dean Farrar says ('Cambridge Bible for Schools,' *in loco*): 'The unjust steward would naturally receive from the tenants much more than he acknowledged in his accounts,' and 'The last act of the steward had been so far honest, that for the first time he charged to the debtors the correct amount, while he doubtless represented the diminution as due to his kindly influence with his lord.' This view differs only slightly from the one which I have suggested. But Dean Farrar also speaks of 'The tricky cleverness by which the steward had endeavoured to escape detection'; and it seems to me that the lord's commendation implies that he was cognizant of the steward's last transactions, and that there was little secrecy in them.

M. D. G.

The 'Dictionary of the Bible': Abiud.

The combination proposed in vol. ii. p. 140 of *Abiud* with *Hodaviah* (1 Ch 3^{24}) is rather doubtful. Abiud corresponds in the Septuagint to אֲבִיהוּא as well as to אֲבִיהוּד, and is explained by Philo as = *πατήρ μου οὗτος*. See *de Migratione*, § 31 (Mangey i. 462), where all editions, even the latest of Wendland (2, 301), have marred Philo's etymology by wrong punctuation of the sentence.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

כָּבוֹד a Divine Name? A Note on Ps. cxlix. 5.

The unquestionably peculiar expression יַעֲלְזוּ חֲסִידִים בְּכָבוֹד in Ps 149^{5} has always given trouble to commentators, and no satisfactory rendering of it has hitherto been offered. The difficulty is due to the word כָּבוֹד. Very different views have been taken of its meaning, as may be seen by consulting some of the latest translations. Kautzsch renders: 'Let the pious exult *on account of the glory*' (*ob der Herrlichkeit*); Baethgen: 'Let the saints exult *with glorying*' (*mit Rühmen*); Duhm: 'Let the saints exult *in honour*' (*in Ehre*); Delitzsch: 'The pious rejoice *in glory*' (*in Herrlichkeit*). These examples may suffice. One sees that it is a case of *quot capita tot sensus*.

When we turn to the Hebrew lexicon, we learn that כָּבוֹד has a variety of meanings: (1) honour, fame; (2) glory, splendour; (3) wealth, abund-

ance; (4) soul (poetically). In particular, the word in the second of these meanings is coupled with יהוה, and stands for 'the glory of Jahweh,' *i.e.* the self-revelation appropriate to His being. If this is a correct account of the word, Baethgen's rendering is ruled out of court, unless he have some special reason to offer in its support. Duhm has already noted this, pointing out that כָּבוֹד never means 'glorying.' Moreover, 'exult with glorying' would be a pure tautology, unless 'glorying' had something added to it. Against Baethgen the objection is thus valid which he himself urges against other exegetes. He says (*ad loc.*): 'בְּכָבוֹד cannot stand for the *occasion* of the exultation, namely, the honour newly bestowed upon them, for then we should expect בְּכָבוֹדָם; the expression must be explained after the analogy of 30^{13} and 29^{9} as = "while they raise the song of praise"; so rightly Luther.' [The rendering of the latter is 'Die Heiligen sollen fröhlich sein *und preisen*,' 'Let the saints be joyous *and give praise.*'] Even if Baethgen's view were correct, some addition would have to be expected. But, as we have said, his interpretation of the expression cannot be established. He ought not to appeal to Ps 29^{9} and 30^{13}, for the first of these passages reads, 'Everything says כָּבוֹד,' while in the second the text is uncertain if not impossible—'that כָּבוֹד may praise thee (O God) and not be silent.' Without going here into detail as to the interpretation of the latter passage, we would merely point out (1) that at all events it is possible in both instances to gain a tolerable sense (not to say more) with one of the above-mentioned usual meanings of כָּבוֹד; (2) that Baethgen improperly appeals to 29^{9} in support of his interpretation of 149^{5}, seeing that he himself renders the former passage, 'Every one cries, O glory' (*Jeder ruft: O Herrlichkeit*). In short, the sense of a substantive infinitive, 'glorying,' has hitherto been by no means established for the word כָּבוֹד.

The other renderings of 149^{5} quoted above may all be admitted as possible. Whether they yield a suitable sense is another question. They fall into two classes, the one, like Kautzsch, taking the בְּ before כָּבוֹד as introducing the object, or, what is the same thing, they explain it as causal; the other, like Duhm and Delitzsch, taking it as instrumental. The last two named arrive, in view of their explanation of the passage, at one and the same meaning, namely, 'in possession of the honour experienced by them (the saints).' It is evident that, whether the causal or the instrumental sense receive the preference, the meaning is much the same. Delitzsch superfluously adds: 'בְּ of cause, or more probably, in view of the *bareness* of the expression, of circumstance and mood.'

In any case, it holds good that something appears to be wanting to the כָּבוֹד, the word needs a complement. This is the conclusion reached by all the commentators, not merely Baethgen but also Delitzsch (cf. his words 'the bareness of the expression') and Duhm (who refers it to 'the honour bestowed upon the conquerors'). A suffix attached to the word would remove all difficulty, as Baethgen has expressly pointed out, and as the other interpreters have at least felt. But there is no suffix, and as yet no one has felt entitled to insert it, since neither the LXX nor any other authority suggests such a course, as they do in 30^{13}. The LXX has the strictly literal rendering καυχήσονται ὅσιοι ἐν δόξῃ, which brings us no farther. As little does the Peshitta, which likewise reproduces the Hebrew text literally by ܒܫܒܚܐ. We must be content, then, with the text that lies before us, and can only make the attempt, by close attention to the whole context of our passage, to reach a better solution.

Looking, then, at the Psalm as a whole, we obtain the following:—

v.[1] *Sing to Jahweh* a new *song*,
Sound *His praise* in the assembly of the *saints*.
v.[2] Let *Israel rejoice* in his *Creator*,
Let *Zion's sons rejoice* over their *king*,
v.[3] Let them *celebrate His name* in the dance,
Let them *sing praises to Him* with kettle-drum and guitar.
v.[4] For Jahweh taketh pleasure in His people,
He graceth the lowly with deliverance.
v.[5] Let the pious *exult* בְּכָבוֹד,
Let them *burst into jubilation* upon their beds.
v.[6] Let the *praise of God* be in their mouth, etc.

The structure of the Psalm is evident enough. The main thought, which is repeated with variations, is that the saints are to *praise Jahweh*, which is expressed twice over in each of the first three verses. V.[4] assigns *the ground* of this praise in a preliminary fashion, as it were. Vv.[5, 6a] vary

the main thought once more, that the *saints* are to *give praise to Jahweh.* This is incontrovertibly stated in v.[6a], while in v.[5] at least *two elements* of the main thought, namely, 'saints' and 'praise,' are distinctly present. Is the third also present? At all events, from v.[6b] onwards we have the *ground* of praise *alluded to before*, the imminent executing of vengeance on the enemy. This, then, is the 'deliverance' spoken of in v.[4], which is thus in the mind of the Psalmist the evidence of the pleasure of Jahweh referred to in the same verse.

In view of all this, who could help feeling that the questionable expression בְּכָבוֹד must in some way designate God Himself? Seeing that Jahweh is named as the object of praise seven times (vv.[1-3], v.[6a]), and that an eighth time (v.[5]) there is a double mention of *saints* and of *praise*, is it not natural, nay imperative, to suppose that the third element, 'Jahweh,' must also be found here? And all the more so, as כָּבוֹד is introduced as object in the very place where the thought of the כְּבוֹד יהוה would very naturally arise. To which we may add that in v.[2], where all three elements, 'saints,' 'praise,' 'Jahweh,' occur together, a thing which does not recur in the Psalm, the object Jahweh is twice introduced with בְּ.

But how, it will be asked, can כָּבוֹד be a title of God? It is true, indeed, that the use of the word with this signification has not yet been demonstrated. It is not attested by the lexicons either of biblical or post-biblical Hebrew. And yet are we not aware that in the latest Judaism כְּבוֹד יהוה or יקרא דיהוה (Aram.) were current names for God or circumlocutions for His name? To be sure, and now we find here beyond question some passages where instead of these forms the absolute [Delitzsch 'bare'] כָּבוֹד is employed. Thus we read in Enoch 14[18]: εἶδον θρόνον ὑψηλόν, (20) καὶ ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη ἐκάθητο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. The same expression occurs twice in 104[1]. In like manner, *Test. XII Patr.* iii. 3; ἐν τῷ ἀνωτέρῳ πάντων (*sc.* τῶν οὐρανῶν) καταλύει ἡ μεγάλη δόξα ἐν ἁγίῳ ἁγίων, ὑπεράνω πάσης ἁγιότητος (similarly *Vit. Ad.* 27).

These testimonies (to which perhaps, at least in a certain sense, Ro 9[4] may be added) show that in late Jewish, but still pre-Christian, linguistic usage, instances occur of the employment of the absolute כָּבוֹד as a Divine name. The circumstance that in the scanty relics of literature that have come down to us, the expression is always 'the *great* glory' must be regarded as of secondary importance. It must also be admitted that post-Christian Hebrew (Mishna, Talmud) is no longer acquainted with this usage; it has been dropped, like many another, by accident or for reasons that are unknown to us.

Everything considered, we are entitled to regard כָּבוֹד in Ps 149[5] as a designation of God, and thus to remove a *crux interpretum*, while at the same we gain recognition for the peculiarly beautiful structure of a psalm. When this latter point is recognized, it appears, indeed, to carry a further conclusion with it. If we note, that is to say, the parallelism that is perfectly carried through in the rest of the verses of the Psalm (vv.[1-4. 6-9a]), and then look at v.[5] in the light of this, it must occur to us that the closing words, עַל־מִשְׁכְּבוֹתָם, have not the right ring, a fact which has avowedly given trouble to the commentators. For this reason I am convinced that these words also (which ought to correspond with the בְּכָבוֹד, but which do not, whether we follow the traditional interpretation or that proposed in the present note) present a hitch, and require alteration. At present, however, I am unable to suggest an emended reading, and am content simply to have drawn attention to this point.

That Ps 149 belongs to the period of late Judaism, and that no objection to our proposed interpretation of כָּבוֹד can be taken on that account, I take for granted. But if any one should feel that it is somewhat questionable to discover this meaning of כָּבוֹד in only a single passage of the Old Testament, I reply that he might do well to apply the same test to Ps 112[9], and inquire whether there also the last word of the expression קַרְנוֹ תָּרוּם בְּכָבוֹד does not contain the Divine name. It is at least a possible supposition, and it appears to me that more considerations than one plead in favour of it.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THE Hittite inscriptions have been deciphered at last. The Hittite language has begun to be read.

Who says so? Professor Jensen or Professor Sayce? Both say so now. Professor Jensen has said so all along, and taken the credit to himself. Now Professor Sayce gives him the credit, and frankly admits that the thing is done.

In the tenth volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, the volume for 1899, there raged a keen controversy regarding the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions. Dr. Jensen claimed that he had deciphered them, or at least was well on the way. Dr. Sayce and Dr. Hommel denied it. So fierce was Dr. Jensen in his assertion that Professor Ramsay came in to reprove him. But Dr. Selbie summed up in Jensen's favour, and it seems that Dr. Selbie was right.

And yet it is Professor Sayce that comes out of it with most credit. With German plainness of speech, Professor Jensen taunted him with reluctance to acknowledge his own defeat. Professor Sayce had certainly admitted that his own attempt had failed. 'And for years past,' he said, 'I have maintained that, with our present materials, the task is hopeless.' But Professor Jensen was not content with that. He was not pleased that Professor Sayce had not 'pursued further the path of confession,—an unpleasant one to be sure,—and at least tried to bring himself to confess that another has been more successful than himself.' The taunt did not make confession easier. Yet now, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Professor Sayce comes forward and unreservedly says: 'I have to acknowledge that the credit of first recognizing the direction which the decipherment of the Hittite texts should take, and of making the first steps along it, is due to Professor Jensen.'

And yet more difficult must it have been to make this acknowledgment, that he himself just missed what Dr. Jensen saw, and lost what Dr. Jensen gained. The decipherment has been due to the fortunate discovery of the name of the city of Carchemish on one of the Hittite monuments. It was not Professor Jensen that made that discovery. It was a Frenchman of the name of Six. M. Six suggested the identification to Professor Sayce before he approached Professor Jensen. But Professor Sayce was away on a wrong scent and did not appreciate it. Professor Jensen 'had the wisdom and penetration to accept M. Six's discovery,' and the decipherment began.

So we turn to Professor Jensen. The best account of the Hittites must be that which he has contributed to the volume of *Explorations in*

Bible Lands (T. & T. Clark, 12s. 6d. net), edited by Professor Hilprecht.

Now when we turn to this volume we find with pleasure that Professor Jensen on his part is ready to recognize the share which Professor Sayce has had in the recovery of this remarkable people. The Hittite inscriptions have been found in districts as far separate as Smyrna in Asia Minor, Nineveh, and Hamath in Syria. One was found in one place, another in another. And they were not all alike. 'It was after the discovery of a number of these inscriptions that Sayce in particular, the versatile and active English scholar, pointed out an identity of kind existing between several of them, thereby rendering a service, the importance of which is not to be underestimated.' 'Thus,' he continues, 'there sprang into existence an historical people whose very existence up to that time seemed wholly unknown to us. To all appearance this people was possessed of a great past. It had extended or at least had marched victoriously over a considerable part of Asia Minor; it had reached the Euphrates, perhaps even crossed it, penetrating into the East, and had passed down into Syria. It boasted of an art, derived, it is true, from Egypt and the lands of the Tigris and the Euphrates, but still it was independent and creative enough to work out its own method of writing.'

Who was this people? Professor Sayce called them Hittites. For in the place where some of the inscriptions were found, that is to say, in Syria and the district lying to the north of it, is found that territory to which the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments give the name of *Khate*. The Old Testament calls its inhabitants *Khittim* or Hittites.

But Professor Jensen disputes the identification. It would be all right, he says, if all the 'Hittite' monuments had been found in *Khate*, that is, in Syria and its neighbourhood; or if it could be proved that the inhabitants of Khate, *i.e.* the Hittites, had travelled through Assyria and Asia Minor and had left inscriptions as they went, and especially if the date of the inscriptions agreed with the date of so widespread a supremacy of the Hittites. But these demands, he believes, cannot be met.

The dates alone forbid. The 'Hittite' inscriptions range over four centuries, from the Hamath inscriptions of 1000 B.C. to the Babylonian bowl of 600 B.C. But the kings of Khate of the Egyptian monuments are as old as 1300 B.C. Professor Jensen therefore concludes that the inscriptions found in Syria must belong to those petty princes who ruled in Syria and the north of it during the Assyrian supremacy of 900 B.C. and after. The Hittites were not Hittites.

Who were they then? They were the ancestors, says Professor Jensen (holding his former opinion more firmly now), of the Armenians who dwell there still. This is Professor Jensen's great discovery. It has been counted a heresy hitherto, a heresy of the rankest kind. Professor Sayce has nothing to say about it in his article in this month's *Proceedings*. But this article is 'to be continued.' It may be that in the second part another confession is forthcoming. Then the Hittites will pass out of history as suddenly as they came in.

There is an article in the new number, the number for April, of the *Hibbert Journal* on 'The Failure of Christian Missions in India.' The writer of the article is Dr. Josiah Oldfield.

The title of the article ought to be 'The Failure of Christian *Missionaries* in India.' Dr. Oldfield himself confesses that. His idea of the gospel may not be that of any missionary in India. His idea of Christ may be no more than that of a 'divine teacher'—he gives Him no higher name. That, however, he says, has nothing to do with it. The failure of Christianity in India is not due to Christ or the Gospels, it is due to the Christian missionary.

He brings three charges against the Christian missionary in India. The first is that he is ignorant. He does not know, and he does not try to know, the religions which he wants to destroy. Christianity is the only true religion, all other worship of God is 'heathen idolatry.' The Hindu knows more about Christianity, says Dr. Oldfield, than the missionary knows about Hinduism. He knows so much that when invited to adopt the Christian religion, he asks, '*Which* Christian religion?' He sees Roman Catholics denying salvation to Protestants, and Protestants labelling the Church of Rome as Anti-Christ. If he joins the one, he will be anathematized by the other. His risk of damnation is no greater if he remains as he is, and he refuses to give up his ancestral faith.

The second charge is that the missionary is dishonest. High-caste Hindus, says Dr. Oldfield, read missionary reports. They see that in order to get funds for missionary work, it is necessary to paint Indian life in absolutely false colours. It is all one as if a Hindu, working in one of our East-end slums, with its filth and overcrowding, its drunkenness and debauchery, its foul language and immorality, were to go back to India and describe what he saw as if it were typical of English life.

The third charge is yet more personal. It is divided into three parts. First, the Indian missionary is an Anglo-Indian—'and no one who has not stayed for some little time in India can quite understand what that means.' There are the Indians and there are the Anglo-Indians, and the line drawn between them is sharp and deep. The missionary is in touch with the English official class, and at once belongs to the other side of the street.

Secondly, the habits of the Christian missionary are lower than those of the people he has gone out to convert. 'Again and again, a man in the position of a prime minister, or a judge, or a pleader, has said to me, "Would you send an East-end coster to address the members of the University of Oxford in order to convert them to Christianity?"' That is how it appears to them when they find that the Christian missionary sits down to meat without bathing, without changing his clothes, and then eats flesh. He sets up, they say, a lower standard than St. Paul, who declared that he would eat no meat while the world standeth, lest he made his brother to offend. The high-caste Hindu will not become a Christian, because he feels that it would be a personal as well as a social degradation so to do.

And lastly, the spiritual life of the Christian missionary is generally looked upon as lower than the spiritual life of the best Indian priests. Dr. Oldfield is not sure whether the Indian priests are priests whom they have known, or the ideal priest of whom they have read. But he holds that they have that impression. And in proof that it is not altogether an unjust impression, he relates an experience. 'The missionary,' said one, 'is a jolly fellow to talk to, a courteous, kindly, gentlemanly fellow; but I would not ask an English military officer to do a surgical operation for me because he was a jolly gentlemanly fellow.' "Let us test that, then," said I; "let us see if the Christian missionary is mainly a jolly good fellow." My friend gravely arose and ordered the carriage. We drove to the mission station. The boy who came out to us said that the sahib was at the gymkana (club). My friend looked at me, and we drove back. In response to a message sent to the gymkana, the missionary was good enough to call in at our bungalow on the way home—in flannels and with his tennis racquet!'

Now it does not need a knowledge of India to see that Dr. Oldfield could be put into the witness-box about this matter with damaging results. But it is better not to do so. It is better simply to ask Dr. Oldfield what he thinks should be done.

He thinks that first of all missionaries—and indeed all of us—must discover that there is something good in Hinduism, and preserve it. Our ancestors had some 'heathenish practices' in their day, but the missionaries who came over to convert them did not destroy these practices from off the face of the earth, they 'hallowed the heathen festivals and sanctified them with a benediction.'

And then he thinks that men must be sent out to India who are superior in saintly habits of devotion to the spiritual teachers whom they wish to convert, *and these only*—the italics being his own. The early Christian Church, he reminds us, won its triumphs by the growing recognition amongst Greek and Roman pleasure-satiated races that 'these Christians are better, are gentler, are more honest, are more truthful, are more self-sacrificing, and live in all things at a higher level than we do.'

The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* is dead. The *Princeton Theological Review* is born. So far as can be seen the death and the birth mean no more than the change of a cumbrous general title for a simpler and more specific one. In the new review, Professor Warfield is chief contributor and theological director, as he was in the old. Well, there is no better equipped writer, no more conscientious reviewer, in any theological quarterly in existence.

In the first number of the *Princeton Theological Review* Professor Warfield reviews a little book by Professor Henri Bois of Montauban on *Le Sentiment Religieux*. He is not at his best in the criticism of such a book. He is too much in sympathy with it. He does better with Professor Schmiedel or Dr. van Manen. But there is no subject of more immediate concern than the Religious Feeling, and it is worth our while to look at that idea of Religion upon which two scholars of such ability and safety are agreed.

Professor Bois first clears the ground. What is the Religious Feeling? No, first, What is it not? It is not to be identified with physical modifications. It is not merely the subjective expression of internal organic movements, obscurely manifesting themselves in consciousness, according to the widely adopted but absurd doctrine of James and Lange, Dumas and Ribot, that emotion in general is but a physical state becoming conscious of itself,—as if a mother mourning her dead child did not weep because she was sorry, but was sorry because she wept!

Nor is the religious feeling simply the feeling of the infinite, as Schleiermacher once suggested and Max Müller insisted. As a Neo-Kantian, Professor Bois scarcely knows what 'the infinite' means.

Nor is the religious feeling to be confounded with the moral feeling, as César Malan teaches, for morality and religion can exist apart from one another, and actually do sometimes exist apart. Nor is it identical with the social feeling, as Durkheim imagines, for history shows that religious sentiments owe their origin to the individual rather than the community. It has some kinship with the social feeling, for it manifests itself in the relations between one person and another. It differs, however, in this respect, that the relations it establishes are between human persons and divine. In short, it is not a social but a supra-social feeling.

Religion is a relation between human persons and divine. The divine may be singular or plural. But it is indispensable, says Professor Bois, that the deity or deities with whom the human person comes into relationship should possess *power* and *kinship*. God to be God, the God that makes a religion, must be the author of our being, or the sovereign of the world, or at least our *superior*; and He must have *likeness to us*, so that He is of our *kind*.

Then God must be a person? He must. On

that Professor Bois is unmistakable and emphatic. And therefore Buddhism, which has no personal god, is no religion. It is an evanescent metaphysical speculation provoked by a progressive dissolution of previous religions,—an episode of pantheistic metaphysics between two periods of religion,—'the bitter and withered fruit of speculation, ripened in the bosom of a decomposition of religious faith.'

Without a personal God, Professor Bois holds that there is no religion. Pantheism is not a religion. It is a form of the degradation of religion, through which it passes before it vanishes into open atheism. Man starts—starts after the Fall, remember, for Professor Bois is as orthodox as Professor Warfield, and will not have it that man's first state was polytheistic — man starts sometime after the Fall with the belief in numerous personal gods. But in his very nature there lies the need of unity. And he proceeds to turn his many gods into one by two different processes. By the one process he rises from the idea of many divine persons to the idea of a single divine person, ever greater and more powerful, and ever more personal in proportion as He is conceived more clearly as one. Polytheism has become Monotheism. By the other process he eliminates the plurality of persons by eliminating all that makes for personality, by withdrawing from God, first moral qualities, then intelligence, until all that remains is brute force. Polytheism has passed into Pantheism.

That is the first part of the book. The second has to do with the individual and his god. If religion is a social—a supra-social—relationship between man and a personal god or gods, where does it touch a man, and what does it do for him?

It touches him, says Professor Bois, in his intellect, it touches him in his feeling, and it touches him in his will. Especially does it touch him in his will. And now it appears that the purpose of this second part is to point out the mischief that arises from intellectualism and emotionalism in religion, and to assign the primacy to the will. 'From all sides stands out this great psychological law, that the will with its rational rule, called duty, is indispensable for the foundation and maintenance of religious health; that the Christian ought to know how to guard himself from taking pleasure, even religious pleasure, for his direct end or for his criterion; and that it is only by the will and action determined by duty, that he will be able to acquire and conserve a normal and complete religious life, in which all parts of his nature shall dwell together, harmoniously combined and established, and in which he will give himself entirely to his God and his brethren, only to find his gift returned to him in benefit.'

The difficulties surrounding the miracles of the New Testament centre in demoniacal possession. Did Christ drive out demons? Did He believe that He did? What was the matter with the persons who were supposed to be possessed with devils? These are the questions.

A new attempt has just been made to answer the last. It is made in a book of essays which is written by Mr. H. A. Dallas, and published by Messrs. Longmans, under the inoffensive title of *Gospel Records*.

The question is, What was the matter with those who were supposed to be possessed with demons? Mr. Dallas says they were possessed with demons. Mr. Dallas is an uncompromising evolutionist, and he says that in the evolutionary progress of the race, the faculties that have arrived last at their destination are the spiritual faculties. The physical organism was developed first; next came the mental capacities; and the spiritual were established last. Now the last, because they are last, must be the least stable. Man's spiritual faculties must be the most easily disturbed. If, then, any adverse influence affects him from with-

out, the mental and bodily powers may withstand the strain while the spiritual faculties are disturbed.

The disturbance affects the whole person. It at once affects the mind and it soon affects the body. But at first it was a spiritual disturbance only, it rose in that which is most characteristic of man, in that which is noblest in him.

That a man is open to such disturbance may be due to his own evil habits. In *delirium tremens*, for example, although in that condition the spirit is no longer capable of self-control or responsible for what may be said or done, it may have been entirely responsible for the habits that led to the condition. But whether the person is responsible for his state or not, in such a state he is peculiarly liable to be invaded by suggestions from other spirits; and these suggestions—or may we not say the spirits that make them?—may so completely take possession of him, that he loses all that makes for personality, and as we say is 'not himself,' but is possessed.

To strengthen his theory, Mr. Dallas quotes the opinion of an eminent Dutch physician, Dr. F. van Eeden of Bossum. 'While studying dreams, and the disturbances of the diseased mind,' says Dr. van Eeden, 'I have often had a vivid impression that in some instances they could only be the result of evil influences working from the outside, like demons with diabolical scheming and provision. It must have struck every observer how often it appears as if a wicked spirit takes advantage of the weak and ill-balanced condition of a human mind to assail it with all sorts of dreadful, grotesque, or weird ideas or fantasies.'

But whence come the evil suggestions that such a person receives? Who are these evil spirits? This is the original, shall we say the eccentric, part of Mr. Dallas' essay.

We must use his very words: 'When we remember that at every tick of the clock, some soul is passing into the discarnate state, and that a large number of these are morally, as well as mentally, very undeveloped, with characters unformed, or perverted by evil purposes, or without purpose at all, with low instincts and earthly desires, it is not difficult to surmise whence some, at least, of the suggestions may emanate which produce such unhealthy effect; neither is it hard to understand that spirits of this description may find a certain advantage of their own in exercising tyrannical control over the minds of those still embodied, and that they may gain thereby contact with the conditions they have just quitted, which may afford them some satisfaction.'

The first volume of the 'Presbyterian Pulpit,' issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication of Philadelphia, is called *The Sinless Christ*. It contains eight sermons by the late Professor Purves. The last of the eight has the title of 'The Waiting Dead.'

When Jacob died, his son Joseph went to the house of Pharaoh and said, 'If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying, My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die; *in my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me.*' And when Joseph himself came to die, he 'took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and *Ye shall carry up my bones from hence.*' These two passages (Gn $50^{4.\ 5.\ 24.\ 25}$) Dr. Purves took as his text.

Both Jacob and Joseph wished to be buried in Canaan. It was a very natural wish, and many pretty platitudes could be preached about it. But Dr. Purves does not seem to have been in the way of preaching platitudes, if we may judge from this volume and another that has been published along with it. Besides, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says that it was *by faith* Joseph 'gave commandment concerning his bones.' And the whole drift of his argument shows that

the faith consisted not merely in the belief that the Israelites would be delivered from the Egyptian bondage, but that Canaan was the land of promise, and God's promise never fails.

Canaan was the land of promise. The promise had been made to Abraham, and it was very precise: *To thee* and to thy seed. Yet Abraham never entered into possession of Canaan. When Sarah died, he was compelled to approach the people to whom the land of promise belonged, and buy a sepulchre in which to bury his dead out of his sight. Nor did Jacob possess the land, nor Joseph. And yet God's promises never fail. Jacob and Joseph knew that the time would come when they—even they themselves, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Joseph—would possess the land of Canaan. And they gave commandment that their bones should be buried there to wait for the time that was to come.

The day was coming. Jacob and Joseph could not tell when it would come, nor how. But they had faith in God's promise. It would come. Abraham's seed would one day possess the land, and they would be there to join in the joy of possession. Meantime let their bones be laid to rest in that land, that when the day came they might be ready.

The burial of the patriarchs, therefore, says Professor Purves, suggests the thought of the waiting dead—of the dead as waiting for something to happen, whereby their own joys would be made complete. 'Thus the men of old times were gathered to their fathers, and thus we also lay our believing friends to rest. While the Bible sheds but little light upon the world beyond the grave, while it refuses to answer many questions that trembling voices raise, this representation of the dead as waiting is found in the New as well as the Old Testament, and it is meant to have practical influence upon us who are still alive.'

What are the dead waiting for? They are waiting for the living. Not simply for the living to join them in the other world. Joseph died, thinking less of his own happiness after death than of the blessing that was to come upon his descendants in the land of Canaan. He looked to the future, but not so much to the world he was to enter beyond death, as to that world which was to come upon this earth when the promise to Abraham had been fulfilled. He thought of resting with his fathers until their children should have inherited the land, and the Shiloh, the promised seed, should have come, with blessing for all the nations. Then he too would be at hand to share in the joy and help forward the blessing.

So Professor Purves, who was a great and sane theologian, for years a professor in the theological seminary of Princeton, calls them the 'Waiting Dead.' Their spirits were in heaven, with Him who is the God of the living. And they were happy in heaven with God. But they were not yet complete. They were waiting till all things should be fulfilled, till the kingdom of God should be fully established in the earth, waiting till the end should come, when they would be reunited with their risen glorified bodies, and take their place in the new heavens and the new earth.

They laid their bones in Canaan. They did not know that the whole earth would be filled with the knowledge of the Lord. They laid their bones in Canaan because Canaan was the land of God's promise. They were not mistaken. But they saw only a part of God's great purpose. This is the grand argument of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. His argument is not that they found their country in heaven. They found it, they will find it, here on earth. But not until the fulness of the Gentiles has come in. Not until the kingdoms of this earth have become the kingdom of our God and His Christ.

So they wait meanwhile. They wait till we have

finished our course and fought our fight. For 'they without us cannot be made perfect.' They cannot be made complete. They cannot receive the completion of their risen body, and take their place in the new earth.

And it is something, after all, that their bones were laid in Canaan. What do we mean when we say that Livingstone's heart, buried under a great tree at Ilala, has taken possession of Africa for Christ? Surely more than the fact that Livingstone died in faith that Africa would yet receive the gospel. The heart of Livingstone took possession of Africa as the bones of Joseph took possession of Canaan, in the sure hope of a joyful resurrection, in the confidence that that land would share in the glory of the time when Christ should come to reign upon the earth in everlasting peace.

They wait while we work. They watch us. We are surrounded with a great cloud of witnesses. Jacob is among them, and Joseph. And they cannot but wonder that we are doing so little to hasten the day of His coming, the day that they themselves are waiting for.

The Fact of the Atonement.

By the Rev. Robert Mackintosh, B.D. (Edin.), M.A., D.D. (Glasg.), Professor of Apologetics in Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.

Without wasting words upon apologies for dealing with so great a truth—a truth so great that it is a constant challenge to our attention—I may say something regarding the form of the title which I have chosen. One could not undertake to speak on the fact of the Atonement unless he believed that there was a certain distinction to be drawn in that region between fact and theory, and that, while theories are tentative and changing, the fact may be certain and immovable. At the same time, I wish at the outset to repudiate the view urged by many great Englishmen, both in the past and in the present, that we can assert the fact without framing any theory of it at all, and that when we have done that we have done everything. Such is not the position which I am prepared to urge. I should prefer that we regarded this discussion as a process of search. What do we mean—what ought we to mean—when we speak of the *fact* of the *Atonement?* In the course of answering such a question, we may find many vistas opening before us; if God so wills, our investigation may be instructive and profitable.

I.

If we are asked what we mean by the fact of the Atonement, the first answer which rises to our lips is surely this: We mean the fact that Jesus Christ died. Other things may be theories, doctrines, assertions; this is part of the unchangeable record of human history—Jesus died as well as lived. If there is revelation anywhere, if there is redemptive power anywhere, we shall surely find it here; for here we are in contact not with opinions or doctrines, but with realities—with realities, too, of a peculiarly impressive and significant kind. We must not, however, go too fast. It might be asserted by way of criticism that though you have a fact of *Jesus' death*, you have no fact of *Christ's atoning* death, unless you are able to add something to so brief a statement of facts—this at least, Jesus died *for our sins*. But, if you say that, has not your fact altered its colour and character? Has it not taken up into itself an immense mass of theory, of doctrine, some will say of dogma? At anyrate, has it not assumed such a significance that theories, doctrines, dogmas are the inevitable results of belief in it—of belief in the fact of the Atonement—in the fact that Christ died *for our sins?* Let us verify this statement by thinking of a contrast. It has been acutely remarked in regard to Professor Bruce's little summary of facts about our Lord at the beginning of his article 'Jesus,' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, that the summary might well have been composed by an intelligent pagan. It is more like Tacitus' way of speaking on the

subject than anything that modern scholarship had ever yet produced. Now, the article—as has been further pointed out—is obviously written from a peculiarly constrained point of view. It is meant to be a summary of facts, such facts as science knows and verifies. Among these facts there is no Atonement—a death of Jesus certainly, but not an atoning death of Christ. We perceive, then, that there is one way of conceiving facts to which the fact of an Atonement is incommensurable; a way of writing on the Christian origins by a Christian which simply eliminates the fact of the Atonement from the facts that are to be dealt with. The gravest question is, whether, once we have committed ourselves to this artificial, sceptical, outsider's attitude, we can return undamaged to the Christian attitude, which knows Christ to be the light of the world and His death to be our life. Perhaps we can; perhaps the Tacitean or critical attitude—for this Taciteanism is implied in all the biblical criticism of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*—perhaps, I say, this critical attitude is provisional, tentative, a first rather than a last view of the facts. But not all critics will grant this. Many claim that theirs is the attitude of science; the fact, the whole fact, and nothing but fact, is supposed to be secured by their methods, and by no other. Let those to whom the Atonement of Jesus Christ is a *fact* think twice and thrice before they announce it as a fact to be held in isolation from all doctrine and theory.

II.

May we try now a *second* definition of the fact of the Atonement? It seems to consist—when we confine our glance to the region of external realities, accessible to sense—in something beyond the mere fact that Jesus, like every other son of man, died. He did not die of old age, or of disease, or of accident. Men killed Him; He died upon a cross, under circumstances of the extremest shame and pain. When looking forward to this death, He shrank from it with an agony of repugnance and horror; in the midst of it—unless we accept a not very probable operation of negative criticism upon the Gospel record—in the midst of it Christ cried, '*My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?*' These are facts; they go a long way towards drawing the transcendent fact of the Atonement into the region of those certainties which press upon the senses of all men. Or, in other words, these facts—the agony, the death of Christ by crucifixion, the cry of desertion—constitute a problem for every thoughtful mind—one might say, indeed, for every mind that is not thoroughly thoughtless and thoroughly heartless. These are not the invention of 'Church Doctors,' or even 'Apostles.' There may have been subsequent borrowings in the Passion story from the Old Testament; but the cry of desertion is too strange, too grim a borrowing for human invention. How came it, then, that one like Jesus left the world by so tragic a passage? Of course, there may be different answers. There is the answer of cynicism: He rushed upon His fate like other beautiful and ineffectual spirits. There is the answer of a still more radical scepticism:—It was a deplorable accident—like in kind, if greater in degree, to the tragic accidents with which human life is filled. Against these we place the Christian interpretation: He died for our sins. The strange facts of Christ's history and the strange assertions of the Christian Scriptures meet together, interlock, and support each other. The plain historical facts of the Bible story, interpreted from the Bible point of view, are lifted up into a higher region. They are seen to constitute a fact of a higher order. They become the fact of an Atonement.

But here we seem to touch upon a new and very important element in this great subject. When we say that Christ died for our sins, we seem to imply that *it was necessary because of sin that Christ should die.* It was *necessary.* Fortunately we are able to appeal here again to a historical fact in the lower sense—once more, of course, an exaggerated criticism may challenge our evidence; but on the whole, if not in every detail, the evidence lies beyond all reasonable question. It was the belief of Jesus Himself——may I not say, it was the *consciousness* of Jesus our Lord?—that His death was inevitable. 'O My Father, if this cup may not pass from Me, Thy will be done.' The death of Christ, then, being necessary, is objective, real, *fact* indeed; what is not necessary or not objective is precarious, is mere reasoning about facts, or holds an uncertain place in the list of realities. If this be true, then by the fact of the Atonement we mean this fact, that it was necessary Christ should die. It was necessary, whether we can explain the necessity or not, that such a being as Jesus must leave

this life by such a passage as Gethsemane and Calvary.

III.

Once again we may take a further step in advance. An Atonement which is a fact is an objective Atonement. Objective theories of the Atonement, as we all know, boast themselves strongly against subjective theories. We have perhaps now obtained some fresh light upon that claim. We see how strong it is. And yet there is a difference. To assert an Atonement which is a fact; which is a reality because a necessity; which is objective; is one thing. To claim that our theory of this tremendous spiritual reality is objective is very much like claiming that our whole doctrine is a divine oracle, equally tremendous, equally spiritual, equally unalterable, with the facts which it interprets.

The objective theory will press its point strongly. It believes that Christ died not merely on behalf of sinners, but as the sinner's substitute, suffering the just penalty of sin. Here once more we come in touch with an important word—'just.' Whatever other meanings justice has, whatever other antitheses are involved when it is used in contrast with other terms, justice means what Kant called *perfect obligation*. What is unjust is unconditionally wrong; out of the question; not to be thought of. What is—really or in seeming—ungenerous may be pardonable, or may even be forced upon us by the hard necessity of circumstances; but not what is unjust. Therefore, when the death of Christ is explained to us as demanded by the divine justice, we are offered a scientific gnosis of the meaning of the Atonement, and such a gnosis carried to the highest possible degree of scientific perfection.

And yet this must be qualified. If it were proposed to construe the Atonement as *absolutely necessary behaviour on the part of God*, that would be a gnosis indeed. In point of fact, however, doctrinal orthodoxy is far removed from such a position. The Atonement is absolutely necessary for us, not for God. Or the Atonement is hypothetically necessary in the divine administration; it is necessary on the hypothesis that man is to be saved. Or the absolute law of justice traces out an area within which the divine action must fall, but determines nothing as to the course to be taken within that area. Either the damnation of all mankind, or the ingenious expedient of substitution, will satisfy justice—that is the theory.

What is to be said in praise of this theory may readily be understood. It is a means of asserting and of explaining the necessity of Christ's Atonement; and it takes necessity, as I believe, in the right sense—the humbler sense, from a philosophical point of view, but the only relevant sense from the point of view of the devout soul—Christ's death is necessary to our salvation. Of course, it likewise affirms that Christ's death is all-sufficient to secure our salvation. He who says these two things, in however vague outline, is, I believe, intellectually a Christian—if he affirm, *i.e.* the necessity of Christ and Christ's *sufficiency*. Different types of mind or experience may interpret that necessity and that sufficiency from different points of view, and yet be Christian. There are, no doubt, limits. If anyone were to establish the necessity of Christ for a mere mindless and heartless emotional enjoyment, or say that Christ had died

> Only to give our joys a zest,
> And prove our sorrows for the best,

he would, no doubt, be false to the Christian name; though some Christians have come very near to such views. There must be something worthy in the functions ascribed to Christ. However, when we speak of the Atonement, we narrow the circle. The Atonement means salvation from sin; it affirms that Christ's sufferings were necessary in order that we might be saved—not from this or that possible evil, nor yet that we might be enriched with this or that desirable good, but—to save us from sin. The theory which says that Christ was punished to save us from the punishment of sin will hold its ground, because it seems to establish in very definite fashion that the Atonement was necessary, and therefore a fact. Perhaps we may say that it will hold its ground until some other theory, equally clear and equally effectual for that purpose, is put alongside it.

The weakness of the orthodox doctrine is not less manifest than its strength. If it affirms justice — inexorable, absolute justice — yet the justice it speaks of is of such a type as never was known outside of a fairy tale. This criticism has been put in a thousand different forms—fair and unfair, effective and ineffective, carrying conviction or merely provoking an angry reaction. Let it be

enough to say here just this—that it seems hard to believe that, in the central act of our redemption, the Father of Mercies showed Himself a pedant, resolved to keep the letter of the law at all hazards, but quite willing that its spirit should be treated with contempt.

Or perhaps there is one thing more that may be said. Have we not cause to fear that the orthodox theory claims too much? There are some lines, by Faber I think, which strike a deep note in the Christian heart—

> How Thou canst think so well of us,
> Yet be the God Thou art,
> Is darkness to my intellect,
> But sunshine to my heart.

That is surely how Christians feel towards God and Christ. This is a holy thing, a mystery. It is hardly conceivable that this holy mystery should be made intelligible by the use of the methods of the market or the law court. One has a painful feeling that Christianity presents no darkness to the intellect of Quendstedt, or Calixtus, or Owen, or Jonathan Edwards. Whisper the word imputation in the scholastic sense, the darkness of the intellect is dispersed as by magic. That the sunshine of the heart is dispersed at the same time I dare not affirm; yet I think the sky must be a good deal overcast when the divine procedure has been exposed to so vulgarizing an interpretation. In other words, from this most ambitious and most self-confident of all theories of the Atonement we turn thankfully back to the great fact, and rejoice to grasp again the assurance that the fact is something higher and more certain than the theories devoted to it. The sun is still in the sky, intolerable in his glory. Even after the dogmatists have spoken their last and worst word, God remains wonderful.

IV.

In contrast with objective theories of the Atonement we have subjective theories; and the praise given to the former, however limited it has been, is the condemnation of the latter. At least, subjective theories fail if they are subjective in the sense of not making the Atonement necessary—*i.e.* necessary for our salvation. The merely subjective theory tells us how Christ enlightens us; how He touches us; how He moves us towards repentance; how He inspires us with fresh moral impulses. All very true; and all very good, so far as it goes; but miserably inadequate to interpret the Christian's assurance, that God has given us eternal life in His Son. Enlightenment, emotion, impulse are natural psychological events which any one man may happen to produce in another man's mind. Such events do not need for their origination a Son of God humbling Himself and becoming obedient to death on the cross. If such events are the whole of what Christianity means, the Apostle Paul's *reductio ad absurdum* is the last word in the matter; *then Christ died gratuitously.* It is with these theories as with much apologetic preaching. In vain shall we talk to men from the pulpit about the refinement of manners, about the growth of philanthropic organisations. These are not the characteristic work of Christ. Others have been reformers and social pioneers; they have their reward and their due honour. There is nothing of Gethsemane and Calvary in their work. To praise Christianity for the wrong things is not to support it, but to undermine it. That is the error too often committed by apologists: they preach another gospel which is not a gospel. Historical efforts point to an historical source; not to a Son of God incarnate; not to a fact of the transcendent order, like the Atonement. In that region we may grant the truth of the position taken up in *Essays and Reviews*—such testimony cannot 'reach to the supernatural.' He who has only subjective views of the Atonement (in the above sense at least) is intellectually not a Christian; and though his heart may be better than his head, or his meaning than his interpretation of it, he will act as a pulverising or solvent force on Christian belief; and those he forms, if they have nothing else to go upon, will be likely to drop that objective Christianity to which he may have been personally faithful. If you are to preach Christ with effect, you must preach salvation. A Christ who has no functions except Addisonian essays and gentle moral suasion, is not a Christ. The death of such a Christ has no appreciable meaning, and He will have no appreciable meaning to us when we are on our deathbeds.

On the other hand, there is good to be said of subjective theories. They are all true so far as they go—that is no mean praise. They are certain; they are solid; if they are among the secondary certainties and the minor facts. Nay, if they point us on to something more—even

though we conceive that something more as a vague *plus*—then they will be loyal to the fact of the Atonement; and if they cannot elucidate it with appropriate theory, at least they do not disguise it with irrelevancies. When one was younger, and moved in more orthodox circles, one heard a great deal about the evils of 'defective theology.' They are indeed grave and deadly evils; yet we must not forget the opposite danger of a redundant theology. If it is bad to mutilate God's message, it is little better to gloss it presumptuously, and needlessly to bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, and to say, 'Except you bear these, you shall not, you cannot, come at Christ.' Those who make their theory of Atonement part of the reconciling message must beware lest they incur that condemnation.

V.

If the effort (in a certain sense) to show the *absolute necessity* of the Atoning Death seems to repel us, and yet the ideas of subjective influence, so far as yet considered, do not seem to touch the kernel of the matter at all, it may be well to turn to another possibility. Have we insisted too much on necessity? In these higher regions, where the sharp black and white rule of justice can scarcely be made to apply, ought we not to confine ourselves to saying, *it is seemly* or *it is fitting*? After all, a high degree of moral expediency is not very far separated from necessity, yet it may suit our limitations better to affirm the former rather than the latter. Nor is it without its scriptural warrant. 'It was comely;' 'it was fitting;' 'it behoved God'—such is the language in which the Epistle to the Hebrews approaches the great mystery of the work of Christ. If we follow this precedent as the appropriate theological method, we are giving up the hope of a truly scientific definition of the mystery. We are surrendering the claim to produce a gnosis of the things of God. On these lines we could say no more than that the death of Christ was ordained by God's wise will—wise with an unsearchable, inexplicable, unfathomable wisdom. There seem to be moments in the tragic period of our Lord's sufferings when this was the one certainty—I would speak with all reverence—when this was the one certainty He had to hold by; '*the cup which My Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it*?' In the lesser tragedies of our own lives it is often thus. There is an end of all controversy and reluctance when we recognize any hard necessity as *God's will*. We bow because we must; yet so to bow to the inevitable is not degradation, but rather spiritual exaltation; though it may crush us, it does not merely crush; it also heals. It is an inspiring belief that here, as everywhere else, Christ has passed on before us; that in hours of mortal weakness, when His matchless insight was dimmed by pain—when even He could see nothing—He trusted God in the dark, and gained the victory. The least we can say of such a view of the Atonement is that it has a place in the circle of Christian truths. Further, perhaps; those who can say nothing about the atoning sufferings of Christ beyond this, that God appointed them, are surely upon Christian ground. Yet I cannot think it a probable view that we ought to stop here. We may take with us a warning against undue dogmatisms; but it seems certain that normally Christ Jesus saw something more in His death than an inexplicable decree of the divine will; and we ought, if possible, to learn something more from Him.

VI.

In the facts of Christ's death we see at least the natural reaction of sin against the Sinless One. It is impossible to say that sin necessarily slew Jesus by a violent death. In the region of character there is no calculable physical necessity. But at least sin behaves characteristically when it crucifies Christ—'now have they both seen and hated both Me and My Father.' The death of Christ, then, is seen to be the natural, if not strictly the necessary, consequence of His life amongst sinners. To make it an Atonement, it must be recognized as the necessary precondition of man's salvation. Along the line which we are now taking we can say no more than this, that God willed to expose His Son to this lot of suffering, shame, and death. We may urge that it was worthy of God to allow Christ to encounter that which was the natural and characteristic result of His loving ministries on behalf of sinners. We may urge still further that the crucifixion was not only the supreme manifestation of sin in history upon man's part, or of suffering in history on the part of Jesus, but of virtue or moral heroism on the part of Jesus in the willing endurance of

suffering. All these statements we may say are facts; they are expositions in various aspects of the fact of the Atonement. And here our theology must stop, unless it can move upon other lines. Speaking as spectators, looking from the outside upon the experiences of Jesus or the destinies of mankind, and refusing to eke out the facts by any assertions which rest upon bare authority, however lofty, we can say nothing more. On the other hand, we can say nothing less. This is, or enters into, the minimum truth, from a Christian point of view, about the Atonement of Jesus Christ.

If, now, we attempt to go further still, I desire that we should frankly mark the character of the transition we now make. We are leaving certainties for hypotheses, faith for theology. At the same time we are leaving the position of spectators, looking at the drama of the Christian salvation from the outside. We are to adopt the position of those who live by that salvation. We assert, therefore, that Christ has removed a barrier which made salvation impossible for us. The widely-spread theory which finds that barrier constituted by God's absolute justice we have already given reasons for distrusting. We look for this barrier, then, in another direction. And if our non-Christian or semi-Christian enemies taunt us with postulating an unreal barrier, in order that we may go on to assert its removal by unverifiable machinery, they must be allowed to take all possible pleasure from their taunt. We stick to the old confession of our faith—

> Thy love unknown
> Has broken every barrier down.

The barriers were no dream, no hallucination. Their removal also, thank God, is no hallucination, but the very life by which we live. Whether we can fully explain either the barriers or their removal is another question. For my part, I am thankful to believe that in the removal of these barriers there is something of mystery: something radically higher than ourselves: a love *unknown*—unknown in its fulness, because passing knowledge, yet well enough known to live by, and to die for. Outside (in some sense) of man's permanent moral needs there is a spiritual barrier due to sin. Above and beyond all moral helps, grateful in themselves, but never absolutely indispensable, there is in Christ—salvation.

VII.

Let us try to name some of the more supernatural claims and promises of Christ.

First, Christ promises to His followers ultimately an absolutely sinless perfection. The moral struggle points toward this, but has no clear promise in itself of reaching it. The transcendent machinery of the Christian redemption may be vindicated as being the machinery needed to work upon sinful men if they are to be clothed at last with God-like purity.

Or, again, *secondly*, Christ promises immortality. That is another supernatural gift held out to us in the message of the gospel. Though one may feel little confidence in the theology of conditional immortality, as commonly worked out, it is difficult to feel any more confidence in the ordinary assertions of man's native and indestructible immortality. St. Paul very manifestly, and other New Testament writers also, put our confidence in the face of death upon the truth that God has given us eternal life in Christ. The machinery of redemption may be further interpreted, then, as that which is required to make men partakers of God's immortality.

Thirdly, we may follow the suggestions of the author of *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, and assert *the gift of the Holy Spirit* as the central feature of the Christian redemption—not without a bearing on immortality. And, once again, in framing our theory of the Atonement, we should expound the work of Christ as being the means by which the spiritual conditions were fulfilled which made the Holy Spirit master of human hearts and lives.

Fourthly, and finally—again following suggestions from others—we may try to make use of the growing doctrine of the subconscious self. I cannot doubt that that doctrine will offer most important contributions to Christian theology. The old theological conceptions—a corrupt nature, renewing grace, revelation, inspiration—conceptions which baffle us when we try to apply them to the narrow section of our mental life, where the full daylight of consciousness reigns—take on quite a new aspect when we think of the subconscious self, and, I should perhaps add, when we call to help the analogies of hypnotism. Of course, it is a further assertion that the Atonement can be in any way elucidated by the new

pyschology. When we surrender ourselves to God—or to evil—by consent of our will, we do not merely admit certain beliefs or certain definite impressions; we give over our whole subconscious nature to be moulded and controlled. It is, no doubt, difficult to connect this self-surrender in any other fashion with the atoning work of Christ, though I do not admit that it is impossible. We must be carefully on our guard against purely magical and sacramentarian conceptions. What brings grist to our mill as theologians may also bring grist to the priests. Consciousness is the garrison; will is the sentinel before the castle door; there is neither true morality nor true Christianity in any teaching which does not give will and consciousness the decisive voice at the decisive moment. Yet these do no more than initiate processes of a very far-reaching character.

Here, then, is the hypothesis suggested. Man's nature is infected by sin, and the distinctive work of Jesus Christ is to heal that infection by purifying the springs of our being; this He has done by living His way into fellowship with the human race, the supremest act of His life being, of course, His surrender to death. And in that absolutely perfected divine-human goodness, diffusing itself by means of historical channels, with constant appeal to man's consciousness and will, yet continually producing effects which go far deeper than consciousness and reach far farther than individual will, we have the pledge and real potentiality of sinless purity, of life beyond the power of death, of perfected union with God.

This, then, I say, is an hypothesis. It is a supposed view of facts; but some of the facts are questionable, and the articulation of all of them is but a speculative possibility. So far as I know, some such theory might meet the requirements of a Christian doctrine of the Atonement. But, for my part, I wish to be perfectly clear about the distinction between a theory of the facts, even if it should be the true theory, and the great central certainty itself. A Romanist or a High Churchman speaks all his words in deference to the authority of the Church. As far as mere theological speculations go, I wish to do the same; only the Church to which an Evangelical Christian appeals is a spiritual communion, not an external institution; and in the deepest matters an Evangelical Christian must be loyal to his own conscience, and take all risks. Some may think it despicable that theological positions should be affirmed in so very gingerly a fashion. To myself it is the only possible hope of advance, that we should be able to distinguish between the unshakable truths and the imperfect accessories. The Christ who made Atonement is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; no view taken of His atoning work can be much more than a glimpse. We know in part; we see here and now in a glass, darkly; yet He whom we see is God our Saviour.

Point and Illustration.

The Countenance of the Holy Ghost.

THE doctrine of the Holy Spirit still suffers neglect among us. Spasmodically we beat our breasts and say, 'Go to, we must preach the Holy Ghost.' But the people do not understand. We ourselves do not understand. Some one says impatiently, 'Sir, we would see Jesus.' And we pass from the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Some of us seem to fear, besides, that if we get altogether smitten with love for the Holy Ghost we may cease to love the Lord Jesus Christ. Are we able to love more than one Person of the Godhead at a time? Dr. Martineau says that we are no more trinitarians than he himself. We have simply dethroned God the Father and adore Jesus Christ instead. And he thinks that this is a 'way out of the trinitarian controversy': let us simply agree as to *which Person* we are all to worship!

Perhaps there is something in both these dangers. Let them be looked at. In the first place, is it necessary that our people or we ourselves should understand all about the doctrine of the Holy Ghost? Does not the truth reach the heart rather in the *effort* to understand? Is it not always unseen, unfelt, as it visits the heart? And in the second place, is it not in our power

to understand enough about the Holy Ghost to make it impossible for us to love one Person in the Godhead at the expense of the other?

The cry is, 'What should I read upon it?' Suppose we try a new book. A German Jesuit, Father Meschler, has just had his book translated into English. Its simple title is *The Gift of Pentecost* (Sands, 5s. net). It contains fifty-two chapters, some of which have titles that are new to us. Take the first six: (1) The Name of the Holy Ghost; (2) The Countenance of the Holy Ghost; (3) In the Heart of the Godhead; (4) The Gates of Egress; (5) The God-Man; (6) The Spouse of the Holy Ghost.

It is in the second chapter, 'The Countenance of the Holy Ghost,' that our hope lies. By the 'Countenance' of the Holy Ghost Father Meschler means 'the characteristic property which distinguishes Him from the two other Persons, or in other words, His own Personality.' Now the 'Countenance' of the Father is seen in that He possesses the divine nature without being begotten and without proceeding from another, the Son possesses the divine nature by generation, the Holy Ghost by spiration or procession. That is to say, the Father knows Himself, and by this knowledge produces a living coequal image of Himself, the Son of God, who was begotten by the Father through understanding and knowledge, and therefore is called the Son, the Word, the Image of the Father, Eternal Wisdom. But now the Father knows not only Himself, but also the Son, and the Son knows the Father, and from this mutual knowledge proceeds love. For the Father's knowledge of the Son is love, and the Son's knowledge of the Father is love. And the expression, the breathing-forth, of this mutual love is the Holy Ghost. He proceeds from both. He is the pledge of the One to the Other of love. He receives their divine nature and is taken into union with them.

Is it not intelligible? Repeat it, and look at it as love. The Father proceeds from no Person; the Son goes forth from the Father by way of knowledge; the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the breath of love. But if the Holy Ghost proceeds by the breath of love, love is His essence; He is the Person of love. The Son is the Personal Wisdom, the Holy Ghost is the Person of love. So this is the personality, this is the individuality of the Holy Ghost, He is love. All the acts of love are His acts. All the results of love—peace, rest, joy—are results of His working. And now we see that we dare not ignore the personality of the Holy Spirit; for in so doing we should ignore the love of God to man. Nor can we worship the Holy Spirit at the expense of the Father or the Son; for the worship of the Holy Spirit is the worship of love, and love is God the Father and love is God the Son.

Walks with God.

In a sermon on 'Enoch walked with God,' Dr. Campbell Morgan recently offered the following illustration:—

'A little child gave a most exquisite explanation of walking with God. She went home from Sunday school, and the mother said, "Tell me what you learned at school." And she said: "Don't you know, mother, we have been hearing about a man who used to go for walks with God. His name was Enoch. He used to go for walks with God. And, mother, one day they went for an extra long walk, and they walked on and on, until God said to Enoch, "You are a long way from home; you had better just come in and stay." And he went.'

The Legend of the Wood of the Cross.

The Glory of the Cross is the quite ordinary title of a new volume of sermons by the Rev. John Wakeford, B.D., vicar of St. Margaret, Anfield, Liverpool, which Messrs. Longmans, Green, & Co. have published at 2s. 6d. net. The ordinary title; but what an extraordinary thing it is that 'The Glory of the Cross' should be an ordinary title. Is there any way in which we can see the transforming power of Christ more unmistakably than in the way in which *words* were made new in Him? We cannot now get back to the meaning which some words had before He came. 'The Glory of the Cross' is an ordinary title, because the word 'cross' suggests glory to us. We do not think of the cross of the criminal, we think of the cross of the Christ.

It is so ordinary a title that in our very pulpits it is avoided now. 'Ah,' we say, when we come upon a book with this title, 'an Evangelical, a Low Churchman!' And we pass it by. We are High Churchmen ourselves and do not believe in

it, or we are Low Churchmen and know it all already. Let none of us pass this book by. Let us consider whether the man who can speak of the Cross as a Revelation, an Argument, an Altar, a Pulpit, and a Throne, may not have something even for us.

There is a legend of the wood of the Cross. It belongs to the transition time. The word has not yet lost all its original horror, but it has taken on much of its new glory. Legends are nearly always due to the transition stages in a word's history. This is the legend of the wood of the Cross as Mr. Wakeford tells it.

The story runs that, when Adam lay near to death, his son Seth went in all haste to the gate of the Garden of Eden, and begged the angel that kept the gate to let him go to the Tree of Life, that he might bring for his father fruit from that tree: the angel bade him stand at the gate whilst he himself went and returned again, and, giving the fruit to Seth, he told him that he would find his father dead on his return, but that he must bury the old man with the fruit within his mouth. There grew from that seed a great tree, which in centuries long after formed the king-post which bore up the roof of the ark of Noah; as that great vessel of salvation floated upon the flood the king-post stood erect with its transom, a cross with widespread arms, preserving life. Many centuries later the great beam was brought down by king Hiram of Tyre to the building of the Temple; but the builders found it strangely unfit in the tiers of cedar, and it lay in the trench without the Temple wall. Again centuries passed, and Nehemiah found it, and placed it in the forefront of that Temple which was raised by the penitence of God's people; but it was rejected by the builders of the Temple of Herod as unworthy of a place, and once more it lay dishonoured, at the foot of the wall. In the haste and confusion of that black day upon which our Lord was crucified, no beam had been shaped for His death; but the priests and people, eager that nothing should be wanting to secure His immediate crucifixion, dragged out this beam to light, and on it was crucified the Saviour of the world.

Workers Together.

'Workers together' with God! The best illustration is the old one yet. 'Some time ago, as I was walking along a country road, I came on a deep saw-pit. On the edge of the pit a sawyer stood, handling one end of a long iron saw, the farther end of which was, of course, hidden in the earth; but I knew that there was another man deep in the pit, who was acting in concert with the one I saw, and the rhythm of the movement of whose body was in exact accordance with that of him who stood in the spring sunlight.'

But Mr. F. B. Meyer, who gives that old one over again, gives a new illustration also in his very useful new book, called *Jottings and Hints for Lay Preachers* (Melrose, 1s. net). He says: 'In a Norwegian hotel the other day a little girl with one finger was strumming over a tune, the only one she knew, to the distraction of all the occupants of the room, when an accomplished pianist sat down beside her and improvised a ravishing accompaniment. After they had finished, he led the child round the company, saying, "This is the young lady whom you must thank."'

Better than Wisdom.

Messrs. Longmans have published a volume of sermons by the late Bishop of London, Dr. Mandell Creighton. It is called *University and other Sermons* (5s. net). One of the last in the volume is the sermon preached in Worcester Cathedral at the close of the Birmingham Church Congress of 1893.

In that sermon Dr. Creighton's desire was, naturally, to discover and disclose the lessons of the Congress. And, naturally also, he found these lessons along the lines of historical study. 'What is it,' he asked his audience, 'that you go home with from this Congress?' He heard them say, 'More knowledge.' He did not think it worth remarking on. He heard them say, 'More wisdom, then.' And he answered, 'Have you only gained more wisdom? I have not much faith in the results of increased wisdom, unless that means also increased goodness. Wisdom shows us man's way; virtue is the result of a perception of God's way. We may act wisely through policy; we can act well only through conviction and submission to a higher law. So' he concludes, 'I would ask you, Has your heart learned as well as your head by what you heard at the Congress?'

Not the End.

'If this life be the end of all, then God inflicts sorrow upon Himself by making it the end of all. It is as though a father should rear children till their love for him had bloomed into full sweetness, and then should bodily thrust them into graves to smother their loving words with eternal dust. It is related of an Arab chief, whose laws forbade his rearing his female offspring, that the only tears he ever shed were those shed when his daughter brushed the dust from his beard as he buried her in a living grave.'

That comes from a small volume by Dr. David Gregg of Brooklyn. It contains two essays, the one on *The Dictum of Reason on Man's Immortality*, the other on *Divine Voices outside of the Bible*. It is published by Messrs. E. B. Treat of New York at 50 cents.

The Living Christ.

How Dr. Dale came to write his book on *The Living Christ* is told by Mr. Barber, his assistant, in Dale's *Life*. 'He was writing an Easter sermon, and, when half-way through, the thought of the risen Lord broke in upon him as it had never done before. "Christ is alive," I said to myself; "alive! and then I paused;—alive! and then I paused again; alive! Can that really be true? living as really as I myself am? I got up and walked about repeating, Christ is living! Christ is living. At first it seemed strange and hardly true, but at last it came upon me as a burst of sudden glory; yea, Christ is living. It was to me a new discovery. I thought that all along I had believed it; but not until that moment did I feel sure about it. I then said, My people shall know it; I shall preach about it again and again until they believe it as I do now."' That was why *The Living Christ* was preached and published.

But what if you have not made the discovery? In the sense in which Dr. Dale made it, Dr. James Drummond of Manchester College, Oxford, has not made it yet. What does he do without the living Christ? He tells us in the Essex Hall Lecture for 1902, which Mr. Philip Green has published under the title of *Some Thoughts on Christology* (1s. net).

He says he has an incomparable religious teacher in Christ. But that is not Christ. Has He left His teaching and gone, like any other teacher? No. Dr. Drummond says that Christ and His teaching 'blend into one indissoluble whole.' He lived what He taught. We understand His teaching only when we remember Him. Besides, he says that the teaching is more acceptable to us because Christ gave it, He Himself being so attractive. A man cannot even understand Christ's teaching till he understands Christ, and has the Spirit of Christ within him. 'He that abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him' is nonsense to a selfish worldly man. So though Christ is not alive, as Dr. Dale believed, his teaching, says Dr. Drummond, is alive, it is alive in men and women who rise up in every generation to live it and pass it on. In this way Dr. Drummond would say with Paul that Christ is 'a quickening spirit, dwelling in the heart by faith.'

Moral Compromise.

Bishop Creighton, in his Birmingham Congress sermon, recalled the goodness of our Lord in His toleration of the sons of men. The Rev. S. A. Alexander, canon of Gloucester, reminds us that there was one exception to His toleration. Canon Alexander has published a volume of memorable and thoroughly modern sermons which were preached in the Temple Church. He calls it *The Mind of Christ* (Murray, 6s. net). In one of these sermons he asks his hearers if they ever observed the way in which Christ dealt with individual men. With all His wonderful pity and patience, with all His undying love of sinful men, with all His readiness to make allowance for human weakness, with all His eagerness in welcoming and cherishing the tiniest spark of genuine faith or repentance, there was one thing He had no pity for or patience with. It was moral compromise.

Canon Alexander gives examples. There is the example of the man who would follow, but must first go home to say good-bye! He was not fit for the Kingdom. There is also the example of the man who would follow, but must see his father under the sod first. The risk was too great. 'Let the dead bury their dead.' And there is the example of the man who would follow, but could not leave his goods behind him. 'Sell all that thou hast.'

It is this, says Canon Alexander, that makes

the way of life so hard. It is this that makes it the way of the Cross. There is pity for feeble faith; for sin there is forgiveness; but 'he that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me.' The root of all evil is not the love of money, but moral compromise.

From a Broad Margin.

The Vicar of Tonbridge has a Bible with a broad margin. On the margin he writes down whatever strikes him in his reading as worth preservation. And now he has made the margins of the Epistle to the Ephesians into a book, calling it *Side-Lights on the Epistle to the Ephesians* (Nisbet, 1s. 6d. net). Here is one of Mr. Baskerville's marginal notes. He calls it 'Figures of Forgiveness'—

1. Borne or taken away (Is 27^{9}, Hos 14^{2}).
2. Blotted out (Ps 51^{9}, Ac 3^{19}, Is 18^{25} 44^{22}).
3. Covered (Ps 32^{1} 85^{2}).
4. Removed (Ps $103^{11\text{-}12}$).
5. Washed away (Ps 51^{2}).
6. Cast out of sight (Is 38^{17}, Mic 7^{19}).
7. Passed by (Mic 7^{18}).

The Will to Know.[1]

By the Rev. R. H. Charles, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin.

'If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know.'—John vii. 37.

The knowledge here promised to the man who willeth to do God's will, is knowledge in the largest sense of the word: it is the apprehension of truth by the entire personality of man in its threefold expression as thought, feeling, and will. None of these can singly be the organ of divine knowledge: all are indispensable, and yet not all in the same degree; for of thought, feeling, and will the chiefest of these is will. We shall now try to determine some of their respective functions in the acquisition of the divine knowledge, which is eternal life.

i. The intellect is the first instrument necessary for the acquisition of such knowledge. But by means of the intellect alone such knowledge cannot be attained. If it were attainable by such means, then religion would become a matter of demonstration and possess the same certainty as science. But by achieving scientific certainty, religion would forfeit its spiritual essence, and banish from its confines all reverence, faith, and hope, every virtue, heroism, and sanctity. In every department of life man would then be a mere creature of prudence, and obedience to the divine voice within us would be replaced by a mechanical conformity to an external scientific law, which none but a madman would dream of disobeying.

And yet the desire for a scientific demonstration of the Faith arises from time to time in the breasts of religious men, from their longing to escape the trials and distractions of doubt. But doubt cannot be evaded in the sphere of religion, unless we destroy its very essence by making it a science. Nay more, so far are transient invasions of doubt from being incompatible with an intelligent faith, that only those who have experienced it in some degree can be said to have faith at all. True faith is a witness to a spiritual order of law, and implies a recognition of the difficulties that beset it in the world of sight. If we would embrace the faith we must do so, not indeed without the exercise of the intellect, but without its full satisfaction. In the sphere of true faith doubt is a divine discipline, and is designed for the mental and moral enlargement of man, for his enfranchisement from the yoke of the seen and temporal with a view to his fuller citizenship in the kingdom of the unseen and eternal.

But we must be careful here and differentiate such doubt from other varieties only too familiar, which are in no sense heaven-born, but arise either from moral failings or the diseased activity of a

[1] This sermon was delivered before the University of Dublin on 8th March 1903.

subtle understanding. The doubts which have their source in breaches of the moral law, are to be met with everywhere, alike in Christianity and in heathenism, amongst the most highly civilized and the most barbaric nations in the world. But the doubt which arises from a morbid activity of the intellect is mainly to be met with at our universities. It is not infrequently found in the self-involved students of mature years, who, voluntarily or involuntarily, have turned their backs on moral responsibilities, and so bereft themselves of the materials of a deep spiritual experience. Moral and spiritual paralysis is a not infrequent concomitant of a brilliant intellectualism.

Under neither of these heads, however, ought we to reckon the early doubts which naturally beset our younger members on their entrance into the current of University thought and life. Sooner or later every thoughtful mind must break with the peace of unreflective childhood, and this breach takes effect most naturally at our seats of learning, where the intellect is roused into an abnormal activity. If at such a crisis the moral and spiritual faculties are allowed to slumber, then nothing short of spiritual disaster can ensue. Is it strange that so many youths part with the creeds of their fathers at such a period, and think that in their superior enlightenment they have outgrown the faith that commands the allegiance of their elders? With very many, happily, this scepticism is but a passing distemper, from which they recover through spiritual experience and the recognition of the larger truths which were beyond their grasp in earlier years. Others, alas! never attain to faith and truth in this world, whether it be through their unwillingness to incur the spiritual cost, or through positive moral disqualifications for the reception of truth, or through some inherited incapacity of mind. But the sooner all such victims of sceptical depression recognize that a religion demonstrable to the intellect is an impossibility, the sooner will they learn that the remedy is to be found, not in a more agile intellect, but in a more dutiful and reverent will, and that true religion can be grasped only by the entire personality. The ascendant activity of the intellect unaccompanied by a deep moral experience must issue sooner or later in the shipwreck of the entire personality.

ii. The next instrument which man must use in the quest of truth is the feelings. The feelings form the springs of action, the dynamic necessary for the realization of thought and duty. Their object is to lead a man out into action. Of what avail are feelings of generosity, compassion, repentance, admiration, unless they are forthwith embodied in an actual change of mind or translated into action? And yet this office of the feelings is frequently misconceived, and men conscious of high aspirations and a ready sensibility to religious appeal, can with difficulty conceive themselves faithless to divine opportunities and the duties of everyday life. Nevertheless, every right emotion and impulse, every throb of penitence and aspiration, unless they attain their divinely appointed goal and issue in a new and purer devotedness to God and man, are merely so much waste of our spiritual resources, and enfeeble the nature it was their sole purpose to strengthen and inspire. The identification of the religious feelings with religion forms one of the most unhappy chapters in the history of human delusion. The end of all feelings, then, is action, and this is especially true of the religious feelings. But to secure the fulfilment of this end the feelings must ever be subject to the authority of a good will, else their tendency is to end in their own indulgence, and finally perish. But, again, at their best the feelings are but fitful in their appearance, and time and duty cannot await the tardiness of their advent. We cannot remain inactive till some emotion, unsought and unearned, awakes within us and makes the duty of renunciation easy, the task of compassion a delight. Here, as before, we must fall back on the earnest will and go and do the deed of mercy or reparation, though it be with unresponsive spirit; and fulfil, even when our hearts are coldest, the claims they owned when they were all aglow.

iii. The third and chief factor needful for the acquisition of truth is the will, and that a will obedient to the highest known to it—in other words, a good will. The importance of the will is emphasized in the strongest terms in the Scriptures. 'Why will ye die, O house of Israel'; 'Whosoever willeth let him take of the water of life freely'; 'Ye are not willing to come unto Me that ye may have life.' The life or salvation here promised is salvation in the large

sense of the word. Such salvation is not only a future, but an actual present blessing. It means the redemption of the whole man from evil: his deliverance from the sins and diseases incident to the passions, intellect, and spirit, and the making of the man sound in his entire personality.

Now let us consider first the influence of a good will on the intellect. This influence is, of course, indirect. By no effort of the will can we add a cubit to our intellectual stature, but by removing the vices of the mind we can contribute immeasurably to its efficacy and strength in the quest of truth. For only too easily is the mind diverted from this quest by interest and the passions of fear and ambition. How hard it is for the natural justice of the understanding to assert itself, when 'interest promises to one set of opinions emolument and honour, and to their opposite poverty and disgrace.' The temptation in such a case to palter with evidence, to stifle inconvenient doubts, and to make one's professions square with one's interests, cannot but prove insurmountable to characters of imperfect morality, and to this temptation professional men are particularly exposed, whether they be divines or students of medicine or science. Only too soon is the danger of running counter to established conventions brought home to them, and the expediency of establishing a reputation as 'safe' men, if they would not sacrifice success in their professional career. It is well indeed that there should be 'safe' men in every walk of life, but not 'safe' in the sense just used. In every profession there must be numbers of men whose strength is to sit still, whose minds cling fast to the old and the familiar, and look with suspicion on every movement in advance. That there should be such is a safeguard against over-hasty progress; but if there had only been such from the outset, man would never have emerged from the condition of the tiger and the ape. But 'safe' men in the censurable sense of the word are those who, when they might have advanced the cause of moral or social progress, have advanced only their own interests. Such safe men are the curse of the Church and the bane of science. Happy on the other hand is the man of pure and resolute will, who can turn a deaf ear to the solicitations of passion and interest, and calmly take the path that duty prescribes. He at all events who tries to act after this fashion can safely leave his career in higher hands, and look to the same source for that insight and inspiration which are never withheld from the faithful seeker. And who can gauge the powers of such a man when liberated from the thraldom and distraction of the lower nature and 'committed to the Almighty to wield them at His will'?

We have here dwelt on the need of an earnest and resolute will for delivering the mind from its inherited or self-incurred vices, and fitting it for the tasks it was designed to achieve. We have next to point out the need of an earnest will, in order to preserve as living truths the religious knowledge we have inherited or won for ourselves. Now such knowledge has an undoubted tendency to become a substitute for conduct, as the religious feelings for religion. Our familiarity with spiritual truths is too apt to be taken, even by ourselves, for spiritual experience, and our ready assent to these truths often blinds us to our practical forgetfulness of them. But however much we know, we are after all only what we have done. The highest religious truths cannot really be known till they are lived. Only to the obedient do they become actual beatitudes: only to those that fear Him is the secret of the Lord disclosed: if ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.

But now passing from the consideration of the intellect to the feelings, we would emphasize first of all the necessity of keeping the feelings in subjection to the will. We have here come to what is perhaps the most interesting section of our subject; for as we pursue it we shall discover how the action of an earnest will becomes a regenerative force in the life of man, the restorer of his wasted energies and affections, the supreme condition of the scholar's insight, and, highest of all, the agent of the soul's conversion to God.

The affections must be subjected to the sway of the conscientious will, if we are to fulfil our Christian duty; for Christianity makes high demands on the affections. But how are we to act if we are without such affections? We cannot supply them by any effort of the will. Such affections as love, hate, admiration, reverence, are involuntary. By no spasm of determination can we make ourselves love an object we do not love, or hate an object we do not hate. But though the will cannot generate such affections, it can prepare for their

birth, it can practise the maieutic art, and in this way our voluntary actions become the birthpangs of our involuntary affections. To explain. We cannot by an effort of the will produce a right affection. But if, despite its absence, we do the duty to which the missing affection should have led, we establish the possibility of its birth or revival in us, and if with conscientious persistency we fulfil the same duty as often as it arises, then the possibility becomes an actuality, and the affection is born within us. The act itself, indeed, can never of course, however often repeated, become an affection. But the growth of the affection is made possible by the repeated fulfilments of the duty, because in such fulfilments the will constantly checks the impulses that conflict with the duty, and so ultimately destroys them; for evil affections, like weeds, must die if all growth is checked. But this explanation, it may be rejoined, shows only how the will removes obstructions to the growth of the new affection, but does not explain its origin. That is quite true. No action of ours can originate any right affection. We can only remove obstructions to its growth. Ours is not the work of inspiration, but only the dutiful act; we have to work out what God works in us; for it is God that implants the generous affection and prompts the impulse of mercy; it is God that gives the grace of repentance, the vision of holiness, and the hunger and thirst that can find satisfaction in Him alone, and none other.

Let us take an illustration. If, when motions of envy arise within us at a rival's success, we refuse on the one hand with strong resolve to give any expression to this evil passion, and on the other pray earnestly to God that he may have every blessing and every possible enjoyment from the very success which provoked our envy, then we shall find that this venomous passion will die within us, and in its stead there will grow up the joy of disinterested affection, a genuine delight in the prosperity of a former rival.

To the above experiences in the province of the affections we have remarkable analogies in those of the mind and of the spirit. In the province of thought the revelations of truth are made to the earnest seeker. But such revelations do not come easily and of course. Oftentimes for days or months or years the mind must study and toil terribly, must saturate itself with its subject, must intend itself often and long, and seemingly without result, till at last in some unexpected hour the truth dawns suddenly on the seeker, and the chaos of facts are in a moment transformed into a well-ordered cosmos. How barren for the time and sterile appeared the strenuous hours when the mind with restless energy laboured to advance, now in this direction, now in that, but such periods were not fruitless; for in their course the persistent energy of the mind was unconsciously removing the obstructions that stood between it and the insight it craved. Thus here, as in the sphere of feeling, the mind had to pursue its laborious toil till at last, its task being done, the God-given light was vouchsafed, and order and knowledge were established where before disorder and ignorance reigned.

But there is a task of still higher achievement for the faithful will. Its aim now is, not the restoration of some single right affection in the sphere of feeling, nor yet the discovery of some truth in the sphere of thought or science, but one that infinitely transcends such aims, and yet is to be achieved on analogous lines. This aim, need I say, is the chief end of man, to meet God face to face, to know Him, to love Him, and live unto Him forever. It is true, indeed, that at times God is found of those that sought Him not. But this experience is not general. In the province of the spirit, as in those of the affections and intellect, he that seeketh findeth and to him that knocketh is the gate of access opened. Here, above all, we need the earnest will. And for such a will in God's world there is no such word as fail. The quest may be long, the strife arduous, but sooner or later the goal is reached, the battle won. How soon, how late, in each individual case no man can determine beforehand. In one case the faithful seeker may have to pursue the path of duty through a long period of years unblessed by the consciousness of that high communion with God that turns servitude into sonship and the demands of duty into objects of the affections. In another the seeker may have only entered on the way of obedience, when in one transcendent moment God makes Himself known, and the soul is at one with the Highest and at peace.

Why this supreme revelation is made in one case at the outset of the pilgrimage and in another withheld till this life's close, or later, even when we know all the earthly conditions, is not easy

to determine. And yet we are not left wholly in ignorance on this matter; for the analogous series of facts in the provinces of the feeling and the intellect suggest that here, as there, obstructions in the soul of the seeker had to be removed before he received the salvation he sought. But a further explanation may be found in the different objects of the seekers. For since salvation is differently conceived by different men, surely God's answer to the soul's cry for salvation must vary likewise. To one man salvation means, first and chiefly, deliverance from the fears and penalties that dog the heels of sin; to another, redemption from sin itself; to another, the filling of the whole man, spirit, mind, and affections, with the Being of God. Is it strange, then, that one soul should early succeed in its quest, and that another should have to struggle onward through the darkness of years? Is it strange that the salvation into which such men enter through conversion should have various ethical values, seeing that one man conceives religion as the refuge of his weakness, whilst another reveres it as the educator of his strength? Is it strange, therefore, that the character of some men at the crisis of conversion should be almost wholly unformed and need the discipline of babes in Christ, and that the character of others should be mature and ready for His completed will.

But, however great our present attainment, we must still press onward. The task of the faithful will is the creation of Christlike character. But character with any affinity to the divine can only be attained through increasing faithfulness to the ever larger light that dawns upon the soul. Every such further manifestation of His will is the Master's summons to His disciple, 'Come up higher,' and every response to such a summons can only be done at a cost. Duty then, should it grow more severe, must yet be more dutifully done, the mind's doubts faced, however terrible their challenge, and love's claims honoured, even when they exact the full self-sacrifice. Only by such obedience can we gain the full instruction that God has committed to the faithful life, and so transform our days from a series of self-repetitions into a life of progressive achievement. 'If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.'

Notes on 'The Best Bible Commentaries.'[1]

NEW TESTAMENT.

MATTHEW.—It is extremely interesting (perhaps it is not so creditable, however) to see the position that Meyer still takes. Meyer deserves it: we know men, and they our finest scholars, who have Meyer nearest their hand always; but the fact is that in this country St. Matthew's Gospel has been quite unaccountably neglected. Allen will soon appear in the 'International Critical' series; and it is right to mention the 'Cambridge Greek Testament for Colleges,' which has been neglected in this list almost as entirely as the 'Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students.' The St. Matthew volume is done by Carr (4s. 6d.). Then on the other side there is, in our belief, no *popular* commentary on the Gospels to be compared for a moment with Dr. David Brown's in Collins' 'Experimental' series. It is the only volume of the six worth paying a penny for, but it is good enough to keep the whole series selling.

MARK.—Add on the student's side Maclear in the C.G.T. (4s. 6d.) and a very elementary but excellent little commentary by Sir A. F. Hort, Bart. (Cambridge Press, 2s. 6d. net). On the popular side the best commentary is not named, though four are mentioned. It is Principal Lindsay's in the 'Handbooks' series (T. & T. Clark, 2s. 6d.). Principal Salmond's edition in the 'Century Bible' is out now (Jack, 2s. net), but it does not supersede Lindsay.

LUKE.—There is a student's edition of St. Luke which may not be so useful generally as Plummer's, but for Synoptic study is unsurpassed — Arthur Wright's *St. Luke's Gospel in Greek* (Macmillan, 7s. 6d. net). The student of the 'Synoptic Problem' cannot do without it.

JOHN.—Here the great surprise is the omission of Reynolds. It is the chief ornament of the

[1] See THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for January, February, and March.

'Pulpit Commentary,' and will long resist the awful weight of homiletical matter that has drowned most of the volumes of that series already. But other two books are unaccountably omitted. First Milligan and Moulton in the 'Popular Commentary' (T. & T. Clark, vol. ii., 12s.). This series was spoiled by its title and still more by the poor work of its editors—Schaff and Riddle. But some of the books are done superbly, and John is one of them. The other omission here is the greatest sin our scholars have committed. To give a list of the best commentaries on St. John's Gospel and not mention Reith's incomparable edition in the 'Handbooks' series (T. & T. Clark, 2 vols., 2s. each), is not to be forgiven them.

Acts.—This book is richer now in good commentaries than any other, with the possible exception of Hebrews. To the three students' books named might be added Rendall (Macmillan, 6s.), Lumby in the 'Cambridge Greek Testament' (6s.), and especially Page (Macmillan, 3s. 6d.). Chase, in the 'Critical,' is also on the way. Then on the popular side, add Page and Walpole (Macmillan, 2s. 6d.) and Bartlet in the 'Century Bible' (Jack, 2s. net).

Romans.—Three commentaries are given on the student side, but there was no need to mention more than one. Sanday and Headlam (which receives the highest number of votes given in all the list) makes the possession of all other books superfluous. On the popular side no fewer than five are named. And yet Sanday's commentary in 'Cassell' has been overlooked.

1 Corinthians.—Evans should have been at the top. It is probably the most original and illuminating portion of the 'Speaker,' even although Westcott is in it. Massie in the 'Century Bible' is good.

Galatians.—Burton is nearly ready in the 'Critical'; it is sure to be in front of all others, though Lightfoot's *Galatians* will never be set aside. If Ramsay had been an ordinary 'commentary,' its place would no doubt have been much higher. It gets only nine votes; yet what would the students and the commentators do without Ramsay? Sanday's *Galatians* in 'Cassell' has again been forgotten.

Ephesians.—There is a fine artistic work on Ephesians that has suffered for its daring. Yet it is a real and often a very searching commentary. It is H. G. Miller's (Skeffingtons, 10s. 6d.). Then a better *popular* book on Ephesians than any of the four named is Moule's *Ephesian Studies* (Hodder, 5s.).

Philippians. — Add Moule in the C.G.T. (2s 6d.), and on the other side Moule's *Philippian Studies* (Hodder, 5s.). Currie Martin has been compelled to crush Eph., Col., Phil., and Philemon into one volume of the 'Century Bible,' and yet he has produced a useful book.

Colossians. — The 'Pulpit Commentary' has never had its due. Here Findlay should have had a place. And again Moule's *Colossian Studies* must be used, though it is not so necessary as before, with Maclaren's fine book at hand.

Thessalonians. — The Master of Pembroke (Canon Mason) has done Thess. in 'Cassell,' and Dods has these epistles in the 'Popular.' Both are necessary to a full equipment, but Findlay and Denney are later and deserved to be mentioned first.

Timothy and Titus.—Where is Lilley? His Pastoral Epistles in the 'Handbook' series (2s. 6d.) is fuller and finer work than Plummer, Humphreys, or Horton, the three named on the popular side. Lilley is particularly strong in the theology.

1 Peter.—Howard Masterman of the Midland Clergy College has lately published a student's edition of 1 Peter (Macmillan, 3s. 6d. net). It affords a thorough drill in the language of the Epistles. Salmond is the author of 1 Peter in the 'Popular Commentary,' and Salmond's 1 Peter should have dismissed all the others from the popular side.

John's Epistles.—Westcott is the only student's book mentioned. It receives forty-seven votes. But Westcott has always to be supplemented, if we may not say corrected, and both Haupt and Huther (T. & T. Clark, 10s. 6d. each) must be studied. A most serviceable popular exposition of 1 John is Watson's (Maclehose, 7s. 6d.); and in the 'Popular' 1 John is done by Pope and Moulton.

Revelation. — The commentator of the Apocalypse has not come yet. The late Dr. A. B. Davidson should have been got to do this work. Charles has it in hand for the 'Critical'; and great hopes rest on Swete, who is to issue through Macmillans a companion volume to his *St. Mark* on the Apocalypse.

Let it be repeated, that these notes express only an individual's opinions; while Mr. Bond's list gives the judgment of many scholars. We once more heartily thank him for it.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Christianity in the Near East.

In March 1901 the trustees of the Schleiermacher Fund conferred on Dr. Karl Beth a travelling scholarship, which enabled him to spend five months in Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Greece. His object was to investigate the present condition of the Churches and the religious life of the people of these countries; he has published the results of his observations and studies in a book[1] full of information of the deepest interest to all students of modern Church history.

The Orthodox Greek Church—which describes itself as the Orthodox Anatolic Church—is represented in all these lands. With its dogmas and practices, its liturgies and worship, Dr. Beth is chiefly concerned; his travels did not, however, extend to Russia, and his remarks do not apply to the Russian Church, which should, he thinks, be studied separately, inasmuch as the Orthodox Anatolic Church in Greek-speaking nations is free from the dogmatic and ritualistic leanings towards Rome which characterize that Church in Russia. A full account is also given of the Armenian and Coptic Churches.

Dr. Beth dwells frequently on the contrast between the impressions which he formed during his travels and those which he had derived from the study of ecclesiastical history. The priests, for example, did not correspond to the description of them by such authorities as Kattenbusch. 'Neither amongst the people nor amongst the clergy did I meet with the idea that the priest is endowed with special spiritual powers. . . . So far as religion is concerned, the patriarch is no more than the smallest bishop, and the bishop is no more than the priest and the layman. . . . The purpose of the Eucharist is the same for the priest as for the layman; both experience a *θέωσις* or a *ἕνωσις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν*.' In like manner, the author corrects what he regards as current misconceptions of monks, 'whose rôle is played out.' Orthodox Christians look down upon them as upon 'men of a lower order'; it is openly said that their ranks are recruited from 'the weakly and idle classes of the community. . . . The monk is no longer a pattern either of religious devotion or of moral sentiment: the exact opposite is the fact.'

In the course of his observations, Dr. Beth also found great discrepancies between ecclesiastical rules and popular practice. In regard to fasting, great laxity prevails. The only time when the regulations of the Church are generally observed is during the week before Easter. The majority of Greek Christians do not regard these regulations as binding; many neither fast nor think of including the neglected fasts in their confession of sins of omission. Four hours are prescribed for daily prayer and reading of the Psalms in churches, but only the last hour is observed, and this in many places on Sundays only. At the other hours the priest reads the service at home. These regulations, the author truly says, cannot be obeyed; but 'the Orthodox Church can allow her regulations to be disregarded, though she would cease to be orthodox if she were to revise and simplify them so as to make them practicable.'

Dr. Beth believes that the Greek Church in these countries is in a state of transition. Instead of ossification or petrifaction he saw movement and change. 'The Church feels her weakness, and is striving to remedy her defects.' The clergy—except the uneducated—recognize 'that the Church ought to offer the laity more of God's word, and the laity loudly express their longing for it.' This statement applies not to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, but to Greece, Turkey in Europe, Asia Minor, especially the coast towns. Many interesting details are given of a remarkable religious movement amongst the laity. 'In the last nine years societies have arisen whose only object is to arrange for the public exposition of God's word in sermons and in catechumen-classes. Almost all these societies were founded by laymen.' For centuries the Greek Church has neglected this essential part of her duty; with rare exceptions, even the educated clergy have not felt called to preach every Sunday, but this

[1] *Die orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer.* Reisestudien zur Statistik und Symbolik der griechischen, armenischen und koptischen Kirche. Von Lic. Dr. Karl Beth, Privatdozent an der Universität Berlin. Berlin: Schwetschke und Sohn. Pp. xvi, 428. M.8.

movement amongst the laity has the sympathy of the bishops, with the exception of a few, who refuse to leave the ancient paths. 'Many changes must, however, be made before the preaching services can yield the blessing that may be expected; first of all, the churches must be furnished with seats.'

Another hopeful sign is the movement for the better education of the clergy. Since Joachim III. became Patriarch an enlightened policy has been pursued. Theological colleges have been established in the several provinces; the clergy have also received instructions 'so far as they are able' to preach once every Sunday.

Dr. Beth has little that is good to say of English and American missions in these countries. It is comforting to his 'national feeling and evangelical consciousness' to reflect that German Protestants have been less aggressive; yet charges of 'proselytizing' do not prove that the work of English and American missionaries 'has been no real blessing.' Proof to the contrary is given in the interesting story of the beginning at Smyrna of the religious movement amongst the Greek laity to which reference has already been made. In 1893 a tradesman—Michael Chadsiludis—formed a society for the establishment of weekly preaching of the gospel; to-day, two preaching services are held every Sunday, and one during the week, as well as a Bible class for catechumens. Dr. Beth heard a simple gospel sermon on Mt 10^{37} from a professor at one of the high schools, and the service was attended by 140 men, 115 women, and 25 children. All who read this narrative will join heartily in the writer's prayer that this movement, which has rapidly spread to Athens, Constantinople, and other towns, may bring new life to the Orthodox Greek Church by the old method—the preaching of Jesus. If this happy result be attained, Englishmen will remember with gratitude that the Greek laymen of Smyrna were roused to action by an English evangelist. His name is not mentioned, but Dr. Beth says: 'thanks are *perhaps* due to an Englishman, who shortly before preached here in the Greek language with great power.' It is pleasant to recall, in this connexion, the words of Ignatius to the Church at Symrna: 'it is meet that ye should . . . give heed to the prophets and especially to the gospel.'

J. G. TASKER.

Handsworth College.

The Religion of the Semites.

THOSE who have made acquaintance with Père Lagrange's studies in this subject in the *Revue Biblique*, will be glad to hear that a volume containing these in a greatly extended form has just been published.[1] It is not our intention to criticise the work, so much as to give an indication of its character and contents, and to commend its study very heartily to all who are interested in Comparative Religion.

The main aim of the book is to study the religions of Israel's Semitic neighbours in regard to those points where they touch most closely the religion of Israel, and thus to bring out the contrast of ideas as well as the resemblance of traditions and rites. The author feels that such a work is needed, because there is none available dealing with *all* the fundamental religious institutions of the Semites. The want might have been supplied had Professor Robertson Smith lived a few years longer. But, as Père Lagrange points out, the single volume of that gifted writer on the *Religion of the Semites* deals almost entirely with sacrifice, takes little account of the Babylonian religion, and attaches, in the estimation of many, an exaggerated importance to Totemism. Baethgen, Wellhausen, and Jastrow have done good service, but they have devoted themselves for the most part to special fields of investigation. The same is true of de Vogüé, while the works of Clermont-Ganneau, Hommel, Winckler, Zimmern, Scheil, Loisy, and others, have to be sifted to obtain the materials of which we are in search.

Père Lagrange has a very important opening chapter on the Origin of Religion and Mythology. Here the reader will find acute observations on Animism, Ancestor Worship, Polydemonism, Polytheism, etc., and a careful discussion of the possibility of Monotheism being developed out of Polytheism. Then comes chap. I on the Semites, followed by a chapter on their gods. The vexed question of El as possibly the one primitive god, common to the Semites, is elaborately handled, and whatever view may be taken of our author's conclusion, much instruction will be derived from his argument. The same remark applies to his treatment of Baal and Melekh.

[1] *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques.* Par le P. Marie-Joseph Lagrange, des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1903. Price 8 fr.

We are next introduced to the goddesses Ashera and Astarte. Then come chapters dealing with the conception of Holiness and Impurity, and with Sacred Objects (waters, trees, stones, etc.), and Sacred Persons. The important subject of Sacrifice is discussed in chap. 7, while the following chapter is devoted to the Dead (including funeral customs, etc., as well as the notions of a future life). The last two chapters of the book are devoted respectively to Babylonian and Phœnician myths. In the Appendices we have the famous Tariff of Marseilles and other important inscriptions. The value of the book, which is eminently readable, is enhanced by a list of the Scripture passages cited in the text, and an Index of Subjects.

The Babel-Bibel Controversy.

Since our last notes on this subject a change has come over the scene. The Delitzsch bubble has been pricked by the hand of the agent that created it. By this time all our readers must be aware of the characteristic letter of His Majesty the German Emperor, in which he disavows the theological conclusions of Professor Delitzsch. The letter is marked by consummate skill, and one cannot withhold a tribute of admiration from its author. There is perhaps no living sovereign who could have assumed the rôle here played by the Kaiser, or who by sheer ability could have extricated himself so successfully from what was fast becoming a ridiculous situation. Not but that there is something humorous in the fresh effusion of this Imperial would-be maker of creeds and keeper of the conscience of his subjects. Yet, whatever objections may be taken to his pronouncement, all friends of Assyriology and of theology will be glad that the controversy will now be left in the hands of the proper parties, without Court patronage on either side, and that the points in dispute will now be seen in their true light and proper dimensions.

There is one man to whom both scienee and faith owe a heavy debt of gratitude for the part he has played in this controversy — we mean Professor Ed. König of Bonn. It is extremely gratifying to note that his famous brochure, *Bibel und Babel*, has now reached its eighth edition. In this, its latest form, it not only includes a criticism of Delitzsch's *second* lecture, but takes account of all the important literature that has been called forth during the controversy. The reader who wishes to have a thoroughly satisfactory up-to-date refutation of Delitzsch's specious conclusions, will find it in the pages of Professor König's little work (Berlin: Martin Warneck, price 80 pfennigs).

Biblical Criticism.

The progress of the Historical Criticism of Scripture, especially of the Old Testament, is responsible for not a little of the theological literature of the time. It is natural enough, and only an unreasonable man would make it matter of reproach, that the new view of Bible history which the scientific study of Scripture demands, should confuse old-fashioned faith and make it suspicious of the so-called 'Higher' Criticism. Hence the absolute refusal on the part of many Christians to admit the possibility that the critics can be right, hence the valiant fight maintained, with excellent motives but with obsolete weapons, by the old school of Scripture students against the new. But there is not a little literature that aims at discovering a more excellent way. In all the Churches there are men whose attachment to the old *faith* is beyond suspicion, but whose study of the Bible has convinced them that Historical Criticism is in the main right. They have found, moreover, that their own faith, instead of being hindered has been helped by the new light in which many points have been set by Criticism, and they are anxious to help their fellow-believers, who are as yet unable to accept this view of the situation. We have just read two works, emanating from very different quarters, but with this common aim. One of them is a volume by the above-named Père Lagrange, entitled *La Méthode Historique surtout a propos de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris: V. Lecoffre). The other is by Professor Erik Stave of Upsala, and bears the title *Der Einfluss der Bibelkritik auf das christliche Glaubensleben* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, price 1s.).

All friends of the truth are watching with interest the present attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to the critical study of Scripture; and they rejoice that so enlightened a pontiff as

Leo XIII. is at the helm of affairs. Much will depend, both for the Roman Catholic Church and for Christendom, on the result of the investigations of the recently appointed committee of Roman Catholic scholars and the report they make to headquarters. Meanwhile a brilliant band of scholars, of whom Père Lagrange is one of the most distinguished, are doing splendid service in the way of mediating between science and faith, between historical conclusions and Church authority. The work before us consists of six *conférences* read at the Catholic Institute of Toulouse in November of last year. We may content ourselves with indicating the subjects handled, assuring our readers of every shade of religious opinion that they will find much instruction and edification in the book. We have read it straight through at a sitting, and our interest never flagged for a moment. We have (1) Critical Exegesis and Church Dogma; (2) The Evolution of Dogma, especially in the O.T.; (3) The notion of Inspiration, from the data of Scripture; (4) The Historical Method, in matters of Science; (5) Historical Character of the Civil Legislation of the Hebrews; (6) The Primitive History. We have found (3), (5), and (6) in particular extremely interesting, and calculated to be of much help to many.

No less inspiring is the brochure of the Lutheran professor. Dr. Stave's lecture, whose title is given above, was delivered to a gathering of students at Leckö in Sweden, and is intended to be specially helpful in the way of steadying their faith at a critical period of their life. The lecture shows a very firm grasp of the situation, an appreciation of its needs, and a thorough competency to meet these. An excellent survey is given of the principal changes that Historical Criticism has necessitated in our view of Scripture and its contents, and it is shown conclusively that not only can the old faith live in the new light, but that it is strengthened theoretically and stimulated practically. For it is pre-eminently the *practical* that Professor Stave keeps in view, and rightly so, throughout. For those of our readers who are acquainted with German (and the German in which this pamphlet is written is singularly easy), we can wish no greater pleasure than the perusal of Dr. Stave's lecture. No one can help benefiting from it. *Every word of it is golden.*

A somewhat more limited scope, although its arguments are well worthy of consideration, belongs to the brochure of Professor Arnold Meyer of Bonn, entitled *Theologische Wissenschaft und kirchliche Bedürfnisse* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, price 2s. net). This work has in view more especially the disappointing tendencies manifested by the Provincial Synods of Prussia to lay an embargo on Criticism, and to pronounce its study detrimental to the real work of the Church. Professor Meyer has no difficulty in showing that the Criticism which some of the Synods assail so fiercely, is a spectre conjured up by their own imagination. He puts forward at the same time a powerful plea in favour of not only the right but the duty of a strictly scientific theology, and seeks to show that this is the friend and not the foe of Church life and work.

Moses and Hammurabi.

THE recent discovery of the Code of Hammurabi has naturally attracted much attention, and we may expect a copious stream of literature on the subject. Here again Père Lagrange is to the front. Not only has he a full discussion and analysis of the Code in the *Revue Biblique* for January of this year, but in the 5th of the *conférences* above referred to, he compares it in a most interesting way with the laws contained in the Pentateuch, especially with the so-called Book of the Covenant. The same subject is handled by Pfarrer J. Jeremias in a brochure entitled *Moses und Hammurabi* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, price 70 pfennigs). In the latter we have first of all a concise account of the discovery of the diorite block with the Code by the French expedition at Susa in the end of the year 1901, and a description of the stone and the character of the inscription. This is followed by a general account of the degree of civilization and the state of society disclosed by the enactments of the Code, after which there is a more detailed specification of its enactments on particular points. Of most interest are the sections dealing with the Pentateuch, especially the Book of the Covenant, in the light of Hammurabi's Code. There are no fewer than twenty-four enactments in which the latter exhibits certain or almost certain analogies with the Book of the Covenant. The comparison with the latter and with the Priests' Code discloses,

indeed, many points where Hammurabi from a religious and ethical point of view is inferior to 'Moses.' On the other hand, as Père Lagrange shows, there are departments where the Book of the Covenant preserves ruder and more primitive usages than the Code of Hammurabi, which is adapted to an advanced civilization. The general outcome of the whole appears to be that 'Moses' is not *directly* indebted to Hammurabi, but that both codify long-established usages. The giving of the law by God to Moses at Sinai will probably have to be interpreted by some less literally now that they read the similar claim made by Hammurabi to have received his Code from Shamash. Much must be allowed to Oriental figures of speech in such matters. But the great fact will remain that Moses was guided to select a body of laws great or small, for which a special divine approval and sanction can be claimed, and which became the basis of all further development. We are thoroughly at one with Dr. Jeremias when he writes: 'I confess with satisfaction and joy that the discovery and the contents of the Code of Hammurabi have deepened my conviction of the divine character of the Torah.' And where, it may be asked, do such discoveries as this leave us with regard to the literary criticism of the Pentateuch? Just where all sober cautious critics were before. The conclusions of literary criticism as to the date of our documents *in their present shape* have not been shaken, and are not likely to be shaken by any archæological evidence. And if the latter shows more and more convincingly that the materials of which these documents are made up have a long history behind them, what is this but what Old Testament critics like Dr. Driver (cf., *e.g.*, *L.O.T.*[6], p. 142 f.) have all along been telling us?

Miscellaneous.

Two works of interest on Jeremiah have come to hand. One of these is by W. Erbt on *Jeremia und seine Zeit: Die Geschichte der letzten fünfzig Jahre des vorexilischen Juda* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, price M.8). Not only are the usual questions regarding the life and activity of the prophet carefully handled, but the passages that are believed to be original are given in their proper place, with a German translation and a transliteration and accentuation of the text after the scheme of Sievers. The other work is one of the series entitled 'Die poetischen und prophetischen Bücher des Alten Testamentes: Uebersetzungen in den Versmassen der Urschrift.' It is a translation by Professor Duhm (*Das Buch Jeremia*, übersetzt von B. Duhm. Tübingen: Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, price 2s. net) of the text of Jeremiah, with three distinctive forms of type to indicate: (1) what belongs to Jeremiah and Baruch; (2) the supplementary matter; (3) minor glosses and interpolations, as well as the excess of the Hebrew over the Greek text.

All students of Scripture will be interested in the *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, price M.10.50). The articles are concise but thoroughly satisfactory, and supply all that most readers will want, although, of course, those who wish to go minutely into a subject will require to consult larger works. The editorship is in the competent hands of Professor Guthe of Leipzig, whose coadjutors are—Professors G. Beer of Strassburg, E. Kautzsch of Halle, C. Siegfried of Jena, the late A. Socin of Leipzig, A. Wiedemann of Bonn, H. Zimmern of Leipzig. These names are a sufficient guarantee of the excellence of the work. The Dictionary is copiously illustrated, and contains two maps, of which the one at the end deserves special commendation.

Professor Bertholet of Basel is rapidly coming to the front as one of our authorities on Comparative Religion. We have to thank him heartily for the very interesting little work, *Die Gefilde der Seligen* (Tübingen: Mohr, price 60 pfennigs), in which he gives an instructive account of the manifold conceptions that have been formed by mankind regarding the Fields of the Blessed. Professor Bertholet's tractate covers a wide field, and has the merit of being at once thoroughly scientific and perfectly popular.

The last issue of 'Der Alte Orient' we have received has for its subject *Die alten Ægypter als Krieger und Eroberer in Asien* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, price 60 pf.). When we mention that it is from the pen of the author of *Asien und Europa*, W. Max Müller, we have said all that it needs by way of commendation.

Lic. Dr. O. Procksch has done well to publish the volume entitled *Geschichtsbetrachtung und geschichtliche Ueberlieferung bei den vorexilischen Propheten* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, price M.5.50). The volume, which is dedicated to Professor Buhl, and which owns special obligations also to Professors Guthe, Giesebrecht, and Jacobsen, will be found of interest by O.T. students of every school.

We have to notice, finally, a new periodical, entitled the *Biblische Zeitschrift*, to be published quarterly by the Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Freiburg im Breisgau), at an annual cost of 12 marks. The magazine, which is under the same management as the (Roman Catholic) *Biblischen Studien*, will no doubt, like the latter, take a high place amongst such literature. Amongst the articles of note in the opening number we may mention those on 'Ekklesiastes und Ekklesiasticus' by Dr. Norbert Peters, and on 'Salomons Tempelweihe' by Dr. v. Hummelauer.

J. A. SELBIE.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple.

BY THE REV. G. C. M. DOUGLAS, D.D., LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, GLASGOW.

IN a former series of papers (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, May–August 1898) Ezekiel's temple was studied from the point of view given by himself, which is plainly intended to enable us best to understand the whole vision in chaps. 40–48. In chap. 43^{12} we read, 'This is the law of the house; upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy. Behold, this is the law of the house.' The original distinction between the holy place and the most holy has ceased to exist. The veil has been rent, or has been taken away, and every worshipper, or at all events every priest, has now free access to the innermost part of the sanctuary, since every place is now most holy. And now that there are no longer privileges reserved for one chamber, which is most holy, the vision no longer shows us a high priest, an ark with its mercy-seat, an annual day of atonement, and a year of jubilee. There are also some other respects in which it is natural that this temple, whose holy place and most holy place have become virtually one, dispenses with old arrangements. Enjoying the fulness of the Spirit's creative, enlightening, and cleansing work, it has no need of the laver, nor of the candlestick, nor of the distinction between the altar of incense and the table of shewbread. And certain changes emerge in the position and character of the priests, who are no longer named the sons of Aaron, nor the priests the sons of Levi, but the sons of Zadok.

It remains to take note of the religious services by this body of priests in this new temple.

1. The Mosaic law established three feasts, or as some translate the term, pilgrimage feasts: namely, the passover, connected with the feast of unleavened bread; the feast of weeks, or of the first-fruits of harvest; and the feast of ingathering, or the feast of tabernacles, better translated 'booths.' The only one of these which is explicitly named by Ezekiel (chap. 45^{21}) is the passover; probably because this feast commemorated God's redemption of His people from Egypt by means of the tenth plague. Perhaps another influence leading the prophet to give such prominence to the passover was the resemblance between the safety of the people in the midst of the tenth plague, when they were marked with the blood of the passover lamb, and that of those in his vision (chap. 9^{4-6}), who received the mark from the inkhorn of the man clothed with linen. But though Ezekiel does not name the feast of tabernacles, there is no doubt that it is this feast which he describes in chap. 45^{25}. In his brief notice he says nothing of the details given at length in Nu 29; he merely alludes to what he has said of the priest's and the prince's work at the passover, saying 'He shall do the like the seven days.' It is, however, quite unsafe to infer from his silence that he knew nothing of those details, or of the eighth day of the feast, or of the feast of weeks.

Connected with these three feasts, and indeed including them, as is said in Lv 23, were the *mo'adim*, a Hebrew term which has been a perplexity to translators, who have rendered it set feasts, solemnities, solemn assemblies, seasons, due seasons, appointed seasons, etc. The simple and adequate translation is the good old English word 'trysts,' that is, times or places of appointed meeting. The feasts and the solemnities (or trysts) are named together in Ezk 46[11]. And in 44[24], as he lays on the priests the duty of teaching the people the difference between the holy and the common, etc., he adds, 'And they shall keep my laws and my statutes in all my appointed feasts (or trysts), and they shall hallow my Sabbaths.' For the Sabbath in truth lay at the foundation of the whole superstructure of trysts, according to Lv 23[2, 3], a chapter which also (vv.[24-25]) reckons among the trysts the first day of the seventh month as having special honours. So Nu 28[11-15] includes the first day of every month among the days for which special sacrifices are arranged. In like manner Ezekiel speaks (chap. 45[17]) of the sacrifices 'in the feasts, and in the new moons, and in the Sabbaths, and in all the appointed feasts (or trysts) of the house of Israel.' Thus, also, the Sabbaths and new moons are brought together at 46[1, 3], etc., when directions are given for opening to the prince the east gate of God's house, though it was habitually kept shut. Those Sabbath and new moon sacrifices for the prince (chap. 46[4, 5, 6]) are distinct from the stated Sabbath sacrifices for all Israel (Nu 28[9-10]): this distinction is analogous to the differences in the sin offerings appointed in Lv 4 for priests and rulers and private persons.

2. A systematic account of the principal arrangements for the several sacrifices of the law is given in Lv 1–7. There is nothing that can be reckoned the counterpart of this in Ezekiel's vision, which in this respect, as in others, wants all the characteristics of a code. Some little changes, however, appear incidentally in his descriptions, for which it is not easy to assign the reason. And yet, in so far as this vision made changes in the Mosaic law, it is clear that the prophet did not teach that this law was unchangeable in the sense which later Judaism accepted and taught. Ezekiel's teaching thus corresponded with that more explicitly propounded by Jeremiah (chap. 31[31-34]), on which we have an inspired commentary in He 8. Nevertheless, in every thing but certain small details, Ezekiel's vision proceeds on the footing of the arrangements prescribed in the law of Moses.

For in those first seven chapters of Leviticus there appear two great classes of sacrifices: the burnt offering and the peace or thank offering, the latter being accompanied by the bloodless vegetable offering (A.V. meat offering, R.V. meal offering); and there are also the two sacrifices that have a peculiar reference to the sinner's position, namely, the sin offering and the trespass or guilt offering. And besides these five sacrificial terms, we often meet with two which have a wider sweep of meaning. The one is *zebach*: this simply means a sacrifice, any animal slain upon the altar, yet it has very often come to be used as equivalent to a peace offering, which was probably the commonest sacrifice of all, and the complement of the burnt offering, along with which it is habitually mentioned. And so, while Ezekiel names the whole five sacrificial terms, we also find these two combined by him (40[42] 44[11]); and we read of the places where the sacrifices of the people are cooked (46[24]). The other additional term is of wider meaning than any other: *corban*, which occurs often in Lv and Nu, then twice in Ezk 20[28] and 40[43], and elsewhere in the Bible only in Mk 7[11]. It is translated an offering, or an oblation, and its etymology suggests that it is anything brought near or presented to God.

Now, looking to Ezekiel's use of these technical terms, the burnt offering and the peace offering occur together in 43[27] 46[2, 12]. At the beginning of 40[42] the burnt offering alone is mentioned; and so at 43[24], prescribing the use of salt at the installation of the altar, a rite to which reference was made in an earlier paper. The burnt offering and the sin offering are mentioned together (45[22-25]). The meat or meal offering is mentioned along with the burnt offering and the sin offering at 45[15], and it stands alone at 45[24] and 46[5, 7]; in all which passages the proportions of its materials to the sacrifices of a bullock, a ram, and a lamb respectively, are given, in rules analogous to, yet not identical with, those given in Nu 15[4-12], and applied in Nu 28 and 29. The largest combination of these sacrificial terms in Ezekiel's vision occurs in 45[17], burnt offerings, sin offerings, peace offerings, and meat or meal offerings; and along with these last, the drink offerings prescribed in the law. The fact that drink offerings are mentioned by him here, and nowhere else (unless in

the different connexion, 20[28]), reminds us how unsafe it is to infer that something in the law was unknown to him because he has not mentioned it. Naturally the trespass or guilt offering is mentioned along with the meat or meal offering and the sin offering, at 42[13] 44[29] 46[20], since it is these three classes of sacrifice that were reserved for the priests alone to eat. Finally, the guilt offering is named also with the burnt offering and the sin offering at 40[39], where the place for slaughtering them is pointed out.

Two other terms in the Levitical law are also used in Ezekiel. The one is the freewill offerings (46[12]). The other is in Hebrew *terumah*, which is sometimes translated a heave offering, sometimes merely an offering, as in the case of the offerings for the construction of the tabernacle (Ex 25[2], etc.). It is a favourite word with Ezekiel, being the designation of the portion of the land given to the priests, the Levites, and the prince in chaps. 45 and 48. Yet he uses it apparently in a very comprehensive sense at 44[30], 'Every oblation of every thing of all your oblations, shall be for the priest.'[1] In the same verse occur two words, found also in the law, both of which are habitually translated first-fruits, but one of them here 'first'; also the rare Hebrew word translated dough, and in the R.V. margin, coarse meal, as already at Nu 15[20. 21]. To name one term more, every devoted thing in Israel is given to the priests, as it had been given in Nu 18[14].

3. If Ezekiel's variations from the Mosaic ritual can be attributed to an intention to suggest that this law was not immutable, the same lesson might plausibly be supposed to be suggested by his almost total avoidance of a Hebrew term very frequent in the Mosaic law, *tamid*. This is often and best translated continual or perpetual, as an adjective, or modified into an adverb. Unfortunately, the English reader is apt to lose much of its force, because the most outstanding application of it is to the continual burnt offering day by day, a lamb in the morning and another in the evening (Ex 29[38-42], Nu 28[3-8]): the translation in this case, 'the daily sacrifice,' cannot be pronounced happy. The correct translation is found in the two instances in which the word occurs in Ezk, namely, 46[14. 15]. Nor could it well have been otherwise, not only because it is strengthened by another adjective which does mean perpetual, but also because the idea 'daily' is expressed otherwise at v.[13], and is kept up by the use of an additional expression, 'morning by morning.' It has been often remarked, however, that Ezekiel speaks only of the morning offering, never of the evening offering. It is quite possible that in this case he desired to emphasize the consecration of every day to Jehovah by the morning sacrifice, and passed over the evening sacrifice in silence, because he had in his mind this unending service of communion.[2]

4. Mention is made of a mysterious 'building' in Ezk 41[12-15] 42[1-10]. It stood outside, not merely of the vacant space that was left on the north and the south of that well-known and most prominent pile of buildings which formed the sanctuary properly so-called, but also of 'the separate place' which lay around the sanctuary on all sides except the east. This undescribed building was large, by inside measurement 100 cubits long, 70 broad. It stood along the west side of the separate place, that is, on the side on which there was no gate of entrance to the sanctuary, nor indeed to any part of the sacred enclosure. No hint is given of the use to which this building was turned; nor has anything been found answering to it in the tabernacle of Moses, or in the temple of Solomon. Conjecture has therefore had abundant scope. Dr. Kay thought of 'the appointed place of the house without the sanctuary' (43[21]), in which the carcass of the sin offering was to be burned. Dr. Davidson thinks that the uses were probably general. If we venture on a guess, would it be too bold to ask whether in mentioning this building, the vision gives a hint of that oppos-

[1] But in chap. 20[40] it is translated offering, I suppose because oblation is the translation of a different Hebrew word.

[2] Some ingenious speculations have indeed been rested on the mention of 'the evening oblation' (1 K 18[29. 36]), and especially on 2 K 16[15], 'The morning burnt offering and the evening oblation,' as if Ezekiel used language in conformity with these expressions, bearing testimony to an older and simpler ritual than the Levitical. It is more natural to say that a comprehensive view is taken of the daily worship. In this worship there were four important acts, namely, the morning burnt offering, the morning meal offering, the evening burnt offering, and the evening meal offering. The reference is intended to include the whole series, though for the sake of brevity only the first and the last were named, the Alpha and the Omega of the day's services. Thus Dn 9[21] is certainly not an early passage, many consider it extremely late, yet it marks the close of the day by speaking of the evening oblation, without naming the burnt offering which went along with it.

ing worldly power which has always struggled to find entrance into the house of the Lord, and has often succeeded in its attempt? If so, it might remind us of the vision of Zechariah (chap. 5), who saw what might be called an opposition temple, certain evil influences or materials carried away, that wickedness might be set in her own place, when a house was built for her in the land of Shinar.

(*To be concluded.*)

At the Literary Table.

TWO GREAT NESTORIANS.

Luzac, 2 vols., 10s. 6d. and 12s. 6d. net.

About thirty miles north of Mosul, and about a mile from the little Chaldæan town of Al-Kosh (the birthplace of the Prophet Nahum, as the Mesopotamian Christians say), hangs the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. It hangs half-way up the range of mountains which encloses the plain of Mosul on the north, and it is approached by a rocky path through a narrow defile. An enormous rock stands out from the mountain-side, in which the caves are hewn which form the church and monastery. The cells are living rock. They have no door or other protection from the weather. When Dr. Wallis Budge visited the monastery in 1890, the chill which was struck through him, gave him some idea of what the monks must suffer from the frosts of the winter and the driving rain. Some of the cells have niches hewn in their sides or backs in which the monks may sleep, but many of them have not even that.

This monastery was built for Rabban Hormizd, because of the marvel of his saintliness, and the miracles that he wrought, and he became its first head. That was in the seventh century. It has never altogether lost its fame. But now the number of its monks is steadily declining. In 1820 there were fifty, there are now only ten. It has lost most of its treasures also. Once its library contained many valuable manuscripts; but in the year 1844 the Kurds descended upon it, set fire to the buildings and murdered all who opposed them. The monks hid five hundred MSS in a vault close by, but a torrent of rain swept down the mountain-side, carrying them and their treasures out of sight forever.

Of the MSS that are still found in the monastery, the most important are the lives of Rabban Hormizd and Rabban Bar-Idta. Dr. Wallis Budge read them when he was there, and got a well-educated deacon to transcribe them for him. He published the Syriac edition in Messrs. Luzac's 'Semitic Text and Translation' Series at once. And now in the same series he has issued the English translation.

This life of Rabban Hormizd was brought as a mark of favour to Dr. Budge. When he had read it and had spoken of its value, the monks were encouraged and produced another manuscript. It was also a Life of their saint and founder, but this time in poetry. The work concontains 3496 lines; it is divided into 20 'gates' or sections, each 'gate' being named after a letter of the Syriac alphabet. Once upon a time this poem was chanted by the monks as part of their religious worship. It is chanted no longer. The monks have no longer much knowledge of their saint or much interest in his monastery. Dr. Budge has published a translation of the poetical Life also. Together they form parts i. and ii. of the second volume, the Syriac forming the first.

The proof-reading of the translation is not perfect. One very tantalizing misprint occurs on page xxxiii, where both Hormizd and Bar-Idta are described as 'the latter,' and it is not easy to say which is meant. This is as nothing, however, to the difficulty of sifting fact from fancy in the histories themselves. Yet Dr. Budge is right when he claims that we have in these handsome volumes valuable records of two of the most remarkable Nestorians who ever lived.

ADDIS AND ARNOLD'S CATHOLIC DICTIONARY.

Kegan Paul, 12s. net.

The sixth edition has just been issued of what is perhaps best known to Protestants of all

Catholic books in theology, 'Addis and Arnold's Dictionary.' It does not seem to be altered from the fourth edition (1893), which was thoroughly revised and re-edited by Mr. (now Dr.) T. B. Scannell. It is, however, published at a considerably cheaper price.

Addis and Arnold is, we think, the best handy Dictionary of Theology in English. Much of it is of course useless to non-Catholics (we use the word 'Catholic' as the editors do). Some of it seems almost childish. There is an article under the title of MUNDATORY, which is as follows:—

'MUNDATORY or Purificatory. A cloth of linen or hemp (S.C.R. May 18, 1819) used for cleansing the chalice. It has a small cross in the middle to distinguish it from the Lavabo towel. It is mentioned in the "Cæremoniale Episcoporum," but its use is of recent date, and it is not blessed. The Greeks use a sponge instead. (Benedict xiv. "De Miss," I. v. 5.)'

But the editors are not to blame for that. Their work is mostly strong. It is marked by good scholarship and rarely marred by ecclesiastical bias or unfairness. Judging the book as we are bound to do according to its profession, we are ready to say that it is as nearly as possible what a short theological dictionary ought to be.

If other editions should be called for, we might suggest that such an article as that on Mystical Theology might be enlarged, and a few general articles of the same kind introduced. One on the Antiochian, and another on the Byzantine schools of theology would be found very serviceable. Without altering the size or price of the book, space might be found by omitting or curtailing some of the very numerous articles on ecclesiastical vestments.

BOOKS ON EGYPT AND CHALDÆA.

Kegan Paul, 3s. 6d. net each.

The title 'Books on Egypt and Chaldæa' leaves the door open for few books or many books and books of all variety. Up to the present moment seven distinct books have been published. But as one, *The Book of the Dead*, runs to three volumes, and another, Budge's *History of Egypt*, to eight, there are sixteen volumes in all. Two writers, and only two, have been employed. Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge does all the Egyptian work, and Mr. L. W. King all the Chaldæan. The first volume was issued in 1899 (a second edition in 1900), so that the whole series is up to date.

The object of this new series is educational. The idea arose from the success of two or three very elementary works which had been published between 1894 and 1898. If so many seemed ready to learn Egyptian and Assyrian, as the circulation of these elementary books implied, at least as many would surely welcome a larger volume with a more satisfactory treatment of the same subjects. The earlier books were 'First Steps,' the new books would carry the reader into the literature itself.

This educational aim has been courageously carried through the whole series. The first volume is called on the back of the binding, *Egyptian Religion*, but on the title-page more narrowly 'Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life.' It serves as an introduction to the *Book of the Dead*, which forms the sixth, seventh, and eighth volumes of the series. These volumes, it is true, have their own introduction, but it is mainly literary; this is the best introduction for the student of religion, and there is probably no better to be found. The second volume deals with *Egyptian Magic*. It may be described as an extended note on the *Book of the Dead*. The third contains easy lessons on the *Egyptian Language*, the fifth being a companion volume on the *Assyrian Language*, while the fourth describes *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*. Then comes the *Book of the Dead* in three volumes. The series ends for the present with Wallis Budge's *History of Egypt* in eight volumes.

From first to last the student, in the strictest sense of the word, is kept in view, even the student of Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform. In the *History of Egypt* no king is named without the accompaniment of his cartouche. The narrative is crammed with facts and dates. And even when Cleopatra comes on the stage, and Dr. Wallis Budge is carried away by a most natural admiration for the 'subtle and seductive effect of her sweet soft voice,' the entrancing story is wedged in between names of nonentities, with their inevitable hieroglyphic equivalents.

Hitherto, Assyriology and Egyptology have been matters of general interest mainly. Men and women have looked on admiringly at the discoveries and decipherments because of their general bearing on the history of the world, or

their particular bearing on the authority of the Bible. But now they must be studied for their own sake. And this series will be found ready for use at once.

Books of the Month.

THE FORCE OF MIND. By Alfred T. Schofield, M.D., M.R.C.S. (*Churchill*, 5s. net).—This book is written for the edification of the medical profession. Perhaps it should rather be said, for their conversion. For the ground of complaint throughout is that, to their own great loss, doctors will not reckon with the influence of the mind in the curing of the body. Examples enough are laid before them to prove the fact that cures are wrought by the force of mind alone—including the cure of varicose veins—and that in all cures the mental factor is of considerable influence. Why are doctors so slow to believe this? Chiefly because it was first made known by quacks. Partly because there is still a fruitful field for quackery in it.

But what have we to do with this book? It touches ethics very closely; it touches religion. That it touches religion Mrs. Eddy is witness, and we need no other. Is it possible to receive what is right in Christian Science, and rectify what is wrong? If we were all as open-minded and as well-informed as Dr. Schofield, it would be possible. And besides all that, the study of this book would give us more skill in the daily task, more patience with the daily sufferer.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF WALTER C. SMITH (*Dent*, 7s. 6d. net).—We thank Messrs. Dent most heartily for this edition. It is complete and convenient. It is printed in a good type on pure white paper, and the binding is very pleasing. Dr. Smith himself has been able to revise the proofs throughout. In all respects it is most successful and most acceptable. Henceforth this will be considered the standard edition of Walter C. Smith's poems, the edition to read, and the edition to refer to.

Having finished the Canonical Scriptures, Messrs. Dent have resolved to add the Apocrypha to their 'Temple Bible.' The first volume issued is *Ecclesiasticus* (1s. net). Its editor is Dr. N. Schmidt, whose notes are both original and enlightening. We shall be much benefited if we receive good work like this all through the Apocrypha.

INFANT SALVATION. By M. J. Firey, D.D. (*Funk & Wagnalls*, $1.50 net).—What will the generations to come say about this book? Will they not pick it out of the great output of books of the year, and say that as late as 1903 it had not yet been settled what was to become of those who died in infancy, and a great book by a great American theologian had to be written to help to settle it?

The book consists of two parts. The first gives a history of opinion on the salvation of infants; the second gives the author's own opinion on it. In the history the notable thing is the way in which men's minds have fluctuated. The Church of England 'has been Catholic, then Zwinglian, again Calvinistic, anon Lutheran and Arminian.' And now?—Dr. Firey says that now 'nearly all Protestants are agreed that all infants dying in infancy will be saved.'

Dr. Firey is at one with that opinion. But what is the foundation for it? And what hope is there that it is more than a phase in the fluctuation of opinion? So he writes the second part of his book to show *why* infants are saved, and to keep the Church to that belief in all time to come.

His argument is a striking one. Infants are saved just because they are infants. Is that because they are helpless? No. It is because, being infants, they are exactly in that state into which every one who is no longer an infant must bring himself before he can be saved. That state he calls *Passivity*. The sinner cannot be saved until he repents and turns to God; but the moment he does so, he is saved. Part is the work of the sinner himself and part is the work of the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God can do nothing until, by the act of his own free will, *i.e.* by confession of sin and repentance, the sinner turns to God. When he has done so, he is in *a state to be saved*. It is the passive state. Then the regeneration takes place. That passive state, that state of *Passivity*, is the state of all infants. And it was with definite intention that our Lord said to His disciples, 'Except ye turn and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'

A BOY'S RELIGION FROM MEMORY. By Rufus M. Jones, M.A., D.Litt. (*Headley*).—Do not miss this book. It is the smallest of the bundle, and may be read in an easy hour. But it will abide forever. Not only does it recover the beauty of American Quakerism of a generation gone, but it reveals the possibility that lies in the doctrine of Christ—a possibility for nobleness of manners and reverence of soul—and that lies in no other doctrine or religion in the world.

Messrs. Headley Brothers have also published a new edition of *The Journal of John Woolman* (2s. net). It is marvellously complete, with its Foreword (by Mr. R. J. Campbell), its Bibliography, Index, and Appendix,—just the edition for the book-lover. And for the book-lover also have the printer and binder worked, though the paper is slightly thin for its opacity. We are greatly attached to Mr. Smellie's edition of the *Journal*, published by Mr. Melrose, but this has the advantage of convenience for carrying.

BEHOLD THE LAMB OF GOD! By Rutherford Waddell, M.A., D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 5s.).—Whilst apologizing for the publication of these sermons, Dr. Waddell ventures to think that Britain may wish to know the sort of sermons to which the Colonies 'are subjected.' And we at once thank him for the opportunity, though we may doubt if the specimen is an average one. There is simplicity and directness enough for any ordinary earnest pulpit. But there is research, and the sustained interest of a great exegetical subject, which is too rare in any country to be taken as illustrative. The evolution of the Lamb is a fascinating pulpit theme. We envy Dr. Waddell his opportunity.

THE GROUNDS OF THEISTIC AND CHRISTIAN BELIEF. By George Park Fisher, D.D., LL.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 10s. 6d.).—Professor Fisher has given us a new book, not merely a new edition. A new book without a trace of the obsolete retained from the old book, with only the sense of progress being made in the science of theology, and the steady hold of the unchanging truth. This is the thinking life we all desire to live. We do not all submit to the self-discipline that it demands. It is not simply to be able to separate things essential from things indifferent, though that seems to be beyond the skill of many of us; it is to be ready to recognize the new knowledge that turns what was essential yesterday into indifference to-day, and makes what was indifferent essential. Dr. Fisher is an apologist. He has a 'hope within' for which he is always ready to give account. But it is not always exactly the same hope; it is not the hope of his grandfather, it is not the hope of his own early manhood. *In itself* it is the same, but not in his apprehension or in his exposition of it. It is not the same to his readers. How new the book is, how alert Dr. Fisher's mind is, may be seen from the fact that he not only takes account of *Contentio Veritatis*, but gives a most discerning estimate of that book.

SYSTEMS OF ETHICS. By Aaron Schuyler, Ph.D., LL.D. (*Jennings & Pye*, $1.50).—This is emphatically and exclusively a student's book. The 'general reader,' if that person has any interest in Ethics, must go elsewhere. There is no beauty in this book that he should desire it.

But if it is a student's book and no more, it is a student's book in perfection. It is divided into three great divisions. The first division deals with Theoretical Ethics, the second with Practical Ethics, and the third with the History of Ethics. That is the order, and it is the right order. To begin, as almost all student's books begin, with the History of Ethics, is to expect students to be different from other people. We know a man a little before we are expected to take up his biography; we love a country somewhat before we are asked to get up its history. And this right method, Professor Schuyler carries into every detail of his book. He is a teacher, and has tried his methods in class; he is an author, and other teachers have used his books on Logic, Psychology, and other sciences with good results.

When he comes to the History of Ethics, his method is biographical. He groups his writers, but does not insist on the student remembering the groups; he sketches their individual position and contribution to the science, but does not insist on the student remembering where each author is and what he has done; all the while he is fulfilling his purpose. His purpose is to trace the progress of the Science of Ethics and enable the student to see what is essential, what is incidental, and what is spurious in it. For what

advantage is it to any man to know where Calderwood stood or what Davidson has written in comparison with the knowledge of where he himself stands and what duty God requires of him?

JESUS' WAY. By W. De Witt Hyde (*Longmans*, 4s. 6d. net).—If the phrase 'Back to Christ!' had not gone out of use, it would have expressed Dr. Hyde's meaning. Paul cast Christianity into a theology, John developed it into a philosophy, the Catholic organized it into an institution, and the Protestant stereotyped it into a Creed. But before all that came Jesus, and to Him Christianity was simply a 'Way.' It was a Way of Life, and like the trade of the carpenter or the art of the musician, it had its principles or laws, which are found in His teaching. So this is the teaching of Jesus regarding the Way. The Father is the Principle of the Way; the Son is the Incarnation of the Way; the Kingdom is the Spirit of the Way; Faith is the grasp of the Way. It is a fresh study of the teaching of our Lord in the Synoptic Gospels, and he will be well furnished or foolish who can learn nothing from it.

Messrs. Macmillan have published *Five of the Latest Utterances of Frederick Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury* (1s. net).—They are a Charge to Ordination Candidates, a Visitation Charge on Ordination, a Speech on Temperance, a Sermon on Foreign Missions, and his last speech in the House of Lords.

THE SOCIAL UNREST. By John Graham Brooks (*Macmillan*, 6s. net).—This is a very good title. It describes the book briefly and accurately. For in the book one finds the present conditions of life, as man has to do with man, and the vast uneasiness that heaves beneath, described with full knowledge and terrible realism. Half the book's moving power lies in the sense it conveys of keeping within the facts. There is a history of Socialism in it and some social theories and expectations. But the actual unexaggerated description of 'the social unrest' of our day is what gives it its value. The author writes out of a singular and touching experience.

Under the title of *A Difficult Chapter in the History of Israel*, Dr. W. H. Carslaw has revised and republished an earlier book of his on the history of the kings of Israel and Judah (*Macniven & Wallace*). He has brought his book into line with archæology and literary criticism. He has no dread of either, and no bias towards either. He has shown how little the newer scholarship demands even of alteration; he believes that the alteration is all pure gain.

THE SPIRIT AND ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM. By James O. Hannay, M.A. (*Methuen*, 6s.).—It must have been a question to Mr. Hannay whether he should call his book Monasticism or Asceticism. We think his decision is wrong. Asceticism is its subject. Monasticism is only the chief way in which Asceticism has manifested itself. No doubt Monasticism occupies the greater part of the book, but it is never more than the shell, the kernel is Asceticism, and it is with the kernel Mr. Hannay has to do. He is interested in Asceticism; he studies it sympathetically; he believes in it as a true expression of the spirit of Christ, though not a complete expression. And he is a trained historical scholar. In short, his book is at present the authority on its subject.

THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE. By Agnes L. Illingworth (*Mowbray*).—'Surely,' says Canon Scott Holland, 'this beautiful book speaks for itself, without needing any words to commend it.' And no doubt it *will* speak for itself to those who have the opportunity of looking at it. The full-page and finely wrought engravings of some of the Masters will catch the artistic eye at once. Their subject, so closely associated with the living Christ, will engage the devout mind; and then it will not be difficult to see that all the selections are made in order to commend to us that Christ who ever lives and loves. The contents are arranged so as to provide readings for the Great Forty Days and for Whitsuntide. For each day there is a passage of Scripture, a selected exposition from one or more of the best English writers, modern writers having the preference, and a very short prayer.

Messrs. Nisbet have published an anonymous book (1s. 6d. net) full of earnest loving counsels to children to seek the Lord early and be found in Him. Its title is *Thoughts for Young Christians*.

MISSION METHODS IN MANCHURIA. By John Ross, D.D. (*Oliphant*, 3s. 6d.).—After a long experience, Dr. Ross declares that the missionary methods of St. Paul are the best methods still. At least they are best in Manchuria. We know what he means. In India other methods have been tried and India is still Hindu, Muhammadan, what you will,—but not Christian. Whereas in Manchuria the baptized Christians have risen from three in 1874 to twenty-seven thousand in 1900. Dr. Ross describes the methods that have wrought this in Manchuria, and they are, as he claims, the methods of St. Paul. Nor has he forgotten that among St. Paul's methods was a sympathetic understanding of the life and thought of his hearers. Dr. Ross has studied John Chinaman, and has great respect for his character, even for his religious character. No sense of sin? Change the phrase, hear the Buddhist say, as he points to his heart, 'There is no peace here,' and you have his sense of sin and your hope of the gospel for him. It is a brave book. And the illustrations, without which no mission literature can be published now, make it an attractive book.

THE TEMPLES OF THE ORIENT AND THEIR MESSAGE (*Kegan Paul*).—The purpose of this volume is not so easy to get at as it ought to be. The anonymous author deliberately plunges into his subject and strikes out, without once turning his head to see if we are following him. Sometimes he dips below, so that we *cannot* follow him. It is evident at once that his book contains much good material for a history of religion. But that was not what he wrote it for.

It comes out at last. His purpose is to show that all the nations of the earth have sought after one God. The author is scornful of those 'missionary magazines' which tell us that non-Christians 'pray to a god who never heard or answered a single prayer that was offered to him.' Why, the nations of the earth have not only worshipped one and the same God, but they have called Him by the same name. The Hebrews spoke of God as the Fear (Gn $31^{42.53.54}$ R.V.); so did the Babylonians, as in the Creation Epic, 'Fear begetteth grace, and Offering increaseth life'; so did the Aramæans, for in the Aramaic 'Fear' is the recognized name for God or an idol; so did the Aryans, by whom Brahman was called 'a great Fear'; and so did F. W. Faber, when he wrote—

> A Presence felt the livelong day;
> A welcome Fear at night.

But what about 'the Temples of the Orient'? The temples are step-temples, and again all mankind is seen drawing near to God in one way, *by climbing steps and stairs*. There is a picture of this universal plan of salvation. And even 'Master Samuel Rutherford' is seen to be at one with pope and pagan in his way to the gates of glory. 'Get forward,' is the quotation from Rutherford, 'up the Mountain to meet with God; climb up as your Saviour calleth you. . . . Think it not easy, for it is a steep Ascent to Eternal Glory . . . I never thought that there had been need of so much wrestling to win to the top of that steep brae as now I find. . . . Trial is one of the steps of the Ladder up to our Country.'

FAITH AND LIFE. By G. T. Purves, D.D., LL.D. (*Pres. Board of Pub.*).—The late Dr. George Tybout Purves is best known in this country as the successor of Dr. Hodge in the Chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton. During the last three of the eight years he filled that Chair he also served as 'stated supply' to the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton, and during the last year he was full pastor of that church. His health gave way. He was called to the pastorate of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York. In less than eighteen months he was dead.

Dr. Purves was a great preacher, and he had the great preacher's joy in the pulpit. He could not be kept from preaching, and should have been compelled to do nothing else. He wrote his sermons out (though he did not read what he wrote), and from the hundreds of MSS left behind him, the twenty sermons that this volume contains were taken 'practically at random.' It is not hard to understand Dr. Purves' joy in the pulpit; it is not hard to understand the joy of his hearers in the pew. The strength lies in the fulness and assurance of the word of the gospel which he preached; the delight lies in the limpid simplicity and happy illustration with which the Word went from him. Once or twice in this volume there is astonishing originality, and it is the more astonishing that it is built on such sound scholarship and such sane theology.

THEOLOGIA. By R. F. Weidner, D.D., LL.D. (*Revell*).—The small type and crowded page warn the frivolous away. It is for the class-room or the close study. Based on Luthardt, it is a survey, admirably arranged and very full, of the whole doctrine of God. And there is always a list of literature for the further study of every topic.

MEMORABLE PLACES AMONG THE HOLY HILLS. By Robert Laird Stewart, D.D. (*Revell*, 3s. 6d. net).—'It is a significant fact that Palestine—"the homeland of the Bible"—is engaging the attention of the Christian world as never before in its history. As a result, there is a demand for helpful and easily accessible information concerning it.' Both statements are true—the general one that in spite of (or because of?) the freedom of modern criticism of the Bible, interest in the Bible and all that concerns it is keener to-day than ever it was; and the particular one that in Dr. Stewart's book will be found just the authoritative and accessible information regarding the land of the Bible which the ordinary Christian desires. Dr. Stewart has read widely and to purpose; he has also travelled. His reading and his observation have illuminated and corrected one another; and if the book is lively reading it is as faithful, we believe, as it is lively. The one-and-twenty illustrations are in keeping.

MEDITATIONS ON THE EPISTLE OF S. JAMES. By Ethel Romanes (*Rivingtons*, 2s. net).—These 'Meditations' awaken thought in the reader. And that is a rare thing for 'Meditations,' which are usually of interest as a chapter in the writer's own biography; rarely for their own sake. The Spirit of God maketh the reading of the Word *directly* profitable. And when occasionally others' Meditations on it are made profitable also, it means that they have taken the Word up into their hearts and passed it on to us.

JESUS IN THE CORNFIELD is the happy title of a volume of sermons for harvest and flower services which Mr. Robinson has published (3s. 6d. net). It is Dr. Alfred Rowland's title for his own sermon, which is the first in the volume. The others are by equally known and equally acceptable preachers.

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS: MEDIÆVAL INDIA. By Stanley Lane-Poole (*Fisher Unwin*, 5s.).—There are two brothers. Stanley Lane-Poole is the elder and the better known. Reginald Lane Poole (no hyphen this time) is as great a scholar, but as yet he has written less and perhaps less popularly. Stanley Lane-Poole, who is at present Professor of Arabic in Trinity College, Dublin, is the author of nearly a hundred separate works, and every new work is welcome. He has made himself master of a special study—the Muhammadan race and rule—and he can write with great facility. His new volume is as reliable in fact and as free in style as any volume of the 'Story of the Nations.' Professor Lane-Poole has the particular gift of drawing the reader on. He says clearly what he is saying, but he also suggests that he has something better to say a little later. Take it for a railway journey by all means.

Agnosticism.[1]

We are glad to have another, and a great, instalment of the great work which Dr. Flint has set before himself as part of his life-work. His desire is to complete a system of Natural Theology which would deal with four great problems: 'i. To exhibit what evidence there is for belief in the existence of God; ii. To refute anti-theistic theories—atheism, materialism, positivism, secularism, pessimism, pantheism, and agnosticism; iii. To delineate the character of God as disclosed by nature, mind, and history, and to show what light the truth thus ascertained casts on man's duty and destiny; and iv. To trace the rise and development of the idea of God and the history of theistic speculation.' It is a great and worthy conception, and a task which might well be the life-work of any man. Yet Dr. Flint has other work in hand of an importance nearly as great. We earnestly wish that health and strength may be his, till this work is done. The part already done is of such merit that we long for the completion of his system of Natural Theology, for we are persuaded it would

[1] *Agnosticism.* The Croall Lecture for 1887–88. By Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Palermo, and Professor in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. Price 18s. net.

be a work which men would not willingly let die. Meanwhile we receive with gratitude the work on Agnosticism, and are glad that the system is so far complete.

The work is on a large scale, and the workmanship is so thorough that the reader is not aware how great it is, until he goes back over all the way that Dr. Flint has led him, and marks how firmly and in what a masterly manner the road has been laid. He has learned much from his leader as he travelled along the way. He has learned this first of all, that he has been in the presence of a man who is an ardent lover of truth, and who has spared himself no pains in order to win truth. For example take the following:—'From the very nature of truth want of the virtues which relate to it is a most terrible want. Truth is a matter of primary importance to us. It is the very sustenance of the spirit. It is the source and support of rational and moral life. It is to the mind what light is to the eye, what food is to the body. It is the condition of all real progress and prosperity alike for individuals and societies. There is nothing higher or better than truth; nay, there is nothing noble or good except what is true. There is nothing to be preferred to truth. Nay, there is nothing which ought not to be sacrificed if found to be contrary to truth. God is not higher than truth, but is the truth, and he who doubts, disbelieves, or denies the truth, thereby doubts, disbelieves, and denies God.' We like the tone of these words, and admire the ethical quality of the passage. It is characteristic of the book. This passionate love of truth gives life and colour to all the discussions, and we feel that Dr. Flint always fights, not for victory, but for truth. We cull another passage from another part of the book: 'True theology finds strong support and rich nutriment in those emancipated sciences which are now so zealously and successfully reading and explaining the book of nature. That book is the primary, universal, and inexhaustible text-book of divine revelation, and although inadequate to satisfy all the wants of sinful men, it is and will always be, necessary to him as a physical but a spiritual being. It is the oldest and most comprehensive of the media of divine revelation, and the correct interpretation of it is only possible through the aid and instrumentality of the appropriate sciences. Hence every enlightened theologian of to-day sees in the dogmatism which would obstruct or enslave those sciences an ally of the scepticism which is an enemy both of pure religion and true theology. The more accurately and fully physical nature is investigated and explained by the science of nature, the more must the human mind recognize it to be pervaded by thought akin to its own; the more must the human spirit find itself "at home" therein.' We learn as much from the tone and spirit of Dr. Flint as we do from his magnificent argumentation. His confidence in truth, his fairness to opponents, his desire to take them at their best, and his appreciation of the merits of those whose views he regards as untrue, are worthy of the highest admiration. In illustration of these things read his fine and generous appreciation of Huxley. This is his way generally.

As to the book itself it is impossible to do justice to it in the space at our disposal. Sometimes we are inclined to dwell on that aspect of it which makes it a contribution to the history of human thought. We were inclined to dwell on that section which appears in smaller print, which gives us the history of Agnosticism. But an adequate account even of that section would exceed our limits. Beginning with Oriental Agnosticism, he passes swiftly through Græco-Roman Agnosticism, through the Middle Ages, through the first period of Modern Agnosticism, and then the stream broadens out and becomes full and strong when he deals with Hume and Kant. Here he has put forth all his strength, and he is very strong. We have, in the course of our work, been constrained to read Hume and Kant, and many books about them, some good and some not good, but if we had read this contribution to the criticism of Hume and Kant before now, it would have greatly delivered us. We know nothing finer than this part of Dr. Flint's work. Hume is dealt with firmly, yet we think that the Doctor has a liking for Hume, and is somewhat proud of him. At all events, he says: 'The scepticism of Hume deservedly made its author's name immortal and his influence enormous. It had all the comprehensiveness and thoroughness appropriate to a radical scepticism, while easily intelligible and free from all scholastic formalism, technicalities, and pedantry. It was singularly bold and unsparing, and yet skilfully conciliatory. It presented the most subtle thoughts in an attractive form. And further, it

was a really logical deduction from long dominant and widely accepted philosophical principles. As the means of bringing to light the erroneousness of these principles it was a needed, a reasonable, and even a providential thing. The justification of it has been ample, being whatever is true and good in the intellectual and spiritual development to which it has given rise.'

Even more satisfactory is the criticism of Kant. Dr. Flint limits his criticism to *The Critique of Pure Reason*, and specially to the three theories expounded in that work, and derived by Kant from his examination of the three faculties which, in his view, have to do with knowledge, namely, sense, understanding, and reason. Kant is the father of modern Agnosticism, and recognizing that fact, Dr. Flint puts forth all his strength in his examination of Kant's position. He recognizes the greatness of Kant, and appreciates the problems that Kant has set to philosophy. He deals in succession with the Transcendental Æsthetic, with the Transcendental Logic: (*a*) Analytic; and (*b*) Dialectic. The easy master of Kant's system is apparent in every paragraph. His criticism culminates in the paragraphs in Rational Psychology, Rational Cosmology, and on Rational Theology. The first he pronounces to be partly true, partly erroneous; the second to be in the main a failure; and the third to be ingenious and self-consistent, but inconclusive. As these arguments of Kant have been the prototype of much argumentation of a similar kind, the service done by Dr. Flint is of the most effective kind. We can only call attention to this part of the work, and record our appreciation of the value of it. As, however, the distinction of reason into theoretical and practical has come into great vogue lately, we must quote one paragraph. 'Kant's division of reason into theoretical and practical is not to be accepted on his authority. It requires to be shown that there are two kinds of reason. That there are not two kinds of reason is quite a tenable thesis. No one will deny, indeed, that reason may be theoretical and practical, in the sense that it may be directed to the acquisition of knowledge, and also to the attainment of practical results. But two applications of reason are not two kinds of reason: they are only reason exercised in two ways. Reason may also be said to have distinct functions—noetic, ethic, and æsthetic—according as it discriminates between the true and the false, the right and the wrong, or the beautiful and deformed. It does not follow that there are three reasons, or three distinct kinds of reason, but merely that there is one and the same reason conversant with three distinct classes of relation.'

We have been drawn away from the main issues of the book by the admirable history of agnostic thought contained in the volume. Dr. Flint begins his book with a chapter on the Nature of Agnosticism. He is not satisfied with the term, and gives his reasons. Nor is he satisfied with its correlative Gnosticism which is also being used. He passes on to a description of erroneous views of Agnosticism, in which he shows in detail that it is not equivalent to honesty of investigation, nor equivalent to know-nothingism, nor is it necessarily atheism, nor to be identified with positivism, and, in the conclusion of the chapter, he crosses swords with Leslie Stephen, and not to the advantage of the latter. Then come the chapters on the History of Agnosticism, to which we have already referred. Proceeding to the discussion of his proper subject he finds some difficulty in dividing it into classes or kinds, and has to content himself with dealing with Agnosticism, as complete or partial. Absolute Agnosticism he finds to be a false and unattainable ideal; and leaving it, he describes the forms and inter-relations of mitigated or partial Agnosticism.

Partial or mitigated Agnosticism as to ultimate objects of knowledge is the next subject of investigation. Agnosticism and the self, Agnosticism as to the world, Agnosticism as to God, are fully and fruitfully discussed, and there is a wise and able description of some causes of prevalence of anti-religious Agnosticism.

In the next chapter Dr. Flint deals with Agnosticism as to religious belief. In his thorough way he finds it necessary to deal with Belief as a psychological fact, and incidently makes a contribution to psychological theory of great value. As a matter of fact, psychology has dealt with Belief in a very cursory and unsatisfactory manner. It is one of the most difficult questions in psychology, and Dr. Flint is aware of the conditions of the problem. 'To know fully what belief is, we should require to know far more about its connexion with thought, feeling, emotion, desire, and volition, and how it contributes to constitute and modify the complex manifestations of mind in the individual and in history, than psychology has yet discovered.'

Dr. Flint treats of it only so far as the end in view demands. So far his treatment is satisfactory, and yet, is not the teleological function of belief just to make us at home in the world in which we live? Working at it from that point of view, it is possible to take in all the elements of belief, and to work out its relations to the states of mind enumerated by Dr. Flint. The subject is, however, too large to be entered on here. But on it there is still a good deal to be said, and we venture to think that something is needed for the great argument of Dr. Flint which he has not supplied.

Agnosticism as to the knowledge of God is the title of the last chapter. In it he glances at the history of religious knowledge, points out in what senses knowledge of God is not attainable, describes what are agnostic positions in relation to the knowledge of God, and deals with the Agnosticism of Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer. We give a quotation from his criticism of Hamilton, because it is relevant not only to Hamilton, but also to Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*, to Benjamin Kidd's works, and to other works as well. '"We know," says Hamilton, "what rests upon reason." Yes, and whatever we know we cannot but believe. "We believe what rests upon authority." Wise men do so only when they know the authority to be true and good. "But reason itself must at last rest upon authority." Certainly not; the reverse is the truth—authority should rest at last on reason: reason alone can decide what is rightful authority and what is not. "The original data of reason do not rest upon reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself." No assertion could be more inaccurate. The original data of reason are the primary perceptions of reason, necessarily accepted by reason on no authority but its own—on no other ground than clear and immediate self-evidence.'

JAMES IVERACH.

Aberdeen.

The Composition of the Hexateuch.

IT is now more than two years since the publication of what we have come to call the *Oxford Hexateuch.* [The full title is: *The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, arranged in its Constituent Documents, by Members of the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford.* Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Marginal References, and Synoptical Tables, by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. (Lond.), and G. Harford-Battersby, M.A. (Oxon.). London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1900. Two vols., price 36s. net.] We noticed that work fully at the time (see THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, September 1900, p. 526 ff.), and we desire to accord the same hearty welcome to the present volume,[1] which is practically a revised edition of the first volume of the former publication. That is to say, it contains the introduction to the Hexateuch, and the tabular indices (showing the words and phrases characteristic of the different sources, giving a conspectus of the various codes, etc.), but does not repeat the text and notes. Some important additions have been made, chiefly referring to the historical and critical work of the last four years (*e.g.* the note on pp. 165–169, which discusses the hypothesis of Steuernagel and others regarding the use of singular and plural documents in the Book of Deuteronomy). A number of notes which stood in the analytical commentary on the text, have now been transferred to their appropriate place in the present work, which thus assumes more completeness and independence. It will be felt to be a further advantage that the introduction to the Book of Joshua, which formed part of the second volume, now appears as chapter xvii. of the present work. We are very glad to note, further, that a useful index of subjects as well as a list of the principal Scripture passages now appear at the end of the book. The volume may be confidently commended for study to all who wish to have a thorough, up-to-date acquaintance with the present position of Hexateuchal criticism.

J. A. SELBIE.

Maryculter.

[1] *The Composition of the Hexateuch.* An Introduction, with select lists of Words and Phrases, by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A.; and an Appendix on Laws and Institutions by George Harford, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1902. Price 18s. net.

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Contributions and Comments.

Further Notes on Psalm cxlix. 5.

I.

1. DR. JULIUS BOEHMER in a suggestive note on Ps 149[5] (p. 334 f.) raises the question whether כָּבוֹד is a Divine Name; shows that in that verse it has been found difficult by commentators; and concludes that it 'must in some way designate God Himself.' The verse in its context reads thus in the R.V.—

2. Let Israel rejoice in him that made him:
Let the children of Zion be joyful in their King.
. . . . . .
4. For the Lord taketh pleasure in his people:
He will beautify the meek with salvation (*or* victory).
5. Let the saints exult *in glory*:
Let them sing for joy *upon their beds*.
6. Let the high praises of God be in their mouth (*Heb.* throat),
And a two-edged sword in their hand;
7. To execute vengeance upon the nations,
And punishments upon the peoples;
8. To bind their kings with chains,
And their nobles with fetters of iron.

The proposed interpretation of בכבוד seemed to me a good one, and it was well illustrated by the uses of 'The Great Glory' quoted from *Enoch* 14[18] and *Test. XII. Patr.*; cf. 2 P 1[17], '*the excellent glory*'; but at the end it was said that it might be felt 'somewhat questionable to discover this meaning of כבוד in only a single passage of the Old Testament.'

At the moment I thought of the words 'that glory may dwell in our land,' and I opened a lexicon and saw in it, 'כבוד . . . in the New Test. δόξα Κυρίου . . . Hence God is termed כבוד ישראל . . . poet. כבוד alone, Is 3[8]; also of God in the proper name אי־כבוד (which see). So too כָּבֵד in יוכבד.' Afterwards I looked into the rabbinic commentary, *Prayers of David*, and read on בכבוד, 'IN this great GLORY *and in the glory of God which covers them over*,' ובכבוד ה' החופף עליהם.

2. On Ps 85[9 f.] Jennings and Lowe write: '*Surely, then, near to those that fear Him is His salvation, that glory may dwell in our land.*' The glory is certainly, as in 63[2], Zec 6[12] [[13] הוד], that of the Divine Presence, which now again dawns, with its accompanying promise of salvation, upon the restored people. It is by no means strange that this Psalm has been appointed by the Church for the services of Christmas Day, for, though the Psalm is not strictly Messianic, St. John's description of the Advent of Christ offers an appropriate parallel to the language of vv. [9-11]. There we read that 'the Word was made flesh, and dwelt (ἐσκήνωσεν) among us, and we beheld His glory (δόξαν)—full of *grace* [χάριτος] and truth': here v.[9] runs, τοῦ κατασκηνῶσαι δόξαν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν, LXX, while v.[10] tells of a concurrence of divine '*goodness and truth*.' Add that χάρις is one of the words for חסד, *goodness*, see Es 2[9] εὗρε χάριν in the Oxford *Concordance*; in Field's *Hexapla*, Pr 31[26] Θ. (καὶ νόμος) χάριτος ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ αὐτῆς; and of Ecclesiasticus, with reference to the Cairene fragments of the Hebrew, 7[33] *and also from the dead withhold not* χάριν, 40[17] Χάρις . . . καὶ ἐλεημοσύνη.

In the list of *Quotations from the Old Testament* appended to vol. i. of Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament* (1881), I find on chap. 1 of the Fourth Gospel only '1[23] (Is 40[3]), [52] [*sic*] (Gn 28[12]).' Referring to a commentary, I see an array of other O.T. texts quoted to illustrate Jn 1[14], but not Ps 85[9f.]

3. Dr. Boehmer reasonably demurs to על משכבותם, '*upon their beds*, in Ps 149[5].' It does not go well with the 'two-edged sword in their hand.' As an approximation to something more har-

monious bring in 'land' from Ps 85[9], and read as a paraphrase—

> Let the saints exult in the Glory of God:
> Let them sing with joy *for their land.*

Their own land safe under the protection of the Shekinah, they are to wage war with the heathen, and bring them into subjection to the law of the Lord.

Lastly, instead of 'their land' read (with *nun* for *beth*), משכנותם, '*their dwellings*,' now consecrated and protected by 'the Glory,' and compare for the word *mishkanoth*, Nu 24[5], '*How goodly are thy . . . tabernacles, O Israel*'; Is 33[18], '*and my people shall dwell . . . in sure dwellings*'; Ps 43[3], '*and to thy tabernacles*'; Ps 87[2], '*more than all the dwellings of Jacob*'; Ps 132[5], '*an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob.*' Thus the verse would run—

> Let the saints rejoice in the Glory:
> Let them sing with joy for their habitations (*or* dwellings).

The word 'dwellings' would serve as a reminder of such parallels as Ps 85[9], Jn 1[14], hereinbefore cited. The verse is more closely connected with the next in the M.T. than in the R.V., as appears from the following variation of the latter: 'Let the saints . . . sing for joy upon their beds; exaltations of God in their throat, and a two-edged sword in their hand.' For more on כבוד in the above sense, see Buxtorf, s.v. שכינתא.

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Cambridge.

II.

I am rather astonished that in his discussion of this passage (in the April number, p. 334 ff.) Dr. Boehmer did not hit upon an easier solution of the difficulty presented by the isolated word כבוד. He has failed to take account of the י of the following word, יְרַנְּנוּ. This letter י has, owing to the well-known phenomenon of haplography, been written only once, whereas it ought to have stood twice; in the first instance as an abbreviation of יהוה. Examples of the same abbreviation occur not infrequently, as may be seen by reference to the following passages. It is true that in Dt 7[4] מאחרי does not stand for מאחרי י', as Steuernagel (*Hdkom.* 1898, *ad loc.*) contends, for Jahweh comes forward as the direct subject also in 11[14f.] 17[3b] 28[20b] 29[4f.] The first-named passage thus contains a transition into the *oratio directa* on the part of God, who is naturally the great logical subject of religious texts (cf. my article, 'Style of Scripture' in the Extra Vol. of Hastings' *D.B.* p. 161a). But עברי אנכי ('I am a Hebrew') of the Massoretic text of Jon 1[9] is reproduced in the LXX by δοῦλος κυρίου εἰμὶ ἐγώ ('I am a servant of the Lord' = עבד י' אנכי). Further, ואדירי of Ps 16[3] appears as ἐθαυμάτωσε ὁ κύριος (cf. Baethgen, *ad loc.*). Again, for שָׂנֵאתָ ('I hate') in Ps 31[7] we should read שָׂנֵאתָ י' ('*Thou* hatest, O Jahweh'); a change which is demanded by the following contrast with וַאֲנִי ('and I for my part'). F. Perles (*Analekten zur Textkritik des A.T.*, 1895, p. 16) discovers another example in Ps 145[12], גבורותיו וכבוד, which, with much probability, he would trace to a reading גבורות י' וכבוד. Upon the view for which we are contending, the author of Ps 149[5] probably wrote בכבוד י' ירננו וגו' ('Let them exult in the glory of Jahweh, let them burst into jubilation [over it] upon their beds').

The above passage thus furnishes no ground for the contention that the word כָּבוֹד standing alone came in later times to be employed as a title of God. And even if it did, we should at least expect here the punctuation בַּכָּבוֹד, *i.e.* the article prefixed. The expression would then resemble those other expressions which emerge in connexion with the process of transcendentalizing the conception of God, *e.g.* הַשֵּׁם, 'the Name,' *par excellence* (Lv 24[11]; Mishna, *Berakhoth* iv. 4; Ibn Ezra on Gn 31[52]; יִרְאַת הַשֵּׁם, 'the God-fearing woman,' *ap.* Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, p. 81); הַמָּקוֹם, 'the Place,' *par excellence*, *i.e.* the centre and point of support of the Universe (Mishna, *Aboth* v. 4; Bab. *'Abôda Zara*, 4*ob* ברוך המקום שמסר עולמו לשומרים, 'Blessed be the Place [= God] that hath given over His world to the watchers [= the stars]'). This last-named conception was discovered by Philo in the words ὑπήντησεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, κ.τ.λ. of Gn 28[11] and τὸν τόπον of Ex 24[10]; but his following statement αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται τόπος (ed. Mangey, i. p. 630) does not mean that God is called by the anarthrous word 'Place.' He means simply to set the notion of 'space' in its right relation to God. Also the two passages cited by Dr. Boehmer (Enoch 14[18] and *Test. xii. Patr.* iii. 3) do not present the bare word δόξα, but ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη and ἡ μεγάλη δόξα respectively. Nor is the determination wanting in other circumlocutions for

'God': מלך מלכי המלכים, which has come down as part of the text of Sir 51[12]; הקדוֹש, 'the Holy One,' often met with in the formula הק' בה, 'the Holy One, let him be praised' [read by me, for instance, in the words אמר לחם הק' בה, Bab. *Berakhoth* 6a], and in פי הקדוֹש, 'the mouth of the Holy One' (*Sifrê* to Nu 15[31], etc., *ap.* Bacher, *Die älteste Terminologie der jüdischen Auslegung*, 1899, p. 168 f.).

ED. KÖNIG.

Bonn.

The 'Corner Stone.'

THE frequency with which there are references to the 'corner stone' in Scripture quite justifies the place given to it in Smith's and Hastings' *Dictionaries of the Bible*. Though both Dr. Pinches and Dr. Selbie have, in these articles, written excellently on the subject from non-acquaintance with the methods of Palestinian house-builders, they have, as I think, missed the real meaning of the term. In Is 28[16] the reference is evidently to a corner stone which is at the same time a foundation stone. Neither Dr. Pinches nor Dr. Selbie seem to advert to this save in regard to the temple foundation. I think had these gentlemen known the common practice among Palestinian builders they would have seen a more emphatic meaning. While our builders prepare for the erection of a building by digging long trenches along the line on which the walls are to be erected, and in these trenches lay large stones on which the walls are built, Eastern builders, on the other hand, dig deep pits at each of the four corners of the square on which they are about to build. In these they put great masses of stone united with concrete—of course, by preference, one large stone if they have it. These pits they join by trenches that become shallower toward the centre. In these they lay stones shaped like the voussoirs of an arch, that is, truncated wedges. The result of this is that the walls rest really on four arches. So the whole weight of the building is thrown off by these arches on to the four corner stones on which finally rests the whole structure. Unless these corner stones rest on rock the whole building is, of necessity, insecure.

J. E. H. THOMSON.

Stirling.

Was Jesus Born in a Cave?

THE cave has made good its place in art, and has impressed itself on the imagination of a large part of Christendom, but there is no mention of it in the Gospels. Whence then did it come? The use of caves for stables, though not altogether uncommon in Palestine, was hardly so frequent as to have furnished an inevitable expansion of the story, certain to creep in as soon as the desire for local colour was felt. An old and widespread tradition of this kind has claims on credence, which, in the absence of direct disproof, hold the field; moreover, it is often found, on careful investigation, to have some external support. This, as the editor of the *Zeitschrift für N.T.W.* points out in the current number, is not lacking in the present instance. Justin Martyr had before him an account which must have been almost identical with our present Matthew and Luke, but he makes the birth take place in a cave (*Dial.* 78). Moreover, the oldest Armenian MS. of the Gospels has in Mt 2[9]: 'The star . . . came and stood over the cave where the child was.' Dr. Preuschen thinks there may even be a trace of some such reading in the vague and rather awkward phrase (Mt 2[9]), ἐστάθη ἐπάνω οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον, dissatisfaction with which seems to have given rise to the bold variant of D, ἐπάνω τοῦ παιδίου.

But if the cave once stood in the text, or in a *Grundschrift*, why should it have been suppressed?

Dr. Preuschen suggests that, to the jealous eye of the Christian in conflict with paganism, it seemed to offer too close a parallel to the legend of the birth of Mithras.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to go so far afield for a motive; the unfamiliarity to many readers of the idea of a rock stable might have formed a sufficient reason for the omission of a detail not intrinsically important when the Gospel was prepared for general circulation.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THERE is an article in the *Examiner* for 7th May on 'The Indian Missionary.' It is a reply to Dr. Oldfield, whose article was referred to in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for May. The writer of the article is Professor Armitage of the United College, Bradford.

Professor Armitage also has been in India. He spent last winter there. He did not spend it wholly among Hindus as Dr. Oldfield did. He spent it partly among Anglo-Indians, and even among English missionaries. It is natural that his experience should differ from Dr. Oldfield's. But he gives reasons for holding that it is the truer experience of the two.

Professor Armitage does not dispute Dr. Oldfield's good faith. Dr. Oldfield, he says, is an earnest Christian man. He is careful to point out that Dr. Oldfield has no fault to find with the Gospel which the missionaries bring to India, only with the missionaries who bring it. But he holds that if Dr. Oldfield had not confined himself to Hindus, he would have had a better opinion of the Indian missionary. He himself has seen the Indian missionary at work, and he has never seen work better done.

He gives an example of an Indian missionary. He does not take him from the missionaries sent out by his own Church. He goes to the Rajputana mission, to Jaipur the 'City of Victory.' The missionary is a Scotsman and a Presbyterian.

This missionary has been in Jaipur for thirty years. His name is not given, and we do not know it. 'He knows every turn and corner of the great city outside whose walls he lives, and is a familiar figure to these straight strong Rajputs, with their swords at their sides and their disparted beards. They proudly claim that they are descended from the sun, and their Maharajah heraldically proclaims his place in the solar dynasty. He is a devout and scrupulous Hindu, and the city is full of temples and priestly men. Now what will this city of priests and heroes have to say to our Scotsman? He makes no attempt to win his way among them by forswearing beef, any more than he makes it by forswearing the friendship of the Anglo-Indian community. He does not exchange his tweed coat for a flowing robe; whilst it is well known that of an evening he puts on his flannels and eagerly pursues the bounding tennis-ball. Will every heart in the city close against him then? Will the feudal nobility, will the ascetic Brahmin, seek his counsel, or will they turn from him in their hour of need?'

When Professor Armitage entered the mis-

sionary's house, he found a Rajput there. He was a Thakur, a member of the hereditary Rajput nobility, and he had come down from his feudal castle among the hills to talk with his old friend, and to reproach him for not having come to spend a week with him among the hills this spring.

Next day Professor Armitage and the missionary entered the city together. 'Come away here to see this Brahmin who has lost his son, a fine young fellow who was doing excellently at the University.' The Hindu met them and gave them an affectionate welcome. The missionary expressed his sympathy with the bereaved father. 'My own life is finished,' said the Brahmin, 'it is in the grave with my son; but, oh, why is the world so full of darkness?' 'Wait, I have a word for you.' 'Speak, Guru.' 'There was a sheep that would ever break the fold, and when it bore a lamb it taught the lamb to wander afield also. The shepherd was grieved and sought in many ways to stay it, until at length he took the lamb and bound it fast to his own seat. And then the sheep wandered no more.' With quick searching eyes the Brahmin looked into the Guru's face, and then said with deep sincerity, 'True, I have been a sad wanderer. Is that, then, the reason why my lamb has been bound to His seat?' And then this stranger prophet unfolded the story of a love that wins man even whilst it sharply disciplines him.

Professor Armitage was taken to other scenes. And when he came home he told his tale. And he says, 'Doubtless the English preacher offends the Hindu in certain particulars, but it is surely a shallow solution of the difficulty to ask that he shall avoid offence by transforming at once himself and his message. Dr. Oldfield has once more repeated the assertion that India will first open its heart to prophets who come eating locusts and wild honey, and that it will never do so to gluttonous men and winebibbers, the friends of publicans and sinners. So said the critic in the East long ago, but history has disproved his word. India needs something far larger than the ascetic has to offer, and there can be no doubt as to the success of Christianity there. It may come slowly, and certainly the end is yet far off; but India is moved to-day by the call of Christ as she has not been moved for two millenniums. I believe that in all her apparent repudiation of Christ she is wistfully asking if He was not that Prophet who was for to come.'

There is another reply to Dr. Oldfield. It is more deliberate and sustained. It is in the *Christian World* of 23rd April. The writer of it is Dr. Walter Adeney, the newly elected Principal of Lancashire College.

Professor Armitage answers Dr. Oldfield out of his own experience in India. Principal Adeney answers him out of the testimony of Jesus Christ.

There are two charges which Dr. Oldfield brings against the Indian missionary. The first is that he does not recognize the good there is in Hinduism; the second, that he presents too low an ideal of character or saintliness in his own life.

The first charge Dr. Adeney partly admits the force of. Such force as there is in it, however, is passing away. 'In the colleges with which I am connected,' he says, 'a sympathetic study of the religions of India forms part of the normal curriculum.'

The second charge he meets with a flat denial. The missionary is not less a saint that he plays tennis. He is not less a spiritual guide that he is 'a jolly fellow to talk to, courteous, kindly, gentlemanly.'

It may be true that that is not the Hindu ideal of saintliness. The Indian missionary is not sent out to make the Hindus saints after their own

ideal but after the ideal of Christ. And the question is, Does the Indian missionary live after the example of Christ? It is not, Does he live after the example of an Indian fakir? Dr. Oldfield answers that question himself, answers it in the missionary's favour, and apparently without the least suspicion that he is doing so.

'I found,' says Dr. Oldfield, 'a deep-seated belief that the practice of Christian missionaries was so much lower in the matter of actual cleanliness and humaneness in eating and drinking and bathing, that it was felt it would be an actual *degradation* for a Hindu to become a Christian.' What is the cleanliness refered to? It is washing before eating. Now, says Dr. Adeney, there is a curious coincidence here. Dr. Oldfield repeatedly contrasts the practice of Christ and His apostles with the practice of modern missionaries. Has he forgotten that one of the charges made against our Lord and His disciples was that they used to eat with unwashen hands? Dr. Oldfield quotes with approval the statement of a Hindu that 'your Christ and your Paul used to fast.' Dr. Adeney can forgive the Hindu, though it does not show that the Hindus know the Christian Scriptures so well as Dr. Oldfield claims; Dr. Oldfield he cannot forgive.

The newest, perhaps the only really new thing, in Professor Delitzsch's famous lectures *Babel und Bibel* is the assertion that the early Babylonians, or at least some of them, were monotheists. If that is a fact, it affects our attitude to the revelation that is in the Bible as seriously as does the Code of Ḫammurabi. What proof does Professor Delitzsch produce?

In his lecture—the statement occurred in the first lecture of the two delivered before the Emperor—he produced no proof at all. And the moment the lecture was published Professor Jensen challenged it. 'This would, of course,' said Professor Jensen, 'be one of the most momentous discoveries that has ever been made in the history of religion, and it is, therefore, extremely regrettable that Delitzsch conceals from us his authority. Nothing of the kind is to be gathered from the texts to which I have had access—that I think I can confidently affirm—and we urgently request him, therefore, as soon as possible, to publish word for word the passage which robs Israel of its greatest glory, in the brilliancy of which it has hitherto shone—that it alone of all nations succeeded in attaining to a pure monotheism.'

Did Professor Delitzsch publish it? No. It was published already. In the year 1895 Dr. Pinches (then of the British Museum) had published, in the *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, a New Babylonian cuneiform tablet. The tablet is in fragments. But one of the surviving pieces informs us that all the great gods in the Babylonian Pantheon are to be regarded as one with, or as one in, the god Marduk. When Marduk, says the tablet, is to be thought of as the Possessor of Power, he is called Ninib; when he is the Lord of Battle he is Nergâl; when he is Possessor of Lordship he is Bêl; when he is Lord of Business he is Nebo; when he is Illuminator of Night he is Sin; when Lord of all that is just he is Šamaš; and when God of Rain he is called Addu.

Professor Jensen seems to have missed that tablet. He ought not to have missed it, says Professor Delitzsch. And Mr. Johns, who edits the English edition of Dr. Delitzsch's lectures (*Babel and Bible*, 5s., Williams & Norgate), says that in any case it was not wise for even one of the foremost Assyriologists to assume that he knew all that there was behind Dr. Delitzsch's assertions.

Is the matter settled then? By no means. Professor Jensen has replied to Dr. Delitzsch in a new pamphlet. Dr. Delitzsch calls it 'wrong from beginning to end.' And Mr. Johns speaks

of the humiliating position in which Professor Jensen has placed himself. The end is not yet.

'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel' (Gn 3^{15}). We call that the PROTEVANGELIUM, the Earliest Gospel. But its loudest note is not the note of the gospel. The note of the gospel is 'peace on earth.' But in this passage it is the trumpet calling to battle that we hear.

We call it the earliest gospel because of the words 'It shall bruise thy head.' And the gospel is in these words. Before the gospel comes, however, there is the conflict. To every man upon this earth comes the call to battle. 'I will put enmity.' And even the gospel that is in the words, 'It shall bruise thy head,' does not take away from any man the necessity of entering into this affray and facing this foe. The gospel gives the assurance of victory; it does not prevent the strife.

'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed.' There is a gospel in the very strife itself. For to begin no battle is to leave the victory with the Serpent. To open no world-wide conflict is to leave the world to the Prince of the world. To put no enmity between the seed of the Serpent and the seed of the Woman is to see no difference at last between them.

'I will put enmity.' It is the summons to a world-wide conflict. How did this conflict arise, and what is the necessity for it?

God made three orders of existence. He made the sun and the moon and the earth, plants and animals, of matter only. He made men of matter and of spirit. He made the angels of spirit alone. He made all these for obedience. But while He made the sun for unthinking and unswerving obedience, He made men and angels for the obedience that is called love.

He made the sun for simple obedience. At any moment of the day or night you can tell where the sun is. It knows no variableness nor shadow of turning. It does no iniquity, neither is guile found in all its path.

He made men and angels for obedience also. But not for the unthinking obedience of the sun and the moon. If you can tell at any moment where the sun is, there is no praise to the sun for that. God made men and angels for the obedience that is called love.

Now there cannot be love where there is no freedom. There cannot be love where there is no choice. If men and angels are to love God and not merely obey Him, then they must be free to hate God. The love that is not open to hate is not love. Love to be love must see and choose, and the choice must be freer than the air.

He made both angels and men free to stand and free to fall. Some angels fell, we are told, and all men.

What led to the fall of the angels? We can scarcely tell. Shakespeare says it was ambition—

> Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition:
> By that sin fell the angels.

What led to the fall of man we know. But here a great difference is seen. When the angels fell it appears that they fell singly. When man fell he fell as man. 'In Adam all died.'

For a moment the advantage seems all on the side of the angels. But it is for a moment only. For if the angels who fell, fell singly, they fell to rise no more. If man fell in Adam, then in another Adam man may rise again.

And that seems to be because there is no angel nature. That there is such a thing as human

nature we know. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin. But it seems that there is no angel nature. When our Lord was answering the Sadducees' foolish old question about the woman who had had seven husbands, 'Ye do err,' He said, 'not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God; for in heaven they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but *they are as the angels.*' So the angels marry not, nor are given in marriage. There is no kinship among the angels. There is no angel nature.

If therefore the angels fall, they fall singly. But they fall to rise no more. For what angel or what man can atone for his sins to God? And since there is no angel nature there is no one that can take upon him the nature of angels and in that nature atone for the angels' sin.

We do not understand that. We scarcely can believe it. We scarcely can believe it because we are men. We think there must be hope for the Devil yet.

Auld Nickie-ben!
O wad ye tak a thought and men'!
Ye aiblins might—I dinna ken—
Still hae a stake—
I'm wae to think upo' yon den,
Even for your sake.

But that is human. It is not devilish. When once an angel falls, when once an angel becomes a devil, it does not seem that he can rise again.

It is not so with man. There is what we call human nature. Into that human nature one may come to lift it up again. When he comes he must be a man, and face a man's temptations and win a man's victory. He must also be man, representative man, son of man, and able to atone for the sins of the race. When He comes He takes not hold of angels (for there is nothing there to take hold of), but He takes hold of the seed of Abraham which is the seed of the woman.

He came in Jesus of Nazareth. 'On the morrow John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.' Jesus of Nazareth has come as man's representative and redeemer to atone for the sins of the world.

But first, He is Jesus of Nazareth. He is a man. Before He begins His work of atonement, before He takes upon Him the redemption of the world, He must fight His own man's battle. To every man upon this earth this battle comes. It comes to Jesus also. Therefore before the public ministry begins, before He begins to heal the sick or raise the dead or preach the gospel to the poor, the Spirit driveth Him into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil.

That is the place of the Temptation in the Wilderness, as we understand it. Jesus is a man, and He must face the foe whom every man has to face. He must fight the battle which every man has to fight. And He must win. If He does not win, how can He atone for the sins of the world? If as a man He does not win His own man's battle, why, then, He has His own sins to reckon with, and how can He even come forward as the Redeemer of the race? Jesus must fight and Jesus must win, just as we all have to fight but not one of us has won. That is the place of the Temptation.

And that, as we understand it, is why the Temptation in the Wilderness is recorded. It is every man's Temptation. It may be spread over our life; it could not have been spread over the life of Jesus, otherwise He could not have begun His atonement till His life was at an end; but it is the same Temptation that comes to every man.

It is the temptation that came to Eve. Point for point the temptation of Eve and the temptation of Jesus correspond. Eve's temptations were three; so were the temptations of Jesus. Eve's temptations assailed the body, the mind, and the spirit; so did the temptations of Jesus.

The first temptation was a bodily temptation. 'She saw that the tree was good for food.' 'If thou art the Son of God command this stone that it be made bread.'

There is the difference, certainly, that Eve was not hungry, while Jesus was. The sin of Eve was the greater that she sinned not through the cravings of hunger, but merely through the longing for forbidden, or it might be daintier, food. But though the temptation was more intense for Jesus, it did not differ from Eve's essentially. It was the desire for food. It was the desire to satisfy a bodily appetite. And it does not matter how imperious that appetite may be, it is not to be satisfied unlawfully. Eve saw that she had the opportunity of satisfying it, Jesus saw that He had the power. Eve was tempted to satisfy it by using an opportunity which God had not given her, Jesus by using a power which had been given Him for another purpose. It does not matter essentially whether it is to avoid starvation or merely for greater luxury, we sin with Eve if we seize an opportunity or take advantage of our position to do that for our body or outward estate which God has commanded us not to do.

The second temptation was to the mind. 'And that it was a delight to the eyes'—thus the temptation came to Eve. 'He showed Him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time'—thus it came to Jesus.

Now the temptation to the mind does not come to everyone. It does not come to those who are absorbed with the things of the body. The three temptations came to Eve because Eve is typical of the whole human race. And the three temptations came to Jesus, because He is typical also, and because He resisted them all.

The temptation to the mind is higher, it is a nobler temptation, than the temptation to the body. There are those to whom the fragrance and beauty of the apple makes irresistible appeal, who would never be driven to do wrong merely in order to have it to eat.

It is a subtler temptation also. We are willing to starve that we may hear good music or give ourselves a scientific education. And we cannot perceive that we are falling before a temptation. But music or science may be pursued for purely selfish ends. In their pursuit too some nearer duty may be neglected. And the fall is often obvious enough: a doubtful companionship, such as music sometimes introduces us to, or a denial of God such as science sometimes leads us to.

But the temptation to Jesus was nobler, we do not doubt, and more subtle than the temptation to the mind has ever come to any other man. He saw the kingdoms of the world at a glance and the glory of them. He was offered them as His own.

Now He desired to have the kingdoms of the world as His own. He had come to make them His own. All the difference seemed to be that the Devil offered them at once without the agony of winning them—the agony to Him or to us.

He was offered them without the agony to Himself. Some think that He did not know yet what that agony was. He did not know that He was to be despised and rejected of men. He did not know that He was to lose the sense of the Father's well-pleasing. He did not know what the Garden was to be nor what the Cross. They say so. But how can they tell? One thing is sure. He knew enough to make this a keen temptation.

But He was also offered the kingdoms of the world without the agony to us. That temptation was yet more terrible. For when the Cross was past the agony to us was but beginning. And He felt our agony more keenly than He felt His own. What a long-drawn agony it has been. Two thousand years of woe! and still the redemption is not complete. To be offered the

homage of the human heart, to be offered its love—such love as it would have been where there was no choice left—to end the poverty and the sickness and the blindness and the leprosy and the death, not by an occasional laying on of the hands in a Galilæan village, but in one world-embracing word of healing; to end the sin without waiting for the slow movements of conscience and the slow dawnings of faith—it was a sore temptation. But it must not be. To deliver from the consequence of sin without the sorrow for it, to accept the homage of the heart of man without its free choice of love, was to leave the Serpent master still. The world is very fair to look upon as He sees it in a moment of time from that mountain top; but it cannot be His until He has suffered for it, and until it has suffered with Him.

The third temptation was a temptation to the spirit. Eve saw 'that the tree was to be desired to make one wise.' Jesus was invited to cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the temple, trusting in God and in the promise that no harm should befall Him.

The 'wisdom' which Eve was promised was spiritual wisdom. It was the wisdom of God. 'Ye shall be as gods,' said the Serpent, 'knowing good and evil.' And this wisdom became hers when she had eaten. 'Behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.' It was such wisdom as God has. And God is a Spirit. It was spiritual wisdom.

Man is both spiritual and material. As a spiritual being he has certain spiritual experiences. But as long as the spirit is in touch with the body its experiences are limited in their range. God is a Spirit, and His experience knows no bounds. When man attempts to pass the bounds of human experience and enter the experience of God, he sins.

Eve was so tempted and fell. Jesus also was so tempted, but He resisted the temptation. As God He can throw Himself from the pinnacle of the temple with impunity, just as He can walk upon the water. And the Devil reminds Him that He is God. But this is His temptation as a man. As a man He cannot, as a man He has no right, to tempt God by casting Himself down.

To Eve and to Jesus it was the temptation to an enlargement of experience beyond that which is given to man. And it lay, as it always does, in the direction of the knowledge of evil. There are those who, like Eve, still enter into evil not from the mere love of evil or the mere spirit of rebellion, but in order to taste that which they have not tasted yet. They wish to know 'what it is like.' There are men and women who can trace their drunkard's lifelong misery to this very source.

To Eve the sharpness of the temptation lay in the promise of larger spiritual experience. Let us not say it was vulgar curiosity. The promise was that she would be as God, that she would know what God knows. Perhaps she even felt that it would bring her into closer sympathy with God—the sympathy of a larger common experience.

To Jesus this also was the sharpness of the temptation. He was God, but He was being tempted as a man. It was not merely, as in the first temptation, that He was invited to use His power as Redeemer for His own human advantage. It was that He was invited to enter into the experience of God, to enter into the fulness of knowledge which belongs to God, to prove Himself, and to feel in perfect sympathy with the whole range of experience of the Father.

It seemed like trust: it would have been presumption. We sometimes enter into temptation saying that we will trust in God to deliver us. It is not trust; it is presumption. And God does not deliver us. No one ever yet entered into temptation, unsent by God, and came forth scathless.

Jesus was tempted of the Devil and resisted all the temptations. What it cost Him we cannot tell. We know it cost Him much. Angels came and ministered unto Him. He needed their ministrations. But He won His battle as a man. No one could convict Him of sin. He is ready now to be the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.

And when He begins His work of Redemption, He can use His powers as the Son of God. The Devil's temptation, 'If thou art the Son of God,' is no temptation longer. He opens His works of wonder, He heals the sick, He preaches the gospel to the poor, He accepts the cup and drinks it, He cries 'It is finished.'

His Temptation in the Wilderness was the temptation of a man. His atonement for sin was the atonement of the Son of man, man's representative; the atonement of the race in Him. This is the essential thing in the Cross. He took hold of our nature; in our nature He suffered and died. Our nature suffered and died in Him. This is the essential thing, that He made the atonement as Man, that man made the atonement when He made it. After the Temptation in the Wilderness the Devil left Him for a season. When he came back he did not come back to a man. He came back to the race of man, represented and gathered into one in Christ. He came back not to seek to throw one human being as he had thrown so many human beings before. He came to fight for his kingdom and his power.

And it did seem as if the Devil had won this time. As the fight closed in, Jesus Himself said, 'This is your hour and the power of darkness.' The Devil had the whole world on his side in the struggle. The religious leaders were especially active. And the end came—death and darkness. It did seem as if the Devil had won this time, and this was the greater battle to win.

But, 'except a corn of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone.' Without death Jesus was sinless. In death he gathered many to His sinlessness. Death and the Devil got hold of Him but lost their hold of us. It was the Devil's greatest triumph. It was his greatest defeat.

One thing remains. We must accept Him. The kingdom of heaven is open, but it is open to all *believers*. He could not have this fair world without the agony; we cannot have Him without it. For it is love that is wanted. Nothing is wanted but love. It is the love of the heart that makes Paradise. And love must be free. There is no compulsion. Sin must be felt and repented of; a Saviour must be seen and made welcome. By faith we must become one with Him as He has become one with us.

Is it lawful to say, 'Maker of heaven and earth'? Is it lawful in the face of modern science? Lord Kelvin has found that it is not.

At the first of a course of lectures on 'Christian Apologetics' in University College, London, Lord Reay presided, and Lord Kelvin moved a vote of thanks. In supporting his vote, he said that as to the origin of life, science neither affirmed nor denied creative power; and then he added, more plainly, that there lay nothing between absolute scientific belief in creative power and the acceptance of the theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. And as for this matter of 'fortuitous concourse,' was there anything, he asked, so absurd as to believe that a number of atoms, by falling together of their own accord, could make a crystal, a sprig of moss, a microbe, or a living animal?

Whereupon the *Times* has had to 'open its columns.' The attack is led by the Director of Kew Gardens. 'He wipes out by a stroke of his pen the whole position won for us by Darwin.'

And not only so, but, says Sir William Thiselton Dyer, he is inconsistent with himself; and he quotes some words from Lord Kelvin's address before the British Association in 1871, that when a problem cannot be solved naturally 'we must not invoke an abnormal act of creative power.'

Lord Kelvin also writes to the *Times*. He is not clear about the 'crystal.' That might come about by fortuitous concourse, and he thinks he should have left it out. But he stands by the rest. 'Forty years ago,' he says, 'I asked Liebig, walking somewhere in the country, if he believed that the grass and flowers which he saw around us grew by mere chemical forces. He answered, "No; no more than I could believe that a book of botany describing them could grow by mere chemical forces." Every action of human free will is a miracle to physical and chemical and mathematical science.'

'It is rather to the champions of unyielding tradition than to the negative critics that one must resort for daring and desperate conjecture.' So says Dr. J. H. Weatherall in the *Inquirer* for 9th May. He is reviewing a new book by Colonel Conder. The title of the book is *The First Bible* (Blackwood, 5s.). But Dr. Weatherall speaks of it as the 'Bible-on-Bricks.'

Colonel Conder's theory is that the earliest writing of the Hebrews was cuneiform. For cuneiform, as the Tel el-Amarna tablets have made clear, was used all over Western Asia in the fifteenth century B.C. The so-called 'tables of stone,' on which the Ten Commandments were written, were in reality bricks, some six inches square, covered with cuneiform characters. The first edition of Genesis might be contained on about seventy of these bricks.

If writing was so early, and if the earliest Bible was written at so early a date, it could not, says Colonel Conder, have been written in alphabetic characters. For the alphabet was borrowed from the Phœnicians in the early days of the Monarchy. After its introduction the two scripts existed side by side, as the hieroglyphic and hieratic did in Egypt. Then about the time of Hezekiah the cuneiform was transliterated into the alphabetic script. And it was in the process of this transliteration that the duplicate names occurred which critics have foolishly ascribed to different authors.

For example. Jahweh and Elohim are not names for God used by different writers, they are simply different ways in which blundering scribes transferred God's name from cuneiform to alphabetic Hebrew. So with Jethro and Reuel, Ishbaal and Ishbosheth, and many more. And all the critical theories based upon these duplicate names fall to the ground.

It is a daring theory. And it has its difficulties. The chief difficulty is the lack of evidence. Dr. Weatherall desires to see a few of these cuneiform bricks. He would prefer the couple containing the Ten Commandments. But especially is it to be noted that evidence for the existence of the two scripts side by side is altogether absent; while as far back as we can go—that is to the Siloam Inscription and the Moabite Stone—it is alphabetic writing that is in use.

Joseph: A Sermon to Men.

By the Rev. Walter Lock, D.D., Warden of Keble College, Oxford.

'But he had sent a man before them, even Joseph who was sold to be a bond-servant.
Whose feet they hurt in the stocks; the iron entered into his soul:[1]
Until the time that his cause was known: the word of the Lord tried him.'—Ps. cv. 17-19 (P.B.V.).

There are few narratives in the whole Bible more suggestive to men than the whole story of Joseph. The young man dreaming his dreams of future greatness; the apparent overthrow of all his hopes; the final triumph when the dreams are fulfilled to the letter; the overruling providence of God, so guiding the apparent failure that it becomes the means whereby, under the chastening discipline of the experience of life, the young boy is made worthy in character, as well as placed in a position in life in which it is right that his father and brethren should do obeisance to him: these form a striking picture of the way in which boyish ambitions are tempered and annealed into the noble performance of duty.

And surely never was story told with more dramatic force and appealing charm. The theme is a common one, common in folk-lore, common in the drama, common in history. The younger member of the family kept down by the envy of the elder members, and at last triumphing over them,—it is the theme that delighted us in our childhood in Cinderella; it is very similar to the theme that attracted Shakespeare in the full prime of his genius, when in *The Tempest* he sketches the wronged and exiled Prospero getting those who had wronged him at his mercy, testing them by fresh labours, and at last forgiving them. The narrative combines the elements which Aristotle regarded as essential to a good drama, περιπετείαι, ἀναγνώρισεις (xlv. 4. 27), ἀναγνωρισις ἐκ παραλογισμοῦ (xxxvii. 33, xliv. 12). No doubt the story was told again and again by Hebrew rhapsodists at the fireside of Hebrew homes, and a close critical examination of the text makes it probable that the writer of the Book of Genesis has worked together into one, two if not three different strands. In one the caravan is said to be a caravan of Ishmaelites, in the other of Midianites; in the one Reuben plays the prominent part as trying to save Joseph, in the other Judah; and the exact length of time mentioned differs in different places.[2] But in spite of such trivial discrepancies, how true the whole narrative is to life, how absolutely free from anything which would tempt us to regard it as legendary! The changes of Joseph's fortunes are quite natural in Oriental countries: nothing happens to him which might not happen to a clever young Jew or Armenian in Constantinople to-day. No fairy godmother presides at his christening; no *deus ex machina* unties any knots; no Ariel is at hand to do his bidding: all moves forward within the lines of what is human and natural to an issue that justifies the ways of God to man.

Indeed, it is quite extraordinary how Egyptology has shown the history to be consistent with the condition of Egyptian life. Although no mention of Joseph has been found, yet there is scarcely a detail which cannot be illustrated from the literature and monuments of Egypt. The position which Joseph occupies in Potiphar's house; the temptation by Potiphar's wife; the position of the butler and the baker; the rise of a foreign slave to high political power; the granting of an amnesty on Pharaoh's birthday; the importance attached to dreams and their interpretation; the years of famine; the granaries

[1] '*The iron entered into his soul.*'—This translation has enriched for ever the English language with a terse splendid phrase which has passed into a proverb, and which recalls many a memory of suffering cutting to the quick, of patient bearing, of heroic endurance; and yet the translation is a mistranslation. The words should be rendered, '*His soul, or life, entered into the iron,*' 'he was laid in iron' (A.V.) 'he was laid in chains of iron' (R.V.); and therefore it is probably little more than a repetition of the first half of the verse, describing the fact of suffering; though, possibly, it adds to the fact the thought of his voluntary acceptance of that suffering—'his soul entered whole and entire in its resolve to obey God into the cruel torture' (Kay).

[2] Cf. Hastings' *Dictionary*, ii. *s.v.* pp. 767–769.

in large cities; the golden collar put round Joseph's neck by Pharaoh, the new name given to him, the title 'father to Pharaoh,' the oath 'by the life of Pharaoh'; the concentration of landed property in the hands of the king and the priests: these all find their exact counterpart. In one monument of about the date of Joseph a rich man records on his own tomb, 'I collected corn as a friend of the harvest God. I was watchful at the time of sowing. And when a famine arose lasting many years I distributed corn to the city each year of famine.'[1]

But we shall see the trace of a divine inspiration far more truly in the way in which under its influence this common theme is made to illustrate the triumph of divine justice, and to be a vivid portraiture of the true development of human character.

It is so most markedly with regard to Joseph's own character. Let us recall it. The young boy with a conscience more sensitive than that of his elder brethren is shocked at some wrong-doing on their part, and reports it to his father. We are not told what was the subject of the evil report; very probably it was some dishonesty in the sale of their father's flocks; he is conscious that he is right and they are wrong, and his imagination dreams of a time when they will bow down to him and right will be righted; then, the victim of his brothers' envy, he is sold into Egypt: but he accepts the position, his soul enters into the iron; he faces his ill-fortune and masters it; he becomes a faithful and efficient servant; everything prospers under his hand; he is loyal to his master, loyal to his God under temptation, 'How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God?' This very virtue, again, leads to worse imprisonment; but again his soul enters into the iron, again he wins favour by his loyalty to the keeper of the prison: he wins the confidence of his master and of the prisoners alike; he has the courage to tell to them the meaning of their dreams, even to the one to whom the meaning was death, but again his loyalty and his insight bring him no reward, 'Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgot him.' The victim of envy, of slander, of neglect, he never loses his faith in God. Then after two long years he is summoned to interpret Pharaoh's dreams. Quiet, self-possessed, trusting in God, he interprets the dreams, he points out the true policy to be adopted, and at last his reward comes. He sits at Pharaoh's right hand, the wise and faithful viceroy, as unspoilt by good fortune as by bad. The memory of his past life is never forgotten. It is true that his eldest son's name, Manasseh, constantly reminded him that 'God hath made me to forget all my toil and all my father's house'; yet the very name is a revelation of the depth of the memory. And it all surges up again when at last he sees his brethren kneel in obeisance before him; he tests, retests, and tests them again, but his heart is going out the while to his father and to his younger brother, and God's goodness, though it has not enabled him to forget, has enabled him to forgive his brethren, and he provides not only for the father who had loved him, but for the brethren who had wronged him, and that even after their father's death.

So beautiful is the character that we feel at once how much of it is taken up into the life of our Lord Himself. I do not remember that any writers of the N.T. point out the parallel, but it might be drawn out in a striking way: for He too was the son in whom His Father was well pleased; His conscience too was shocked by the doings of His brothers; He too was the victim of envy and of slander; He too was sold to His enemies; He too was tempted and resisted temptation; He too bore His cross between two real malefactors, one of whom was, and one of whom was not, to be forgiven; His soul too entered into the iron, and as He accepted His sufferings they proved the method by which God was going to bless His brethren; He too was raised to sit at the King's right hand; He too provided food for the starving masses of mankind; He too forgave His brethren; He too might have used the very words of Joseph, 'Be not grieved nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life. . . . So now it was not you that sent me hither but God.'[2]

A real story true to human life, so true that much of its essential features reappeared in the perfect human life of our Lord, that is what inspiration has made of the story of Joseph. And in this story four points stand out in clear prominence.

[1] Summarized from Hastings' *Dictionary*, ii. *s.v.* pp. 772–774.

[2] Cf. Gn 45^{8} with Ac $2^{23.\ 24}$.

1. The first is the strength which a man gains by purity. The story of Joseph's temptation is told primarily to explain his imprisonment and to prove his fidelity to his master; but it serves also to show his loyalty to God. It is a part of the training which makes him the stable, self-reliant, strong man that he becomes. 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,' is the great law of the spiritual world, and it is Joseph's purity which makes him so clear-sighted to read God's will in the dreams of the butler and the baker and the king, and to see God's hand in the overruling of his own fortunes.

2. Not less striking is the importance of practical wisdom in the affairs of life as gained by the experience of life. 'There is none so discreet or wise as thou art' (φρονιμώτερος σου καὶ συνετώτερος, xli. 39).

We are apt to forget how large a part of the Bible is occupied with teaching this lesson. The Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus are devoted almost entirely to it, and the practical wisdom of the steward and of the wise virgins is a subject of our Lord's own praise. And this must mainly be learnt not from books but from the experience of life. It was the discipline of the pit, of slavery, of the prison house which trained Joseph: his soul entered into the iron; he accepted each experience as it came; he found the sphere of service in each and through each.

3. The beauty and true character of forgiveness. Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren is no weakness: it is not weakness in him; it produces no weakness in them, for it is not hastily and carelessly given. They are tested again and again before the forgiveness. He had known them cruel to a younger brother; he had known them cruel to their father; he had known them, perhaps, dishonest. Had he found them still the same, there would have been no forgiveness. But the sight of their father's grief, the remorse of their own conscience, had trained them too. Now, under the tests which he applies, they stand the test applied to their honesty; they show that they are willing to do everything in their power to spare their father, and that they are willing to go themselves into slavery, if only they may save their younger brother.

So the forgiveness comes forth, very generous, very trustful, very stimulating.

It would be a most interesting study to compare the character of Ulysses with that of Joseph, and to speculate what effect each hero may have had upon his nation's subsequent history. Each kept true by the tender memories of home-love; each God-fearing, each shrewd, resourceful, courageous, growing with the experience of life; but with Ulysses the shrewdness just passes the line and can scarcely be distinguished from guile and cunning, from which Joseph is quite free, Ulysses finding his subsequent counterpart in Themistocles, Joseph in Daniel. Most interesting, too, to compare the scene when Joseph's brethren stand cowering, conscious of their guilt, before the brother whom they have wronged and only receive the winged words of forgiveness, with that other scene where the suitors of Penelope huddle together at the end of the hall conscious of their guilt, when Ulysses is revealed, and receive the winged arrows of death; and to think that the young Greek as he grew up had always before him the story of triumphant justice, while the young Hebrew was nurtured in the nobler story of triumphant mercy.

4. The last truth which stands out clearly is this: God's faithfulness to those who are faithful to Him.

The Lord was with him; the Lord made all that he did to prosper ($29^{2.\ 3.\ 21-23}$), and that because the thought of God was ever before him. 'Can I sin against God?' 'Do not interpretations belong to God?' 'It is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer.' 'What God is about to do, He showeth unto Pharaoh.' 'This do and live, for I fear God.' 'God did send me hither.' 'God hath made me Lord of all Egypt.' 'Fear not, for am I in the place of God?'

Try to conceive Joseph's feelings at the moment when he saw his brethren making obeisance to him for the first time. What a sense of God's overruling power must have been upon him! After the lapse of twenty years the first dream of the boy of seventeen had come true: verily, the dream had been of God, and the interpretation thereof; each step in his life, the selling into Egypt, the imprisonment, the dream of Pharaoh, his own elevation, the seven years of famine, each had been in the hand of God. Who, then, was he that he should stand in the place of God and take vengeance on his brethren? Vengeance was God's and He had repaid; for the guilty had had the sense of their guilt festering year after year

and ready to burst out at any calamity; they had been punished with hunger and with exile: punishment he could leave in God's hands; all that was tender and human and forgiving it was safe for him to exercise.

This incomparable story was told again and again in Hebrew homes; and at a later date, probably in the time of the great Captivity, the author of Ps. cv. threw it into poetical form and wove it into a series of instances of God's overruling care for His people and the certainty of His protection.

Such a story may well be before you at the opening of life. Dream your dreams: it is the privilege, it is the duty of the young to dream dreams; only, if you are a Christian, you will dream not so much of what you are to be as of what you are to do, and of the way in which you can serve your country and your Church. On the path toward their fulfilment you will find difficulties, disappointments, perplexities: face them; let your soul enter into the iron and transmute it into a blessing; learn practical wisdom; waste no time in wishing that your circumstances were other than they are, but use them for making yourself as efficient, as wise, as practical as may be: successes also may come, let them not turn your head or make you forgetful of the love of home.

Above all, let the fear of God be upon you as it was upon Joseph. Do not let yourself grow to speak or think lightly of that sin which Joseph knew to be a great wickedness: let the thought of God's forgiving love keep you from hardness to others: be with God: make your rules with yourself of that which you can really do in the matter of daily prayer and of communion; then shall that epitaph with which St. Stephen summed up the life of Joseph be your epitaph as well—

God was with him.

Who was Judas Thomas?

By Agnes Smith Lewis, Hon. Ph.D. (Halle), Hon. LL.D. (St. And.), Cambridge.

A remarkable book has lately been published by Dr. Rendel Harris, entitled *The Dioscuri in Christian Literature*. It is founded on two lectures which he gave in Cambridge shortly before his departure for Armenia in March of this year. Dr. Harris shows that the cult of the heavenly twins, Castor and Pollux, did not cease with the introduction of Christianity, but that their ghosts returned, under other names, to claim the homage of the too superstitious among Christians, and so, in the commemoration of Florus and Laurus, which prevails in the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, and in that of Protasius and Gervasius, initiated by St. Ambrose at Milan in the Holy Catholic Church of the West, we have a distinct revival of paganism.

By far the most striking of the identifications which Dr. Rendel Harris has made, is that of the legendary Castor with Judas Thomas,[1] called in the apocryphal literature of the Syrian Church, 'Twin of the Christ,' and identified with Thomas, the doubting disciple. Now, we cannot for a moment, with the text of two inspired Gospels staring us in the face, allow that Judas Thomas, or any other mortal, had the smallest right to such a title. But the question arises, Is there any basis of fact which may have led the Syrians into bestowing it on him? For the word 'Tauma,' or 'Thomas,' in Aramaic, means 'a twin.' It is not a name, but a title; and, as Dr. Harris remarks, 'he must have been somebody's twin-brother.'

The following hypothesis is offered only as a possible clue to the unravelling of the mystery. I make no pretension to have succeeded in that difficult operation; and I offer it only because a conjecture, even when rash, has occasionally the effect of putting some more fortunate inquirer on the right track.

Is it not possible that Thomas, the doubting disciple, is identical with Jude, the youngest brother of our Lord; and that either he and James, or he and Joses, were twins? My own conviction is that implied by Tertullian, viz. that all the four men named in Mt 13^{55} and Mk 6^{3}, with their sisters, were the children of Joseph and

[1] So named also by Eusebius, *H.E.* i. 13.

Mary, born after the Incarnation.[1] If they had been the sons of Joseph by a deceased wife, the Jews would not have wondered so much at our Lord differing from them; and He would have been no *lineal* descendant of David if He had had four older foster-brothers.

And I think that Thomas, the apostle, and Jude, the brother of our Lord, may be one and the same individual. Perhaps this Jude was the twin of James, and if he be the author of the Epistle of Jude, this is the reason that he calls himself 'the brother of James,' instead of 'the Lord's brother,' as he might have done.

Dr. Harris calls attention to the fact that twins generally have alliterative names. Now I submit that יַעֲקֹב and יְהוּדָה suit each other almost as well as יֵשׁוּעַ and יְהוּדָה. And I have observed that the younger of twins has a strong propensity to follow the lead of the elder one, and to act as a sort of adjunct, assistant, or shadow to him or to her. This propensity may be checked by the marriage of the younger, but it is seldom altogether eradicated during the lifetime of both. I can guess from happy experience why Jude calls himself so conspicuously 'the brother of James.'

A forcible objection to this hypothesis is the statement in Jn 7^5: 'For neither did His brethren believe in Him.' The word 'brethren,' it will be observed, is in the plural, and might include only James, Joses, Simon, and their sisters—those who at the time were urging Jesus to show Himself openly to the world at the Feast of Tabernacles. Judas Thomas was strongly inclined to doubt; and he may at times have vacillated between doubt and faith. It is worthy of remark that this name Judas is not given as distinct from Thomas by the first two evangelists in their lists of the twelve apostles (Mt 10^{2-4}, Mk 3^{16-19}).

There can be no manner of doubt as to the Syrian tradition. It is clearly expressed in 'The Acts of Judas Thomas,' as edited by Dr. Wright, p. 180. But it occurs also in a Coptic legend which has only a slight resemblance to the Syrian one; and which was first committed to writing, according to Dr. Guidi and other competent investigators, in the sixth century. Of this Coptic legend very little is extant in the original; but the Ethiopic version of it has been published by Dr. Wallis Budge with an English translation under the title, *The Contendings of the Apostles*. And I have now an edition of the Arabic version in the press. In this story, where Thomas has been flayed and otherwise tortured, he prays, and reminds the Lord of his own doubts as narrated in Jn 20^{25}; pleading at the same time that he was then only fulfilling the Master's own injunction, 'Try the spirits, for many shall come in My name, and shall lead astray many' (Mt 24^5). Our Lord appears to him in a shining cloud, and consoles him, saying: 'Verily, I say unto thee, that all trial and torture have befallen thee for the sake of mankind . . . and they are not like one hour of My appearance unto thee, and My reception of thee, and My seating of thee on My right hand in My kingdom. For thou art called "The Twin," thou art beloved by Me,' etc.

This allusion in a Coptic apocryphal document is by no means so strong as that of the ass to Thomas in the Syriac one: 'Twin of the Messiah, and Apostle of the Most High!' or as that in Tischendorf's Greek text of the same legend, where a black snake says: *οἶδα γάρ σε τὸν δίδυμον ὄντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν τὴν φύσιν ἡμῶν ἀεὶ καταργοῦντα.* But in the connexion where it occurs, we can assign to it only one meaning; and it adds the testimony of the Coptic Church in the sixth century to that of the Syrian Church, that, at an early period, possibly in the second century, a tradition existed which made Judas Thomas of very near kin to the Christ. Is it to be believed that the Syrian Church absolutely invented this tradition,—a tradition conflicting so violently with the narrative of their own Canonical Gospels, as they have been preserved to us in the Syro-Antiochene palimpsest discovered by me on Mount Sinai, and in the later but longer-authorized Peshiṭta? From the former of these two texts we see that the Syrians were most illogical in their method of recording genealogies; and also from the Syriac version of the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, where 'She shall bear to thee (*i.e.* to Joseph) a son' follows immediately after 'Joseph, fear not for the girl, for that which is within her is of the Holy Ghost.'[2]

The legendary resemblance between Jesus and Judas Thomas might be accounted for on the supposition that they were brothers, though not twins.

I find that the identification of the Apostle

[1] See 'Brethren of the Lord' by J. B. Mayor, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 320.

[2] Cf. *Studia Sinaitica*, No. xi. p. 7.

Thomas with Jude, the brother of the Lord, has already been noticed by Dr. J. H. Bernard, in Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, vol. iv. p. 753. Mrs. Gibson suggests that the craft of carpenter, attributed to the legendary Judas Thomas, may have been hereditary in the family of Joseph, in accordance with a deeply rooted Oriental habit.

Judas, the brother, or more correctly the son of James,[1] in Lk 6^{16}, is quite a different person. He was perhaps a grandson of Alphæus or of Zebedee.

The names James, *i.e.* Jacob, and Judah, were naturally very common among the descendants of the Patriarchs. Those who bore them must almost have been forced by necessity to adopt a distinctive cognomen.

I have already called attention to the fact[2] that the reading of the Sinaitic palimpsest in Jn 14^{22} is 'Thomas' not 'Judas.' The spelling is there תאומא not תהומא;[3] and in the Curetonian we have 'Judas Thomas.' This may be quite correct, for as it is the only place where 'not Iscariot' occurs, the Greek text can be made to refer to either Judas.

True, James and Judas are not named together in Mt 13^{55} nor in Mk 6^{3}. But if Jude was of the retiring disposition natural to the younger of twins, Joses and Simon might loom more largely than he in the minds of their fellow-townsmen.

My conjecture may be entirely wrong, but I have met with no other plausible one which can in any way account for the origin of a singular tradition.

[1] See R.V.

[2] The Expository Times, vol. xii. p. 419.

[3] This I can see distinctly both in my photograph of the page and in the MS. itself.

Recent Foreign Theology.

'Acts of Peter.'[1]

This part of the German 'Text and Studies' is a book of great interest, and will do much to promote clearer views about the early 'Acts' of the individual apostles. These books were once read in Christian churches, and some of their stories were accepted by Church Fathers down to the end of the fourth century. We cannot know the history of the New Testament without some information about these books; and the information hitherto available has been somewhat vague and confusing.

Mr. Schmidt's book consists of two parts. The first gives a newly discovered fragment which turned up at Achmim in Egypt—where the new fragment of the Gospel of Peter also came to light—in the year 1896. This fragment stands at the end of a codex containing several very early gnostic works in Coptic. Mr. Schmidt has in hand a collection of Coptic gnostic works, and has a great interest in this discovery, but the Peter fragment he does not regard as gnostic, and therefore publishes separately.

What is now published ends with the title 'Act of Peter,' and appears to be one of a number of stories forming an 'Acts of Peter.'

Peter is introduced as he is performing a number of cures on a Sunday, it appears at his own house, yet at Jerusalem. He is asked by a bystander why he does not cure his own daughter, a beautiful girl, but a paralytic. The question is not at once answered, but to confirm the faith of those present, and to prove that the Lord is able to accomplish a work which appears to His people so desirable, the girl is bidden (in a sentence grammatically similar to that at Mk $2^{10.11}$) to get up and to come to Peter by the strength of Jesus alone. This she does, but the joy of the people present is cut short when she is at once ordered to return to her couch and suffer from her ailment as before, since 'that is profitable for her' and for Peter.

All this is then explained by the apostle, who narrates that on the day on which the girl was born he was told in a vision that she would be a great trial to him, and that this proved to be the case, when she grew up beautiful and attracted the attention

[1] *Die Alten Petrusakten im Zusammenhang der Apokryphen Apostel-literatur nebst einem neuentdeckten Fragment untersucht.* Von Carl Schmidt. Vol. ix. part 1 of the new series of Gebhardt and Harnack's 'Texte und Untersuchungen.' Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

of men. 'It was to preserve her from a suitor who had sent his servants to carry her off to his house, that she was struck, apparently in answer to her parents' prayers,—but the MS. is defective at this point,—with paralysis extending over one whole side of her body. To this is added an account of her lover Ptolemæus. After bitter suffering on account of his loss, he had been saved by a vision from despair, and made to believe in the blessings of virginity for himself as well as for the woman he loved. Before he died and departed to the Lord he made a will in which he bequeathed a field to Peter's daughter. This property Peter administered faithfully, selling it and devoting not a part of the price, but the whole price, to the poor.

'Now then, brethren,' Peter concludes, 'let us mourn and watch and pray; then the goodness of God will look upon us and we will wait for it.'

'And other discourses did Peter make before them all; and praising the name of the Lord Christ, he gave of the bread to all of them, and when he had divided it he rose up and went into his house.'—'Act of Peter.'

The reader will readily recognize the scriptural traits in this theory as well as those which are additional to Scripture. From Peter's wife (Mk 1^{30}, 1 Co 9^{5}) to his daughter is an easy inference; the cure is like that of his mother-in-law, and also like that of the paralytic in the Gospels; and Ananias and Sapphira also suggest themselves. On the other hand, Peter's family life at Jerusalem is not vouched by any Scripture, and the mention of Sunday may be thought early. The doctrine of virginity, which is the motive of the whole, is not a feature of the Gospels, and is scarcely that of St. Paul. We are entitled to say that this 'Act of Peter' belongs to the romances of early Christianity, and is to be classed along with those Acts of John, of Philip, of Andrew, in which the grave simplicity and catholicity of the canonical Acts is replaced by a lively interest in the apostles as individuals, and striking and often amusing incidents are related to enforce the morals of the second or third century.

What is to be thought of these Acts in general? When and where did they originate? For what class of readers were they at first intended, and how did it happen that in their earliest form they disappeared? The second, which is much the larger part of Mr. Schmidt's book, is an attempt to find a better and clearer answer to these questions than they have yet received. All who know anything of the subject are aware that the apostolic romances are not known so well as they deserve, and do not fill the place they should in our knowledge of early Christian literature. In this country the reader scarcely knows where to find them. The collection of Tischendorf, and the later one of Lipsius and Bonnet, in which the available fragments are collected, are not very accessible books. Professor Wright's *Acts of the Apostles*, 1871, gives in its second volume a translation of the Syriac texts contained in the first but without any introduction or helps to the reader. The 'Acts' contained in vol. xvi. of the 'Ante-Nicene Christian Library' represent the subject as it stood thirty years ago, but are still the best we have. In the way of discussion there is Lipsius' article on 'Apocryphal Acts' in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; and Dr. Salmon's article on 'Leucius' (*ibid.*), which, by the way, Mr. Schmidt does not mention; and books on early Christian literature, such as Krüger's, which is translated, and the French 'Anciennes Littératures Chrétiennes' of Batiffol contain good information and references. But from these books the reader gains the impression that the subject is in a very unsatisfactory state, and an inclination to turn away from it.

There are two reasons for the unattractiveness of this department of early Christian literature. The first is the uncertainty whether we possess the original text of any particular book of Acts or an amended and altered edition of it. The second is connected with the person of Leucius Charinus, who was believed to be the author of the popular collection of Acts, and came ultimately to be denounced as a heretic and a 'disciple of the devil.'

The presumption still exists in most quarters that any book of the Acts of an individual apostle must have originated among heretics. If there is no great heresy to be detected in it as it stands, then it is judged to be an expurgated edition of an originally heretical work. For this there is some reason. The Acts in question were favourite books with the Manichæans of the fourth and fifth century, who preferred them to the canonical Acts and counted them as Scripture because of the strict view enforced in them as to continence. Churchmen found that the people refused to be deprived of these books, and improved editions of

them were issued for Catholic use. Hence the uncertainty as to the text of any such book.

Leucius Charinus, again, was declared by Photius, bishop of Constantinople in the ninth century, to be the author of the five books of Acts, which formed the popular collection of the Church, those of John, Peter, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul. If this is the true account of the authorship of the Acts, and if Leucius was a heretic, as Churchmen of the fifth century declare, this must obviously affect the view we take of the whole of these books.

Mr. Schmidt sets very boldly to work to clear up these confusions. Many will think that he has cut some of the knots rather than unravelled them; but if his work stands the test of criticism, he will have done very much to restore to these romances their true history and their right place in Christian literature. His conclusions may be summed up as follow:—

1. The Acts of the individual apostles were not of heretical origin. The five which came to be spoken of as the collection of Leucius were those which had long been best known in the Church. They were originally books used by Catholics, who needed something lively about the individual apostles, to be read on their anniversaries and at other times. The doctrine taught in them is not heretical. True, it is not the Nicene doctrine or practice that we find here, and later Churchmen might naturally regard it as both incorrect and fanciful; but it is the doctrine current in the Church a century before Nicæa, though the Church afterwards turned away from it. The Acts as we have them are well preserved.

2. The belief in Leucius Charinus as author of the five Acts is not early. In Eusebius the Acts are anonymous, and the same is the case with Augustine. With the latter Father the name of Leucius was attached only to the Acts of John. Originally John's follower and the writer as an eyewitness of John's Acts, Leucius came by the time of Epiphanius to be considered the author of the whole collection. The Acts of Peter are not, Mr. Schmidt thinks, by Leucius. In this he differs from Mr. James, who in the 'Cambridge Texts and Studies,' vol. v. No. 1, after a detailed linguistic analysis, declares that 'whoever wrote the Acts of John wrote the Acts of Peter.' Mr. James seems inclined to extend the Leucian authorship to the Acts of Andrew as well.

3. The Acts of Peter are based on the Acts of John, which were the first written, and on those of Paul, which came second. Their date is 200–210 A.D. For this the date of the Muratorian canon, which Mr. Schmidt thinks implies knowledge of the Acts of Paul and those of Peter, has to be moved down a quarter of a century from its commonly accepted place.

4. There were no gnostic Acts of individual apostles. The Acts we have are a true reflexion of the views and sentiments of the Christians of 200 A.D. These views are not identical with the orthodoxy of a later time, but evidence is adduced that such views were current at that time. God the Son was the divinity most clearly present to the Christian mind, and was spoken of as if He was supreme and was indeed the Father. He was able to do all things, and the Christians viewed almost without surprise the wonders done by His apostles in His name. The preaching to the Gentiles was very simple: they were to turn away from their vices, and the sins they had done in ignorance would be forgiven them. If they acted up to the Christian moral law they would have an eternal reward in the future world with Christ. Alms was a leading duty of the Christian, and the motive of the giver was not criticised. To overcome the laxity of heathen morals the Church insisted on the sinfulness of the flesh and the superior merit of continence. The troubles of the apostles were largely brought about by the obedience of noble women to this precept, and the consequent indignation of their husbands. The lost sheep could be restored, on public confession followed by the earnest and pleading intercession of the Church.

Mr. Schmidt's book will meet with much criticism at the hands of Church historians whose systems he disturbs. Some of the controversies it will raise have been suggested above. On the whole, however, his work is well done, and his conclusions have an appearance of sanity and likelihood.

ALLAN MENZIES.

St. Andrews.

'The Hope of the Kingdom of God.'[1]

THE author of this pamphlet, who recently published a valuable study of the Synoptic Problem,

[1] *Die Reichsgotteshoffnung in den ältesten christlichen Dokumenten und bei Jesus.* Von Paul Wernle. J. C. B.

offers this contribution to the discussion which is being carried on very vigorously in Germany regarding the idea of the kingdom of God, because he believes that no definite result has as yet been reached, owing to a defective method of dealing with the question. 'Most of the investigators,' he says, 'have thrown themselves too hastily into the problems of the Life of Jesus without first interrogating the evangelists, and especially the oldest authors, regarding their own opionion.' The hope of progress lies in going about the inquiry in the right way. 'If we want to advance, then first of all we must make certain of the hope of the kingdom of God in the oldest documents, as the only thing we can be sure of recognizing in the first place, in order that then from this point we may draw conclusions.' The results of his inquiry, carried on in this fashion, are the following:—*Paul* has both an eschatological and an ecclesiastical conception of the kingdom. As perfectly realized, it lies in the future; but its presence is already recognized in the Church in the supernatural gifts of the Spirit. In the *Apocalypse* the eschatological aspect is almost exclusively prominent, but the book also bears witness to the belief common in the churches, 'that Christ is, since the Resurrection, the heavenly King, and the community His kingdom.' While *Matthew* generally represents the kingdom as future, he conceives the kingdom as present in a double form. 'The kingdom is there, because in the miracles Satan's dominion falls in ruins, and it is there, because the Church is the kingdom ruled by Christ.' Although '*Luke* desires to awaken in his readers only the hope of the future kingdom,' yet 'his material does not seem quite to allow him to do this.' The eschatological conception seems to have commended itself to him, on account of its 'greater simplicity and intelligibility.' The tribulations of the time when he wrote also made faith in a present kingdom more difficult. 'On the whole, the view of *Mark* is strictly eschatological.' Even when he introduces sayings of Jesus which represent the kingdom as present, it is in a context in which no stress falls on the presence. In the *Logia* there stand side by side sayings about the kingdom as both present and future, but the eschatological conception is the regulative, while the presence of the kingdom is asserted only in sayings which are either apologetic or consolatory, are either directed against the enemies of Jesus, who challenge His claim, or intended for His friends, to assure them that 'the small, modest commencement guarantees the great end.' The proof of the presence of the kingdom is found in 'the miraculous powers which Jesus has exercised and transferred to the apostles.' To this conception *Paul* gives a modification in regarding the supernatural gifts of the Spirit as the evidence of the dominion of Christ in the Church. *Paul*, too, taught a universalism which is not found in this oldest source. On this point the author expresses himself very confidently. 'The fact that the idea of the kingdom of God in the source lying before the Synoptists was nationally limited, cannot be got rid of.' The conclusions regarding *Jesus*' hope of the kingdom, drawn from this investigation, are as follow:—(1) He did not deny, but strongly affirmed, the strictly eschatological view. (2) 'It is very probable that the belief in the present commencement of the kingdom of God goes back to Jesus Himself.' (3) 'Then it is also probable that this belief in the presence of the kingdom of God in just the dramatic supernatural sense, in which the primitive community possessed it, goes back to Jesus.' 'For,' according to our oldest sources, 'nothing is to be said for the view that Jesus held the ethical or inward idea of the kingdom,' and 'Paul has made the idea more inward.' (4) 'Only the question can remain, whether Jesus possessed this belief in the presence of the kingdom at all times, or it distinguishes a definite transitory epoch of enthusiasm from other times in His life.' The author's answer is, that Jesus to the end hoped for the future, and believed in the present kingdom. (5) 'Almost with confidence we can last of all affirm that Jesus transcended the limited national hope of the kingdom of God, even although the collection of Logia contradicts this.' These views of a candid and careful inquirer deserve due consideration, if not unquestioning acceptance. To criticise them in detail would involve the discussion of the exegesis of a multitude of passages, which the space at my disposal does not allow; but I may venture on two general remarks. *First*, one cannot but marvel at the confidence with which critics like the author distinguish in the evangelical records Jesus' views and the opinions of the evangelists.

Mohr, 1903. London: Williams & Norgate. Price 1s. 3d. net.

This method, of which he is so certain that it alone can lead to definite results, and so secure progress in the discussion, does not commend itself to my judgment as so infallible. *Secondly*, it seems to me that in this inquiry, as to what Jesus thought, believed, hoped, it is tacitly assumed that His mind and spirit are explicable as any other man's, and due allowance is not made for the moral insight and spiritual discernment of His divine-human personality.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

Montrose.

Miscellaneous.

A VERY convenient edition of the Hebrew fragments of Sirach has been prepared by Professor Strack. Its basis is the *Facsimiles of the Fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (Oxford and Cambridge, 1901). Below the text are critical notes containing references to the marginal annotations in Codex B, the Greek and Syriac translations, as well as to probable or possible textual emendations and to parallel passages of the O.T. A vocabulary at the end contains all the words and phrases in Sirach that are not found in the O.T. or that occur but once or very rarely. The Preface contains a short but sufficient account of the various MSS from which the fragments are derived, and a list of the principal works on the text. The book will prove specially useful to Hebrew students (*Die Sprüche Jesus' des Sohnes Sirachs*: der jüngst gefundene Heb. Text, mit Anmerkungen u. Wörterbuch; herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. H. L. Strack; Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. [Georg Böhme], 1903, price M.1.50).

Messrs. Schwetschke & Sohn's new half-crown monthly magazine, *Deutschland*, commences a new volume with the April number. It is a periodical dealing with every branch of culture, so that its contents are extremely varied and appeal to all classes of readers. In the department of Theology and Philosophy its staff includes Professors O. Pfleiderer and Ed. v. Hartmann, names which will sufficiently indicate both the quality and the standpoint of the work. The April number contains an article by the former on the present reform movements in the Roman Catholic Church, and one by the latter on 'Der Wert der Welt,' as well as articles on the Jesuits (by the late Professor Frohschammer) and on the English Education Act. Amongst the 'Streiflichter' there is a very incisive criticism of the Kaiser's manifesto to Admiral Hollmann. The writer is the editor of the magazine, Graf von Hoensbroech, who condemns also Professor Harnack's rejoinder as too diplomatic and savouring of 'Court theology.'

Since our last notice of the *Jahresbericht* (C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, Berlin) we have received the following, completing last year's issues:—Abteilung iii. 'Das Neue Testament' (M.4.40); iv. 'Kirchengeschichte' (M.18.40); v. 'Systematische Theologie' (M.10); vi. 'Praktische Theologie' (M.8); vii. 'Register' (M.5.80). The completeness of this work and its indispensableness to those who are engaged in any department of theological research, have been too frequently insisted on in these pages to need repetition. To those who cannot see their way to procure the *Jahresbericht*, we would strongly recommend the *Bibliographie der Theologischen Literatur* issued by the same publishers. This is simply a complete list of the titles, etc., of all the works that are not only named but briefly characterized in the *Jahresbericht*. The *Bibliographie* for the year can be procured for the surprisingly small sum of M.2.20.

A small work on the Atonement by the late Professor A. Sabatier (*La Doctrine de l'Expiation et son evolution historique*; Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1903, price 1 fr. 50) has just been published. Those who are acquainted with Sabatier's standpoint do not need to be told that he rejects entirely any element of *propitiation* or *satisfaction* in the death of Christ, and that it is on the moral influence of the Atonement that he lays all the stress. The main purpose of the book before us is to trace the origin of the notions that enter into the usual conception of the Atonement, and to show that most of these belong to a primitive and inferior stage of spiritual development, and must be abandoned with advancing knowledge. So it is, for instance, with the doctrine of the Fall that underlies Ro 5^{12}, and with the traditional explanation of the origin and meaning of sacrifice. Professor Sabatier is nothing if not thoroughgoing. It will startle some to be told that 'the ideas of substitution and of penal satisfaction are entirely

absent from sacrifice as it appears in the Bible.' More still will be staggered at his attempt to eliminate all idea of expiation from the words of Mk 10^{45} ('to give His life a ransom for many') and from Mk $14^{23f.}$ ('My blood of the new covenant'). After a sketch of the apostolic, patristic, and later theories of the Atonement, the author seeks to conserve the essential elements of truth that he holds to have been embedded in the perishable and now worn-out forms. Students of *symbolo-fidéisme* will know what to expect here. We will not pretend that Professor Sabatier has satisfied us, but we have read his work with real interest, and have been impressed alike with the literary skill and the moral earnestness of its late lamented author. It is a book from which much may be learned.

Professor O. Baumgarten of Kiel has published a volume of sermons that were preached in the 'Universitätsaula' (*Predigten aus der Gegenwart*; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903, price 3s. 6d., bound 4s. 6d.). These cover a very great variety of subjects, commencing with an Advent sermon on Ro 13^{11-14}, and then taking up a number of points connected with the work of Christ, unfolding the meaning of some of the petitions in the Lord's Prayer, handling several important social questions, etc. etc. There are 37 sermons in the book, which contains 272 pages, so that each sermon occupies on an average little more than 7 pages. The style is marked by extreme simplicity; scholarship underlies the exposition, but is not obtruded on the attention; and the volume may be heartily recommended as qualified to minister both to instruction and devotion.

Seldom have we come upon a more interesting discussion of Miracles than is contained in the two *conférences* on the subject by Dr. (of Med.) Pierre (*Deux conférences sur le Miracle, faites à l'Université Populaire de Rouen*; Paris: Fischbacher, 1903, price 1 fr. 50). The first deals with the Doctrine, the second with the Facts. The definition of a miracle is very carefully considered, and much stress is laid upon the distinction between *absolute* and *relative* miracles. The second part of the book, where the principles established in the first part are applied to the biblical, especially the N.T., narratives of miracles, will be found specially interesting. If some disappointment will be caused by the author's reserve or scepticism regarding the turning of water into wine, and the alleged resurrection from the dead of Jairus' daughter, the widow's son, and Lazarus, there will be all the greater satisfaction with his treatment of the most important of all these narratives, that of our Lord's own resurrection. After a most rigorous examination of the evidence and of the theories ancient and modern that have sought to explain away the resurrection, Dr. Pierre concludes: 'I admit that the resurrection of Christ is a real fact, which we cannot comprehend, but which it is necessary to accept if we are to escape imagining something still more impossible. In presence of this fact, rather mysterious than miraculous, and which eludes all our scientific tests, I do not comprehend, I do not imagine, but on weighty grounds, rational, moral, and historical, I believe.' The author writes throughout not as a theologian but as a man of science, a circumstance which lends freshness and originality to his arguments.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

The New Edition of the 'Didascalia.'

By Professor Eb. Nestle, D.D., Maulbronn.

'The *Didascalia* is the name now generally-given to the old basis of the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which is found in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and to some extent in Latin, in a fairly original form. Lagarde, in 1854, made an attempt to recover the Greek by comparison of the interpolated form with the much shorter Syriac; and the "Didascalia purior" so constituted is of some importance. But the work, according to Mr. Burkitt, was hastily and imperfectly done, and, further, is not very easy of access. *A new edition is much to be desired.*'

This was written by the Bishop of Salisbury, John Wordsworth, a short time since in his

Ministry of Grace (2nd ed. 1903, p. 35 f., first ed., Pref. 24th August 1901); and now we have the pleasure of introducing to the readers of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES not only a new edition, but also a translation of the *Didascalia* into English.[1] But before describing the merits of the new edition, I must give a general idea of its contents, which, from the reasons hinted at by the Bishop, cannot be known to many; better, however, than by my own words, I do so by the description given by Wordsworth at the place just mentioned.

'The *Didascalia*,' he says, 'is rather a somewhat rambling discourse on church life and society than a church order. . . . The *first* book consists of precepts for the laity. The *second* is on the duties and rights of the clergy, bishops, presbyters and deacons—but especially of bishops, on church courts, and on the internal arrangement of a church. The latter is interesting from its arrangement of the women behind the men, and not in a separate aisle, and from having no mention of bema, altar or baptistery, or any reference to daily service. This is the most primitive description of a church that we possess. The *third* book is on widows and on baptism. Baptism by women is dissuaded on the ground that if it had been right, our Lord would have been baptized by His mother and not by St. John. A deaconess, however, is to assist in the baptism of women. The *fourth* book is on orphans and their adoption by Churchmen. The *fifth* is on the care and honour due to martyrs and confessors, and on Christian festivals. The Sibyl is quoted, and the history of the Phœnix given as a type of the resurrection. Sunday, though a feast, is not to be a day of disorderly pleasure. The Paschal fast is described at great length, and apparently contains a mixture of two inconsistent accounts, one making it six days, the other nine. . . . The chronology of Holy Week is peculiar, and inconsistent with the Gospels. . . . As regards the fast, it is rather fully developed, and this is a point against very early date. . . . The Easter Eucharist is to be at the third hour of the night after the Sabbath. No other feast is mentioned. Then follows, in an awkward position, a short chapter on the discipline of children. The *sixth* book is on heresies and schisms. The only names of heretics mentioned are those of Simon Magus and Cleobius. . . . This section presupposes the legend of Simon Magus and St. Peter. There is also an attack upon Jewish Mishnic and Judæo-Christian traditions as to cleanness and uncleanness, from which, as from other indications, we may clearly gather that the book was written in Syria or Palestine. This section also contains one of the rare references to details of public worship. . . . Much of the argument on ceremonial uncleanness shows good sense, and there is a similar opposition to austerity in the rules about discipline and penitence which may be anti-Montanist. There is no sufficient evidence that it is anti-Novatian. The date is somewhere between 200 and 250 A.D.'

To make such a book generally accessible is no small merit. It would have been meritorious, if the new edition would have been a mere reproduction of Lagarde's edition of 1854. For this book was printed in one hundred copies only, so that it is now almost impossible to obtain it.[2] But the new edition is based on a new MS., which was procured by Rendel Harris from the East. Its copyist says in a note (not translated by Mrs. Gibson), that the copy from which he worked was written in Estrangelo, 1347 years ago—that would be, as he himself wrote in the year 1899, the year 552. I do not know whether this statement can be trusted; in many respects the Paris MS. used by Lagarde seems to be the better of the two, but at other places we now get for the first time important parts of the *Didascalia*, and it is a pity that Professor Nau, who published a French translation in the *Canoniste Contemporain*, 1901–02, and separately, Paris 1902, did not wait for the present edition. First of all, the Introduction has been completely missing hitherto. It begins—

'We twelve Apostles of the only Son, the Everlasting Word of God, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus the Christ, being assembled with

[1] *Horæ Semiticæ No. I. The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac.* Edited from a Mesopotamian Manuscript, with Various Readings and Collations of other MSS, by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., LL.D. (St. Andrews). London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1903. 4to, pp. x, 236. 15s. net. —*Horæ Semiticæ No. II. The Didascalia Apostolorum in English.* Translated from the Syriac by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., LL.D. (St. Andrews). London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1903. Pp. xviii, 113. 4s. net.

[2] Besides the copy from the library of Professor Gildemeister in Bonn, acquired by myself, I have noticed in the course of twenty-five years only one copy offered for sale by Williams & Norgate at the price of 25s.; and Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vi., 'Analecta Antenicæna, ii.', which contains Lagarde's retranslation of the *Didascalia* into Greek, is equally rare.

one accord in Jerusalem, the city of the great King, and with us our brother Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and James the Bishop of the above-mentioned city, have established this *Didascalia*, in which are included the Confession and the Creed, and we have named (nominated, instituted) all the Ordinances, as the ordinances of the Heavenly ones, and thus again the Ordinances of the Church.' After mentioning bishop, elders, deacons, sub-deacons, lectors, and psalmists, they state that they send this book by the hand of Clement their comrade. As if to remove any doubt that this introduction is translated from the Greek, ΔΙΑΚΑΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ is here rendered באידי אקלימנטום, and this mentioning of Clement at the outset is especially important, because it fixes at once the place of the *Didascalia* in the range of that vast literature connected with the name of Clement of Rome.

In the book itself we do not get similar additions; on the contrary, at several places leaves must have been absent in the Mesopotamian Codex, the contents of which are preserved by the Paris MS. At one place a confusion of leaves has happened; what we now read pp. 63, 15–68, 10 belongs before 55, 1. At another, an intrusion found place of materials not belonging to the *Didascalia*, but a very welcome one. For what we read from 16, 17–33, 10 is parallel to a part of the so-called *Testament of our Lord*, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, and *The Doctrine of Addai*, published by Lagarde, Cureton, Rahmani, and Arendzen, and offers interesting variants to these texts. Once a marginal note tells us that the Mesopotamian Codex had been compared with another one, giving us the reading contained in the Paris MS.

But Mrs. Gibson was not satisfied to compare her text with Lagarde's edition and the Codex itself, on which it is based, but she was able to use another MS. brought by Harris from the East, which, together with the Mossul Codex utilized by Arendzen, gives two long passages in the insertion just mentioned; further, the Cambridge MS. 2023, which became known to her only after more than 100 pages were already printed; the Malabar Bible of Cambridge; the Borgian MS., known since Rahmani, and one of the British Museum.

Beside its importance for the history of ecclesiastical life, the *Didascalia* is interesting for its biblical quotations, for those from the Old Testament as well as those from the New, especially from the Gospels. For Lagarde seems to be right, who believed that its author used a harmony of the Gospels. The quotations from the Gospels remind one sometimes of Justin Martyr (comp. 'As our Lord and Saviour Jesus said: *There will be heresies and schisms*'), sometimes of the Gospel of Peter, especially in the history of the Passion with the strange notice of a visit of the risen Lord to the house of Levi, whom the *Constitutions* seem to have identified with Cleophas (= Alphæus, Mk 2^{14}?). One quotation from the O.T. not recognized by Nau hints at the use of the recension ascribed to Lucian, and raises the question whether the *Didascalia* is not later than has been hitherto supposed. But this is not the place to enter upon this very difficult question.

There remains a word to be said about the English translation. Mrs. Gibson brought the translation to a close at the end of chap. 26, which Professor Nau considers to be its natural termination. The last chapter is indeed an appendix, but a very important one: 'It teaches'—thus runs the heading of the new text—'what is the Law and what the *Deuterosis* of the Law, and is a warning to all Christians to flee from the bonds of the Deuterosis of the Law, and not to seek to bear them; and he who wishes to bear them is subject to the curse of the Law, while he confirms also the curse on our Saviour. Close of the *Didascalia* and *Apology* on account of it.' Those who are not acquainted with Syriac must seek its translation in Nau, pp. 142–160. I have not compared anew the translation with the original. I have noticed a slight mistake in the heading of chap. 26. There it must be that the apostles turned *again* to the churches of the Gentiles, not 'from the first.' Another mistake happened to the Syriac translator himself. The author, who from Polycarp had taken the beautiful saying that the true widows are the altar of God, knew also of other widows who, according to his pun, are not χῆραι but πῆραι. The Syriac renders it 'blinded'; I wonder whether without the help of the *Constitutions* this mistake would have been found out so easily.

Finally, I beg to call attention to the paper of Professor Funk, 'La date de la *Didascalie* des Apôtres,' in the *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique*, ii. 4 (1901), not mentioned by Wordsworth in his *Ministry*, and to certain new dates about the *Audians*, with whom the *Didascalia* may have

originated, or was at least in use, which may be gathered from a publication of Professor J. B. Chabot in the *Journal Asiatique* (1901, Théodore Bar-Khouni et le livre des Scholies).

Surely this new series of the learned twin-sisters of Cambridge could not open better than by so important a publication done in such careful way.

Traces of Tree-Worship in the Old Testament.

By the Rev. R. Bruce Taylor, M.A., Aberdeen.

Wherever in the Holy Land you find a spring gushing from the earth, you find also, tied to the bushes overhanging it, many small pieces of cloth. The Syrians of to-day have no uniform explanation of the practice. Some say it is done to avert the evil eye; others wish by it to appease the ginn of the spring; barren women strive thus to secure offspring; Sir Richard Burton thinks that the pieces of cloth are always taken from diseased persons and intended to be actual receptacles of the disease, just as in Thuringia to-day, a string of rowan berries, or a rag touched by some sick person, is hung on a bush by a forest path so as to transfer the disease from the sufferer to a wayfarer.[1]

The variety of those explanations shows that they are inadequate, and, besides, they do not account for the sanctity in which the water is held. It is the water itself that is the object of worship. With our climate it is difficult to understand the fascination which vegetation and running water have in the East. 'No one can tell how many voices a tree has who has not come up to it from the silence of the great desert. No one may imagine how possessed a landscape can feel—as if singled out and endowed by some divinity for his own domain and residence—who has not, across the forsaken plateaus of Moab or Anti-Lebanon, fallen upon one of the sudden Syrian rivers with its wealth of water and of verdure.'[2] When one looks back over some months spent in Syria and the Holy Land it is to remember, not the dust of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, or the parched uplands of Judæa, not the dirt of Tiberias or the cold of Hermon, but the wadies of Moab with their delicious wooded shade, the oleanders fringing the sacred shores of the Sea of Galilee, the splendid pool at Baalbek darkened by its wealth of trees, the cool rush and gurgle of Abana and Pharpar as they accompany you on your ride into Damascus under the rich green of the poplars. It is the very aridness of the land that makes its verdure so grateful. To us it brings the thought of home: to the Semite it brought the thought of God.

The worship of trees has, of course, had its place in the religious development of every people. Hidden behind some of our most sacred feasts are customs that have had their origin in pagan ceremonial; and the early Christian missionaries, instead of attempting to obliterate those deep-rooted rites gave them a new application, and endeavoured through them to turn men's minds to higher things. Certain it is that our great Christian feasts coincide in time, not with the most probable anniversaries of outstanding events in the life of Christ and of the Church, but with the critical points in the circle of the year. 'Easter' is derived from *Eostre*, the Anglo-Saxon goddess of spring. The Festival of St. John is the old festival celebrated on Midsummer Day.[3] Christmas falls at the time of the winter solstice, and the customs connected with the Yule log and the Yule sheaf show that it is the continuation of a pagan feast with the most sacred of associations given to it. Whitsunday is in all Europe associated with customs showing that it was originally a feast connected with the powers of vegetation, an attempt to perpetuate the spirit of spring, and to ensure rain during the summer months by an act of sympathetic magic.[4]

If we thus find those customs connected with tree-worship so universal in Europe, where the moisture and the abundance of vegetation would

[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii. 150.
[2] G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 88.
[3] J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (first edition), i. 274.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 247 ff.

seem to render them almost superfluous, we can well understand that in a land like Palestine where trees were few, so few as to be easily distinguished as 'the oak which was at ——,' the worship paid to them was real and accentuated. The land around a spring green with vegetation was called 'Baal's land';[1] it was held sacrosanct; and the trees themselves were supposed to be endowed with the life of the god.[2] Cloth and votive offerings were hung upon the trees to secure the favour of the deity, just as blood and oil were poured upon the stone in which he was supposed to dwell, to 'smooth his face.'[3] But, apart altogether from local conditions, such as the aridity of Syria and its wonderful springs, the presumption would naturally be that the Israelites, as part of the great Semitic stock, would be sharers in those beliefs that we find spread over a wide area of Asia. And if it be suggested that the Israelites, by their peculiar disciplines and wanderings, were likely to have had any such primitive beliefs eradicated before they entered the Promised Land, it may be answered that it is not on *à priori* grounds probable that beliefs such as these, accepted in the childhood and most impressionable part of a people's life, should have been destroyed in the course of a few centuries of isolated existence. Education does more in one generation to break down superstition than isolation for a millennium. But even in our own land those primitive beliefs have not vanished. Many superstitions that the reason utterly rejects are still maintained by those who would be ashamed to own that superstition plays any part in their life. The customs among country people with regard to the last sheaf, the observance of May Day, the Scotch Hallowe'en, the superstitions among the educated with reference to the spilling of salt, to the walking under a ladder, to the breaking of a mirror, to the sitting down thirteen at table—when those things are with us to-day we cannot reasonably suppose that a tribe of Semites, never altogether out of touch with other tribes of their race, should have had most deep-seated beliefs altogether removed by their sojourn in Egypt, and by their subsequent life in the desert. The centuries of oppression in Egypt, so far from eradicating tribal and national beliefs, would rather tend to seat them deeper. All religious history is witness to this, that it is not during persecution that faith fails; while the Babylonian exile, and indeed the whole subsequent history of the Jewish race, shows us how tenaciously religious views were held under circumstances that might well have destroyed them.

That tree-worship was one of the essential elements in Semitic religious beliefs needs no very elaborate proof. We are all familiar with the representations on Assyrian, and also on Babylonian, seals and cylinders, of figures in part human, in part animal, standing before trees. In some of the designs the figures—human heads and bodies but furnished with large wings—appear to be in the act of artificially fertilizing the palm tree by scattering the male bloom over the female palm. The importance of the palm may have made it a tree specially sacred, but the character of the symbol allows us to see how tree-worship easily came to refer to the blessings of fertility in general,[4] and how it could become in the minds of a sensuous people a justification for much that the true Hebrew held in horror. But the evidence goes farther back than this conventional representation. In a bilingual hymn which is of Accadian origin, and probably one of the most ancient specimens of literature in existence, a mystical tree is described as the abode of the gods.[5] The symbol of the sacred tree soon became conventionalized, and took the form of a pole which has exact analogies in the posts and pillars of Mycenæan religious art,[6] and in the Asherah of the Hebrews. And while there is a whole world of difference in the religious outlook of the Creation chapters in Genesis, and the accounts which have been discovered in Assyria and Babylonia, there can be no doubt that the Hebrew version is in much of its *material* derived from the Babylonian. Even Professor Sayce, with his zeal for a pure record, and his hostility to the Higher Criticism, is forced to yield this point. 'The biblical writer, it is plain, is acquainted either directly or indirectly with the Assyrian and Babylonian tradition;' and, while emphasizing the monotheistic character of the Genesis narrative, Professor Sayce also says, 'This ought not to blind

[1] W. R. Smith, *Religion of Semites*,[2] p. 97.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 97; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 81.
[3] 1 S 13^{12}; W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 205.
[4] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 662.
[5] Philpot, *Tree-Worship*, p. 4.
[6] Evans, *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 57.

us to the fact that the narrative is ultimately of Babylonian origin.'[1] In both the Babylonian and the Hebrew accounts the tree figures prominently. In one of the seals discovered by George Smith, and figured in his *Chaldean Genesis*, a man and a woman are seen seated on either side of a tree. From the tree there hang rich bunches of fruit, and each has put out a hand to seize a bunch. Behind the woman a serpent is rearing itself up.[2]

But leaving those far off days, and coming to a branch of the Semitic stock that lay much nearer the Hebrews than the Assyrians did, we find that in the Arabs of the times of Mohammed, as well as in the Arabs of to-day, there is abundant evidence of the worship of trees. It may be objected to all evidence of this kind that it really does nothing to show that tree-worship existed among the Hebrews. We know practically nothing of the customs of the nomads between the times of the Judges and the days of Hezekiah. They have left us no record of themselves, either on stone, or clay, or papyrus. Their literature does not begin until a period centuries later than the days of the kingship in Israel. But when we think how conservative the Arab is, when we remember that all the monotheistic intensity of Islam has not been able in twelve hundred years to eradicate tree-worship, and that the Arab in the interior of Arabia is even yet practically untouched by its influence,[3] we shall be led to attach no small weight to the evidence that the Arabian literature of the past and the Arabic customs of the present give to the prevalence of such a belief. We have found tree-worship among the Assyrians and the Babylonians; we shall find it common among the Arabs of the seventh century A.D. and onwards. The probability is that such worship dates from the time in the grey dawn of religious belief when the mysterious powers of nature first began to engage the attention of man, and to afford him an outlet for the religious instinct.

The evidence in ancient Arabic literature for the existence of isolated sacred trees is not plentiful, but what evidence there is proves a practical identity between the customs of fourteen hundred years ago and the customs of to-day. As the tree was supposed to be endowed with sacred life, gifts were offered to it. Thus the goddess Uzza of Al Nachla was worshipped by hanging fine woman's raiment upon a palm tree. The nature of the raiment was due to the fact that a goddess was worshipped there.[4] There was a similar tree to which the people of Mecca resorted annually, and upon which they hung weapons, garments, ostrich eggs, and other gifts.[5] The idea that the divinity in the tree could be feminine is perpetuated in the value that the Arabs to-day ascribe to the gum of the acacia as an amulet.[6] The religious value of incense in the same way seems to have been due, not to the sacredness of the service in which it was burned, but to the fact that frankincense was the gum of a sacred kind of tree, and was collected with religious precautions.[7]

A natural result of the sanctity ascribed to particular trees and groves was that those trees could not be interfered with without grave injury happening to the person who dared such sacrilege. It is told of two men who lived shortly before the days of Mohammed, and who sought to bring under cultivation a thicket by setting on fire the underwood, that the demons of the place in the form of white serpents flew away with loud cries, and soon after the offenders died.[8] This belief in the power of the spirit of the tree to avenge an injury done to it still persists. Dr. Mackinnon of Damascus told me of a woman in Bludan in the Lebanon, who tried to cure her sick husband by hanging over his head a branch torn from the sacred grove at the foot of the village. But for her audacity she spent a terrible night. She thought she saw a black horse on which was riding a demon with streaming hair. In terror she carried the branch back to the grove, and had rest afterwards.

Another power attributed to trees by the Arabs of both ancient and modern times is *that of giving an oracle*, and, as we shall presently see, this belief was shared by the Hebrews also down to the prophetic period. For the origin of such a belief two possible reasons may be given. The Arab probably believed that the deity dwelling in

[1] Driver, *Authority and Archæology*, p. 15.
[2] St. Chad Boscawen, *The Bible and the Monuments*, p. 89.
[3] Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, p. 201.
[4] Wellhausen, *Die Reste d. Arab. Heidentums*, p. 101.
[5] W. R. Smith, *Religion of Semites*, p. 185.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 133.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 427.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 133; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 449.

the tree expressed his will by the movements of the branches. But the supposed oracular powers may be connected with the idea that as the roots of the trees go deep down into the earth, so they must be in touch with the spirits dwelling below —the same idea that gave rise to the veneration in which caves were generally held by primitive peoples. We know from Virgil that the oaks of Dodona were held specially sacred, because their roots were supposed to penetrate more deeply than the roots of other varieties.[1] But whatever the origin of the belief, its existence can be amply proved. It was the voice of a tree, heard in a dream, which told Moslim ben 'Ocba that he was to command the army of Yazid against Medina.[2] To-day every oasis in the desert has its *menhel* or sacred place, called *menhel-el-meluk*, *i.e.* a lighting place of the Power of the air, and this *menhel* is generally a tree, although it may be also a stone,[3] or even a man who has been suddenly seized with the power of the spirit.[4] When a sick nomad comes to an oasis where the *menhel* is a tree, he sacrifices a sheep and divides it among his friends, leaving, however, some flesh hanging upon the tree; then he lies down to slumber, full of his superstitious faith that the *melaika* (angels, or fairy-like ginns) will descend upon him in vision, and speak precepts for his health. The sick, the Arab himself says, will awaken whole and sound, but if anyone in health be so hardy as to slumber there, he will rise upon the morrow a broken man.[5]

That there are likely to be in the Old Testament *traces*, at all events, of a belief that permeated the Semitic race from the Caucasus to Yemen is *à priori* probable. Revelation comes through individuals, and is proportioned to the degree of moral and intellectual culture that a people has reached. And, unless all the conclusions of the criticism that has been applied to the O.T. are false, God has revealed Himself to His chosen people, not so much by exempting them from those frailties that the rest of the human race have been subject to, as by implanting in their minds the conscience of better things, and by refusing to let the truth fade utterly from their thoughts. If the Israelites were to be to the world an instance of God's leading of a people, it was just as necessary that they should face a people's temptations as it was necessary that Christ, in becoming a faithful high priest for us, should suffer and be tempted. We shall therefore expect to find survivals of old customs, the original significance of which was possibly lost long before the days of the kingship, and which were exercised with just as little thought of their primitive and pagan meaning as we have in decorating a Christmas tree. Such survivals will show that revelation starts from what is intelligible to men at the time in which the revelation first began to be made. They will prove that the Hebrews did share, with the rest of the Semite stock, beliefs that from the modern point of view are anything but ennobling, and which were yet an advance on a state of things in which the religious sanctions were still more vague; just as Mohammedanism, which is so far from fulfilling the Christian standard, was yet a great restriction of the moral licence that had prevailed in Arabia prior to the days of Mohammed. The explanations, too, which later ages gave of the origin of those customs will show that the pagan character of the nature cult was very soon seen, and that what could not be altogether eradicated by reforming zeal had a new interpretation given to it by which the moral danger connected with the observance of an ancient custom was greatly lessened. It is thus likely that any traces of the actual worship of trees will be found to be confined to very early times. The actual *worship* disappeared when the primitive spirit informing the custom had given way to some other explanation. For instance, we cannot claim the fact that Samuel set up a stone on the battlefield and called it Eben-ezer as an evidence of stone-worship in the days of Samuel. Deborah, many a long year before, had ascribed her victory to Jehovah, and it is absurd to suppose that Samuel was thanking for his victory some stone deity. The custom may have had its *origin* in a belief of this kind, but the belief was not present in Samuel's mind when he set up the stone. The primitive usage was there; the primitive interpretation had vanished. 'The new interpretation of the sacred stones and trees in a Jahvistic sense, of which we have the final result in the historical books of the O.T., may have begun very early.'[6] But, at the same time, the evidence is certainly strong enough

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 291: 'tantum radici in Tartara.'
[2] W. R. Smith, *Religion of Semites*, p. 133.
[3] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ii. 516.
[4] *Ibid.* ii. 109.
[5] *Ibid.* i. 449.
[6] Kuenen, *Religion of Israel* (Eng. tr.), i. 394.

to show that the position of those who hold that there were no nature elements in the religion of Israel is quite untenable. The present paper deals only with traces of tree-worship; but a precisely similar investigation, with precisely similar results, might be made into cases of stone-worship, the worship of springs, and the worship of animals. And such an investigation does nothing to destroy faith. Rather does it tend to confirm it. Revelation, in leading men to higher things, begins with what they know and can appreciate, and guides them step by step into fuller truth. God has never asked of men aught but a reasonable service.

The evidence for traces of tree-worship in the O.T. runs along several lines.

1. Evidence from Etymology.—In the O.T. four words are constantly used in connexion with sacred trees, אֵלָה, אַלּוֹן, אַיָּלָה, and אֵלוֹן. It was supposed that the Massoretes had consistently meant to indicate by אַלּוֹן, אֵלָה, and אֵלָה, the 'terebinth,' and by אַלּוֹן the 'oak.' But it is impossible to preserve this distinction. In an unpointed text אֵלוֹן could not be distinguished from אַלּוֹן, or אֵלָה from אַיָּלָה. We find, too, that in the Hebrew text the same tree is referred to sometimes by one term, sometimes by another. For instance, the אַלּוֹן (Gn 35^8) under which the nurse of Rebekah was buried, is called elsewhere a palm, תָּמָר (Jg 4^5). Elim (אֵילִם) received its name from the seventy palm trees that were there. Again, the same tree, while designated by the same consonants, has a different Massoretic pointing. The tree at Joseph's grave is called אֵלָה (Gn 18^6 35^4), and also אַלָה (Jos 24^{26}).

When we turn to the LXX, we find great uncertainty in translation. For instance, אֵלָה is rendered by δρῦς (1 S 17^{19}); by τερέβινθος (Gn 35^4, Jg $6^{11.\ 19}$); by δένδρον σύσκιον (Ezk 6^{13}, Hos 4^{13}). אֵלוֹן it renders by δρῦς (Gn 12^6); by βάλανος (Jg 9^6); אַלּוֹן by δρῦς (Hos 4^{13}); by βάλανος (Gn 35^8); by βασανις (Ezk 27^6).

This indefiniteness in the rendering of the various words for tree, their obvious connexion with the root אול, and the fact that the Phœnicians used the word *alonim* for 'gods,' all go to show that the Hebrews, in calling certain trees by those names that are so similar, did not intend to express any botanical distinction, but meant to indicate the holy character of those trees. The names were given to the trees not simply as trees, but as sacred trees. This conclusion is largely supported,[1] and, if it be granted, it forms a very strong piece of evidence that certain trees were at one time worshipped because they were believed to be the dwelling-places of spirits.

2. Trees giving Oracles.—The evidence in support of tree-worship is not merely etymological. Such an argument could be taken as valid only for the formative period of a language, and a word and a custom may persist long after the circumstances which gave birth to it have passed away. The soldier who salutes his officer in the regulation way is not, as a rule, aware that in raising his hand to his eyes he is perpetuating a custom of the days of chivalry, when the knight, on entering the lists, shaded his eyes lest they should be dazzled by the splendour of the Queen of Beauty. The etymological argument, therefore, can only be a link in a chain, and that by no means the strongest link. The evidence in such an examination as this is of necessity cumulative. We stand too far from those days to be able to treat any one line of argument as conclusive. But there is much to show that at one time trees were thought of by the Hebrews, as we have seen they are thought of by the Arabs of to-day, as giving oracles. Names of particular trees, such as the אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה of Gn 12^6, and the אֵלוֹן מְעוֹנְנִים of Jg 9^{37}, suggest this. But the classic instance of this kind is where David, after the defeat of the Philistines at Baal-perazim (2 S 5^{23}), 'inquired of the Lord' (שׁאל ביהוה) as to his further action, and was told that he was to be guided by 'the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees.' How the inquiry at the Lord was conducted we do not know. Probably some soothsayer interpreted the oracle, but the belief seems to be plain enough that the god dwelt in the tree and gave his messages to men through it. Thus the fables in Jg $9^{8ff.}$, 2 K 14^9, where the trees are represented as speaking, may not be merely the romances they at first sight

[1] Ges.-Buhl, אֵלָה I., and אֵלוֹן I.; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. 455; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*,[4] p. 239; Moore, *Judges*, p. 121; Holzinger, *Genesis*, p. 137. For the view that there is a distinction in meaning between אֵלוֹן ('oak') and אֵלָה ('terebinth'), see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.vv.*, Del. and Dillm. on Gn 12^6, and art. 'Terebinth' in vol. iv. of Hastings' *D.B.*

seem, but may have their origin in a popular and primitive belief in the possession of the tree by a conscious soul.[1] In the remarkable expression in the ancient song, Dt 33^{16}, 'the goodwill of Him that dwelt in the bush' (רְצוֹן שֹׁכְנִי סְנֶה), we have an utterance of the same belief. The connexion in which the phrase occurs seems to preclude any special reference to the story of Moses and the burning bush. The God that dwelt in the bush was not a reminiscence of Sinai, but the statement of a present fact. The use of the word שָׁכַן, especially in the participial form, seems to imply more than a mere temporary dwelling, and to point to a belief existing, when the poem was composed, that God did actually dwell in the bush. If this be indeed the case, then we should expect to find that the account of the bush that burned and was not consumed would have its parallel either in the O.T. or in the beliefs of neighbouring Semitic peoples. According to Africanus and Eustathius, the same sight was seen at the terebinth of Mamre, where the whole tree seemed to be aflame, but was in fact unhurt.[2] 'It was believed that fire played about the branches of the sacred olive tree between the Ambrosian rocks at Tyre, without scorching its leaves.'[3] The physical basis of this particular belief may have been, as Robertson Smith suggests,[4] the electrical phenomena so common in the clear and dry air of the desert; but whether this be so or not, the connexion of the god with the tree still remains.

The account in Nu 17 of Aaron's rod which, alone of all the rods laid up for the tribes, budded, is an instance of a form of oracle by trees that was almost universally believed in in primitive times. The uncertainty in the documents renders it impossible to say at what time the story of Aaron's rod originated, but the belief in rhabdomancy, which is simply a particular form of the belief in the oracle-giving power of trees, persisted in Israel down to the days of Hosea. The prophet complains (4^{12}), 'My people ask counsel at their stock and their staff declareth unto them.'[5] There may be a reference to a similar practice in Is 17^{10}, where the prophet attacks the current belief: 'Thou didst forget the God of thy welfare, and the rock of thy fortress thou rememberedst not, therefore thou didst plant plants of Adonis'[6] (so that an oracle might be derived by their flourishing or withering). Thus when the sacred fig-tree of Romulus, a tree which was worshipped in the midst of the forum at Rome down to the days of the empire withered, consternation spread throughout the city.[7] On the slope of the Palatine hill there grew a cornel tree, which was esteemed one of the most sacred objects in Rome. Whenever a passer by thought that it was drooping he gave a cry, and at once the neighbours flocked together from all sides with buckets of water, as if, says Plutarch, they were running to put out a fire.[8]

3. Connexion of Trees with Places of Justice.—There is a very considerable body of evidence associating the primitive courts of law with sacred trees. It seems to have been thought that, if justice were dispensed under a sacred tree, the god dwelling in the tree would take care that the decisions were according to truth, and the decisions themselves would, in the eyes of the litigants, have a special sanctity, not only as having been declared by those who were entitled to do so, but also as having been promulgated under the influence of the divinity dwelling in the tree. Thus Saul tarried in the uttermost part of Gibeah under a pomegranate tree which is in Migron (1 S 14^{2}). In this place, probably already sacred, he had with him Ahiah, the priest of the Lord, bearing an ephod—a plated image also representing divinity. Deborah, when she was judging Israel, dwelt under a palm tree (Jg 4^{5}). The text gives תַּחַת תֹּמֶר דְּבוֹרָה, and then adds בֵּין הָרָמָה וּבֵין בֵּית־אֵל בְּהַר אֶפְרָיִם. The geographical note is a late and mistaken interpolation. The whole situation requires that Deborah should have lived much nearer the centre of action than in the uplands of Ephraim. But in those uplands was the traditional oak under which Deborah the nurse of Rebekah had been buried. Jg 5^{15}, moreover, seems to imply that Deborah the heroine was of the tribe of Issachar, and the whole story

[1] W. R. Smith, *Religion of Semites*, p. 133.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 193.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 193.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 194.
[5] עַמִּי בְעֵצוֹ יִשְׁאָל וּמַקְלוֹ יַגִּיד לוֹ; cf. Wellhausen, *Kl. Proph. in loco.*
[6] נטעי נעמנים. So translated by Ew. Cheyne; W. R. Smith, *Religion of Semites*, p. 197.
[7] Tacitus, *Ann.* 13. 58.
[8] Plutarch, *Romulus*; cf. J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*,[1] i. 58, 59.

leads us to think that her home was in or near the Plain of Jezreel. It has been conjectured, with very great probability, that instead of תֹּמֶר דְּבוֹרָה should be read תֹּמֶר דֶּבֶרֶת (Jos 19^{12} 21^{28}), *i.e.* the modern Deburiyeh, at the western foot of Tabor.[1] But, apart altogether from the question of the reading, the connexion between the exercise of justice and the proximity of the judge to the sacred tree is remarkable. The same conjunction of the sacred tree, and specially sacred acts, is to be found in connexion with the famous tree at Shechem, under which Jacob was said to have concealed the idols and amulets of his household. Not only was there a tree here, but beside the tree there was a sacred stone. According to Jos 24^{26}, the stone was erected there by Joshua as a witness of the covenant that the people made at that place with God. The stone was 'set up there under the oak that was in the sanctuary of the Lord.' It was the memorial of the oath, and was guarded by the spirit in the tree. Thus the tree and the stone were always thought of together, and the tree came to be known as the 'sacred tree of the *mazzebah*.'[2] Its sacred character is shown by the part it played in the consecration of a king. It was beside it that the men of Shechem assembled themselves when they made Abimelech king (Jg 9^{6}). Indeed, it seems to have become the regular coronation place of the kings in the Northern realm; for Rehoboam, although sprung of a purely Judaic stock, came north to Shechem on the death of Solomon, 'for all Israel was come to Shechem to make him king' (1 K 12^{1}).

When we think of the permanent place that the sacred tree had in the minds of the Hebrews, and when we remember that it was associated with the exercise of an unvarying justice, we can understand why the sacred tree was generally an evergreen. The evergreen was chosen, not because it was botanically a specially sacred tree, but because it best exhibited the enduring presence of the deity. It was necessary that the divinity should be constantly present in the tree, and had its leaves been shed every year it might have been thought, as the instances from Roman history have already shown us, that the divinity was deserting his habitation. Hence the sacred tree is distinguished from others by being called the 'green tree.'[3] Even to-day, among the Arabs, the evergreen is generally the sacred tree. 'There are two *menahil* in the Jan, one of them is a bush, and the other is a sort of evergreen oak.'[4] Baudissin has sought to explain the choice of the evergreen on the ground that it alone showed the power of God constantly manifesting itself in the fruitfulness of nature.[5] But this proves too much. It would require us to understand that all evergreens were held to be sacred, and there is no evidence to this effect. All that can be said is that there was a preference for the evergreen. It is unwarrantable to say, as Stade does, that it was always an evergreen that was worshipped.[6]

4. The Asherah.—The final form that tree-worship assumed before it was rooted out through the centralization of cultus and the heightened moral and spiritual sense of the people was that of the Asherah. In every religion there is the influence at work which tends to make merely conventional those things which have at one time been held as important articles of faith. The religious history of those old days illustrates the same trend. For instance, it had been at one time customary for worship to be conducted on the hill-top, and the 'high-places' with all their pagan associations became to the prophets a name of horror. But gradually the high-place itself became less and less important so long as some representation of it was preserved. Any mound thrown up came to serve as a *bāmāh*.[7] And, lastly, the term lost its original significance and came to be applied to any idolatrous shrine or altar. In the same way, the sacred tree, which was so frequent an accompaniment of the altar, came to be regarded as a conventional necessity; and, as it was impossible that there should always be a tree growing where an altar was erected, the tree itself was represented by a pillar set up beside the altar. At what time the Asherah first came into use we do not know, but it is quite probable that it was a recognized element in Canaanitish worship when the Israelites entered the Promised

[1] Cf. Moore, and Budde, on Jg 4^{5}.

[2] Moore on Jg 9^{6}.

[3] Is 57^{5}, Jer 2^{20} $3^{6.\ 12}$, Ezek 6^{13}, Dt 12^{2}.

[4] Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 449.

[5] Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*, i. 65.

[6] Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. 445.

[7] Jer 7^{31} 19^{5}, 2 K 17^{9}, Lv 26^{30}. 2 K 23^{8} tells us that there were *bamoth* at the gate of the city—apparently niches with statues in them. For the same conventional *bāmāh* in Babylonia, cf. Peters, *Nippur*, ii. 130.

Land. Certainly among neighbouring peoples the conventional sacred pillar was used very early as an adjunct of worship. In Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, there is a reproduction of a monument at Khorsabad in which Assyrian priests are shown touching or anointing a pole set up beside a portable altar.[1] And on the west, Mycenæan art is full of such representations.[2] Of course, where there was a living tree, the Asherah would not be erected, but where there was no tree, and where a tree would not grow, the post was used instead. Dt 16^{21} apparently refers to both forms. 'Thou shalt not plant an Asherah, any form of tree, beside the altar of Jehovah.' But that the conventional Asherah soon became much more common than the real tree, can be accepted without very elaborate proof. The nature of the Asherah is clear from the words that are used in connexion with it. The passage just cited in Dt speaks of it as being planted (נטע) in the ground. In Jg 26 it is said to be of wood. It could be artificially 'made' (עשׂה, Is 17^{8}, 1 K 14^{15} 16^{33}). It was 'set up' (הציב). It could receive an image-like form (1 K 15^{13}). To destroy it, it could be 'cut down' (ברת, Ex 34^{13}), 'hewn down' (נדע, Dt 7^{5}), 'plucked up' (נתשׁ, Mic 5^{13}), 'pulled down' (נתץ, 2 Ch 34^{7}), 'broken in pieces' (שׁבר 2 Ch 37^{4}), 'burned with fire' (שׂרף, Dt 12^{3}). From those terms, and from the representations of a similar worship that have come down to us from other sources, we can see that the Asherah was simply a post set in the ground, like an English maypole, to represent the sacred tree. It is possible that there was some ritual connected with its worship, and that some attempt was made to uphold the custom of offering gifts to the sacred tree. This, at all events, seems to be the most obvious explanation of the difficult passage, 2 K 23^{7}, where, if the text be correct, some sort of drapery for the sacred tree is referred to, אֲשֶׁר בתים הַנָּשִׁים אֹרְגוֹת שָׁם בָּתִּים לָאֲשֵׁרָה. For בתים LXX reads χεττιείν, which may represent, as Klostermann and Benzinger think, an original כתנים=כְּתָנוֹת. But the general sense seems to be plain enough.[3]

Against the worship of the Asherah the great prophets never ceased to protest. When Isaiah thinks of the day of doom he pictures to himself a day when 'a man shall look to his Maker . . . neither shall he have respect to that which his fingers have made, either the Asherahs or the sun-images.'[4] In almost the same terms Micah looks to a day when 'God will cut off the graven images, and the *mazzebahs* and the Asherahs from the midst of Israel.'[5] Jeremiah, a century later, speaks of the seductive influence of the altars and of the Asherahs by the green trees upon the high hills.[6] But it was the Book of Deuteronomy (621 B.C.) that gave the impulse to the rooting out of this vestige of tree-worship. The commands in Dt to destroy the altars, and the pillars, and the Asherahs,[7] show that those things existed up to the time of Josiah. It was the reformation that Josiah accomplished, and the subsequent centralization of cultus in Jerusalem along the lines laid down in the Book of Deuteronomy, as well as the deeper knowledge of the character of Jehovah, that led to the abolition of this last trace of the old tree cult. But as legislation can never move far in advance of public opinion, so it is evident that the work of the prophets for the previous hundred-and-fifty years had not been lost. Worthier thoughts of God must have led to stirrings of conscience with regard to those places that were associated with so much that was simply a deifying of human lust. The Book of Deuteronomy fell on a prepared soil. The prophet who wrote it, perhaps thinking himself solitary as he did so, found in Israel many that had not bowed the knee to Baal, found a king who would put the whole machinery of the State at his service, found a people willing in the day of His power. There were, as was natural, slippings back. Josiah's work was followed by reaction under Manasseh. But tree-worship was, from this time forward, recognized as something evil, and offensive to Jehovah. Where the old sacred trees still stood, and where it was impossible to do away with the veneration that was paid to them, the evil associations of the past were broken by linking the tree with some incident in the life of the patriarchs. Thus the אֵשֶׁל at Beersheba, one of the most famous sanctuaries in all the land, was said to have been planted by Abraham as a

[1] Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. 461.
[2] Evans, *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, 79–87.
[3] Cf. also W. R. Smith, *Religion of Semites*, p. 192.
[4] Is 17^{9}, the phrase is repeated in the late passage, Is 27^{9}.
[5] Mic $5^{13\ 14}$.
[6] Jer 17^{2}.
[7] Dt 12^{3} 16^{21}.

memorial of his covenant with Abimelech. So, too, the name of Abraham was associated with the famous tree at Mamre, and that ancient sanctuary, which may well have become sacred in the first place because of some theophany that happened there, had all its pagan significance obliterated.

At the Literary Table.

THE AGE OF THE FATHERS.

Longmans, 2 vols., 28s. net.

THE two great volumes which are published under the popular title of *The Age of the Fathers* are themselves popular in character. It is true that they are essentially the lectures with which Professor Bright was wont to 'charm and stimulate and inspire' generations of Oxford students. But that only shows that it is the popular lecture that pleases even Oxford students most. Their style was unfettered by qualifications in their delivery, and now the printed page is unencumbered with footnotes. One can literally take the book to the fireside, and have a comfortable afternoon with it; one can make it the subject of the evening's reading in the family circle. And all this in the peaceful assurance that its popularity takes nothing away from its accuracy; for Mr. C. H. Turner, of Magdalen College, has verified its facts and dates.

Dr. Bright was a delightful lecturer. The Warden of Keble College, who writes the preface to the book, is sure that, as his old pupils read these pages, 'they will see the merry smile breaking over his face if any event has its ludicrous aspect, the fire lighting up the eyes at the mention of the courage of witnesses for the truth; they will hear a voice ringing through the room as it recalled the bold denunciations of passion or of cowardice, even in a Christian emperor, or hushed into a solemn quiet at the mention of the Sacred Name: they will recall a personality lifted by constant friendship with the great personalities of St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom; and seeing with his eyes, they will therefore see with the eyes of the actors themselves the events which he portrays.' Dr. Bright was a great lecturer. But he never was so great a student. And it just required the combination of the brilliant lecturer and the exact painstaking student to make the book the really great book that it is. Those who know the lecturer's unaided work best will best appreciate Mr. Turner's share in the last and greatest book that Dr. Bright has given us.

Our remarks are general. Nothing else is called for. There is no criticism to make on any portion that should not be made on the whole. The work is one. It is the work of a Churchman. No sect that separated from the Catholic Church finds sympathy; no heretic is saved by his saintliness from the general condemnation of heresy. Men take more interest now in life itself than in the forms in which it is clothed; they prefer life to imitation, even when it is eccentric. Dr. Bright had no such weakness. Separation from the Church was the sin against the Holy Ghost. Is it not in the Church that the Holy Ghost is found? Where else and how *can* He be sinned against? Our instincts may be unsatisfied with the theory: Dr. Bright did not care for our instincts; he cared for the Catholic Church.

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

S.P.C.K., 10s.

The full title of Mgr. L. Duchesne's book is: *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution; a Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the time of Charlemagne.* Mgr. Duchesne says that the first part of the title is his publisher's, the second part his own. The first part is the only possible title for a book—in that his publisher was right; but the second part is the only correct description of this book—in that Mgr. Duchesne is right.

And now that Mgr. Duchesne's book has been translated into English, there is no book on the Liturgy of the Western Church in English to be compared with it. Its fulness is not more wonderful than its accuracy. And in a matter of so great and curious detail, it is not easy to be accurate. Moreover, it comes at a time that is opportune.

Some of us may despise the scholarship that covers and is content with the knowledge of *amphibala*, *amulæ*, and *anagolagia*; we may reprove the tendency to return to the beggarly elements of mere ecclesiasticism: but there is a great spreading interest in these same 'beggarly elements' in our day, and no one can deny that, if such things are to be the subject of thought, thought should be accurate about them and historical. This admirable translation of Mgr. Duchesne's Latin Liturgy will serve as a most reliable manual of Roman ritual—whether for avoidance or acceptance.

The profane person will be amazed at the multiplicity of observances, the wilderness of unfamiliar names. How did a man ever remember them and practise them in their right order? Perhaps he will wonder with more seriousness how it was possible for a man to do anything else than practise them, to find any spiritual meaning or uplifting in them.

The translation is very well done. The book is a real book. The index is a model index.

Books of the Month.

Dr. Cheyne has issued the second part of his *Critica Biblica* (A. & C. Black, 3s. net). It contains his notes on the text of Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets. The same excessive suspicion of the Massoretic text, the same amazing ingenuity in inventing a new text, are displayed on every page. And it may be added, the same infatuation for Jerahmeel. No student certainly can afford to neglect Professor Cheyne's work, and every serious student will know how to use this wonderful book. But the weak in faith had better leave it alone.

LETTERS FROM THE HOLY LAND. By Elizabeth Butler (*A. & C. Black*, 7s. 6d. net).—'We passed over the site of "old Jericho," and saw what a magnificent site they chose for it, backed by mountains in a majestic semicircle, and looking on the Plain of the Jordan. The Bible speaks of a "rose plant in Jericho" as of something superlatively lovely amongst roses, and one may ask, why particularly in Jericho? Here one can answer the question, for one sees how richly the flowers grow in this land of many streams, which is all the more conspicuous for its exuberance as contrasted with the aridity of the surrounding regions. I can best describe the fascinating quality of our journey by saying that it is like riding through the Bible. At every turn some text in the Old or New Testament which alludes to the natural features of the land springs before one's mind, illumined with a light it could not have before. I know many devout persons shrink from a visit to the Holy Places for fear of —what? Do not fear! The reality simply intensifies, gives substance and colour to, the ineffable poetry of the Bible. It is simply rapture to see at last the originals of our childhood's imaginings; and, believe me, the reality becomes more precious in one's memory even than the cherished illusion.'

That will do for sample of the letters. They are a woman's letters, and only a woman, they say, can write letters. To see the Holy Land in Lady Butler's correspondence is a new sensation after one has read all the books about it.

The illustrations remain. They are twelve in number. They are Lady Butler's own—first as photographs or sketches, then as coloured and finished pictures. And here they are reproduced with the art of the colour printer at its best.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ETHICS. By David Irons, M.A., Ph.D. (*Blackwood*, 5s. net).—This is not a large book, but it is well packed. The type is close and the thought is closer. There is no difficulty in reading it, for the order of thought is well observed and the style is accurate and untechnical. But it has to be read slowly and right on to the end. Then it is recognized as a real contribution to its science.

There is in man an ideal of attainment. His emotions are painful or pleasurable as he seeks and reaches that ideal. It is not a selfish ideal, for his own good is identical with the good of those around him. It is an ideal of virtue, it demands the denial of self. But it is in him, it is not imposed from without. He may have got his ideal from a Divinity that shapes our ends. Dr. Irons says nothing about that. He has it, that is all Dr. Irons says; his conduct is shaped by the necessity of realizing himself, not by any code of laws or dread of divine wrath. If we understand Dr. Irons, he is far from excluding

God. He puts Him first, not last; at the making of man, not merely at his reformation, that is all.

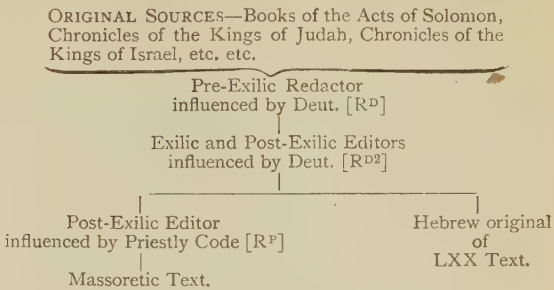
A NEW EARTH. By James Adderley (*S. C. Brown*, 3s. 6d.).—Messrs. Brown have taken over a series of sermons originally issued by another publisher, and have resolved to continue its issue under the title of *The World's Pulpit*. This is a new volume. Mr. Adderley, of St. Mark's, Marylebone, has a great reputation as a preacher, and this volume will not put it to shame. The language is quite unconventional, the address very direct, and the whole atmosphere thoroughly modern. It is no doubt better to hear Mr. Adderley than to read him, but he reads well too.

NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF KINGS. By the Rev. C. F. Burney, M.A. (Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press*, 14s. net).—It cannot be said that just at present the study of the Old Testament is making very marked progress. The critics are agreed—agreed even to the extent of casting out their Jonahs. The traditionalists are busy, but they have no scholarship. The monuments are not in it. There is a pause in the march of Old Testament study.

Those who are most closely in touch with the line of progress know that little more can be done until the text has been better studied. The advance has been checked through lack of a reliable Hebrew text. What Westcott and Hort did for the New Testament has to be done for the Old. And it is an infinitely more difficult and long-continued task. Many scholars must give themselves to it.

Dr. Driver did the work for the Books of Samuel. Mr. Burney has now done it for the Books of Kings. Mr. Burney is a pupil of Dr. Driver's; he has learnt his master's method and caught his master's spirit. He has produced a work that is quite worthy of its place beside Dr. Driver's *Samuel*, and that is to say all that has to be said. He selects his illustrations with the same skill, he exhausts them when necessary with the same ungrudging patience. He has even something of the master's felicity of expression; and it is his own, not an imitation. Mr. Burney's work in the *Dictionary of the Bible* prepared us all for this high praise.

Where has the Massoretic text come from? Mr. Burney gives its pedigree in pedigree form:—


ORIGINAL SOURCES—Books of the Acts of Solomon, Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, etc. etc.
Pre-Exilic Redactor influenced by Deut. [RD]
Exilic and Post-Exilic Editors influenced by Deut. [RD2]
Post-Exilic Editor influenced by Priestly Code [RP]
Massoretic Text.
Hebrew original of LXX Text.

DAVID HUME. By James Orr, D.D. (*T. & T. Clark*, 3s. net).—Is David Hume properly called an 'Epoch-Maker?' An 'Epoch-Breaker' seems more appropriate. He stands for disintegration. But we now see that behind Hume's scepticism was a movement of the great Time-spirit, and we no longer call him eccentric or a blasphemer. Professor Orr has made Hume his special study. There is no corner of his mind that is hidden from him. There is no cause or effect of his philosophy that he has not considered. A better choice for this volume of the 'Epoch-Makers' could not have been made. For to all this intimate knowledge, Professor Orr adds a free popular English style.

The new Professor of Education in the University of London has published a *Primer on Teaching* (T. & T. Clark, 6d. net). It is better than the best inaugural lecture. It is a manifesto of method and enthusiasm. It is the open evidence to everyone that Mr. Adams is the man for this influential chair.

Professor Adams adds after his title, 'With special reference to Sunday School Work.' He might have added 'and Pulpit Work' also. For it is a teacher that the modern pulpit is, and the man who cannot teach cannot preach.

We speak of 'epoch-making' books: one can imagine that the reading of this unpretentious sixpennyworth will make an epoch in many a teacher's and preacher's life.

From the London Bible Warehouse comes an edition of the New Testament which goes by the name of the *Salvation Testament*. All the texts bearing upon the Plan of Salvation are marked with red lines. They have also a letter attached

to them, which shows whether the text has to do with Sin, Repentance, Atonement, or the like. The book is well bound and attractive.

Messrs. Constable have published another edition of *Human Immortality* by Professor William James of Harvard. The reputation gained by the Gifford Lectures will give the little book a new interest, and it deserves all the interest it obtains.

SELECTED POEMS OF GEORGE MEREDITH (*Constable*, 3s. 6d. net).—Here is one of the most pleasing little books you ever saw. The poems are worth the daintiness too. This for the next birthday present you give.

AN ENGLISH GARNER: VOYAGES AND TRAVELS (*Constable*, 2 vols., 8s. net).—Messrs. Constable have undertaken the publication, in twelve volumes, of Professor Arber's wonderful gathering together of the early literature of England, which he calls 'An English Garner.' The wonder of the series is its price. The volumes are large, handsomely printed, and handsomely bound, and they are to cost but four shillings apiece. Thus for eight-and-forty shillings we have in our offer a collection of the literature that illustrates the greatest period in English history, the very best collection that has been made. Each volume (or set of two volumes) is introduced by an essay from some English scholar. The present volumes deal with the voyages and travels that were made and written about in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its introduction is by Mr. C. Raymond Beazley, F.R.G.S.

The piece of most importance in these volumes is probably the last. It is Robert Knox's account of the Highlands of Ceylon and his captivity there. It is, says Mr. Beazley, the earliest detailed account of Ceylon in English, and by far the most valuable study of the interior which had been made in any European language up to that time.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE. By Joseph McCabe (*Duckworth*, 3s. net).—Whatever Mr. McCabe's purpose may be, he wakens every subject that he touches into interest. Here his purpose seems to be as good as his method is lively. In eleven lectures he explains to certain ethical societies the means by which the Church of Rome has commended the practice of ethics to her people. He is not critical of the Church of Rome and her methods, he is on the whole appreciative, as he claims to be. And although there is no risk of any member of these ethical societies being led to Rome by the lectures, there was probably not a single member hearing him who was not surprised that Mr. McCabe could speak so appreciatively of the service Rome has rendered to the moral progress of the race. Mr. McCabe is alive to the use of Comparative Religion in the modern study of theology and ethics. We shall hear more of that use by and by.

Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls are the publishers of a new biography of that saint and genius *Raymund Lull.* It is written by Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer.

THE NEXT STEP IN EVOLUTION. By I. K. Funk, D.D., LL.D. (*Funk & Wagnalls*, 50 cents net).—An American theologian cannot write without writing about evolution; the English theologian rarely touches it. What has made the difference no man has watched the course of history closely enough to say. The theological atmosphere in America is an evolutionary atmosphere; here it is not: that is all we can say about it. But the difference makes the books that come from America the more refreshing. Here is Dr. Funk putting St. Paul's highest aspirations into Darwinian terminology, and who will miss the piquancy of it?

WREATHES OF SONG FROM A COURSE OF DIVINITY. By the Author of 'Wreathes of Song from Courses of Philosophy' (*Gill*, 2s. net).—This is one of the wreathes—

PRIME

Allelu'ia—rising sun,
Day's word of first-forth-acting One!
His act proclaim effect of none
Nor as of self evolving more—
Senseless imagination—
But as first act for aye, all-o'er,
Or creating of naught before
Or acting forth Creation
Through what 'twas made potentially
Love's way to be more than need be
To do more than e'er need be done—
Sole meet mode for All-highest One:
Allelu'ia—El'Elion!

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published a new edition of Mrs. Ramsay's *Everyday Life in Turkey*. Distinct from her great husband's writing, with a flavour all its own, a woman's book besides, and not a man's at all, *Everyday Life in Turkey* is true literature. It gives the pleasure of the highest and purest art. And it is history. The things Mrs. Ramsay describes she has seen. Where is a more reliable narrative of life in Turkey to be found, or, for that matter, a more fascinating book of travel?

NATIONAL DUTIES. By James Martineau (*Longmans*, 6s. net).—It will never do to leave James Martineau's sermons lying in manuscript. This is a selection. There are more behind. Let us have them all, they cannot but be worth our reading. And we shall show by the wide and generous welcome this volume receives that we mean to have them all.

Only a few of the sermons in this volume are 'national.' The greater number are ethical; and in the ethical sermon lay Dr. Martineau's strength. There are also a number of Communion and other addresses.

THE BIBLE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. (*Longmans*, 10s. 6d. net).—Professor Estlin Carpenter is both a good lecturer and a sound scholar. He deliberately refrains from the highest work, the work of spiritual application. He pulls down, he does not try to build up. No doubt the cry, 'Rase it, Rase it,' is often free from vindictiveness, and we are quite sure there is not a touch of malice in all Professor Estlin Carpenter's criticism. No doubt criticism is often quite necessary too, and the only safe preliminary to appreciation and upbuilding. Still, it is not the highest work; it is not the work that brings most joy to the worker or most blessing to us.

Professor Estlin Carpenter calls his book *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, for every one of the eight lectures it contains has to do with the Bible and with its criticism. The lecturer's purpose always is to show that the Bible was less in the estimation of men at the end of the century than it was at the beginning. If that is true, there are compensations, for religion is not less. Professor Estlin Carpenter does not believe that it is less. And he has no doubt that the chief compensation lies in honesty. The Bible is less, but sincerity of worship is more: that is his belief and his rejoicing.

There is skill and scholarship in every lecture. And yet one might detect a mistake or a misunderstanding here and there. For example. In a footnote very near the end of the book Professor Estlin Carpenter quotes Dr. Sanday with disapproval as saying (*D.B.* ii. 647) that there was not time for the Christian imagination to invent all the miracles in view of the newer dates assigned to the Gospels, and he says that the report that Plato was the son of Apollo was circulated in Athens during his lifetime. But it is not the rise of a legend, it is the rise of such legends; it is not the application of a myth, it is the application of such a body of myths that are credible and fruitful in themselves and that are fitted inextricably into the evangelical narrative.

Those who wish to complete their set of Phillips Brooks's works may do so now. For Messrs. Macmillan have added *The Influence of Jesus* (6s.) and the *Lectures on Preaching* (6s.) to their attractive and uniform edition.

They have also brought out a new edition of the *Phillips Brooks Year-Book* (3s. 6d. net), very beautiful and very fitting for birthday presentation.

THE SOUL. By David Sime (*Macmillan*, 4s. 6d. net).—Mr. Sime has no hope that the multitude will read his book; he is to be content if it meets with the approval of the few. But it is doubtful if he will have even that satisfaction. The testing chapter is the fifth, its title being Teleology. What is elsewhere said about the soul being distributed among the nerve centres all over the body is curious but of less account. In the chapter on Teleology Mr. Sime separates himself from the science that sees no design in nature. He sees a distinct and purposed adaptation of means to ends, demanding the presence of a mind. But whose mind? Not the mind of God, because in lower creatures the organs are less perfect than in higher, and he cannot conceive a mind that could produce a better thing being satisfied with a worse. The designing mind is the creature's own. The only argument from design is the argument that animals have minds and can use them.

But where did they get their minds? Does not God come in there? Well, yes, but not a very great God. There are in most animals certain primitive instincts—the Alimentary, Self-Preserving, Self-Perpetuating, and Maternal instincts. Having these, the animal can do all the rest for itself: these must have been given to it by God.

ADDRESSES ON THE TEMPTATION. By Edward Lee Hicks, M.A. (*Macmillan*, 3s. net).—Two volumes on the Temptation have been published this month. They differ vastly, but out of both writers this story has drawn the highest they can attain to. We should be prepared to test an expositor's ability by his handling of the Temptation. So tested, these expositors take a good place. In one respect we prefer Canon Hicks. He follows St. Luke's order; the mountain comes second, the pinnacle third. For we too have our own thoughts of the Temptation, of its place in the work of Christ, and its meaning for us, and this is the order that seems orderly. First the temptation to the body, next the temptation to the mind, then the temptation to the spirit. Or in Eve's order—good for food, pleasant to the eyes, to be desired to make one wise.

But, order apart, Canon Hicks is searching and very helpful. There is not a self-conscious sentence in his book; there scarcely seems to be a wasted word.

CHRIST, ANTI-CHRIST, AND THE MILLENNIUM. By the Rev. David D. Rutledge, M.A. (*Marshall Brothers*, 7s. 6d. net).—Mr. Rutledge is a pre-millenarian. He holds that the post-millenarians have not a leg to stand upon. And it is cruel of him, after destroying their standing, to pelt them with so many unmerciful adjectives.

Mr. Rutledge is a pre-millenarian, and he has a very ingenious way of getting over the difficulties of pre-millenarianism. He does not deny the difficulties. He is too honest for that, and too good an exegete. He overcomes them by the brilliant device of dividing our Lord's Second Coming into two events. The one event is His Parousia, the other is His Epiphaneia. At the Parousia Christ will come *for* His saints; at the Epiphaneia He will come *with* them. The Parousia will be known to the saints alone, the Epiphaneia will be seen by all. 'I go to prepare a place for you; and if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will receive you unto Myself, that where I am, there ye may be also'—that is Christ's Parousia. 'Ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming with the clouds of heaven'—that is His Epiphaneia. Between the Parousia and the Epiphaneia, Anti-Christ will have his sway: 'and then shall be revealed the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of His mouth and bring to nought by the manifestation of His coming' (His Epiphaneia). Of course Mr. Rutledge has his prophetic chart, and in that chart are all these things fully and picturesquely set forth.

THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS. By A. Morris Stewart, M.A. (*Melrose*, 6s.).—The reputation which Mr. Morris Stewart won by his *Crown of Science* he will not lose by his *Temptation of Jesus*. If it were not that the title is familiar, and that men will scarcely be induced to look for novelty on the Temptation, this book might have come first and made the reputation more rapidly. For it is easier to read. The style is less individual, the use of words is less unexpected. One had to push on in the other book till the sixth chapter was reached before one got fairly held; this book lays hold of the mind at once.

Perhaps the other book will be called the more original. There is no consciousness of originality in this book, and for that reason it will not be so inevitably found in it. Nor is it original in the sense that the interpretation of the Temptation, or of any part of it, is new. But when a book compels you to read over again the history and meaning of an event in the Saviour's life, an event that has been read so often before, and makes you see the reality of it with the first fresh surprise upon you again, that book must be called original. It is the writer's own. He saw and felt all this first; you see and feel it with him.

It is a preacher's book. The chapter that is most impressive is the chapter that is most openly homiletical. Its title is 'The Snare of Hunger *as it concerns us*.' 'When Satan pointed the hungry Jesus to those stones, he saw not only the hunger of the Son of man, but the great hunger of the world which Jesus shared . . . for it is ordained that by *work* earth's stones shall be turned to bread, and not by *words*.'

Two pamphlets on the Drink Curse have arrived together. Both are by Mr. Arthur Sherwell. Messrs. Oliphant publish *The Drink Peril in Scotland* (3d. net); Messrs. Macniven publish *Popular Control of the Public-House* (3d.).

FAMOUS SCOTS: PRINCIPAL CAIRNS. By John Cairns (*Oliphant*, 1s. 6d. net).—Surely no name in all the list, and it is now a list of forty names, was more inevitable than that of John Cairns. The only question could be that of editor. The choice of editor has been well made. No doubt Mr. Cairns found an ideal subject. For the inmost thoughts of Principal Cairns can come to the light, only to make his greatness greater. But it is much to say that the very perfection of his subject has drawn the editor's own perfections out. Nor has he let the fine biography of Professor MacEwen hamper him. He has neither ignored it nor been slave to it; he has used it and made his own book himself. They who know Dr. MacEwen best will best appreciate this new estimate of a man so great and good that only Scotland, shall we say, could have produced him.

Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster have issued *Twelve Sermons on Humility* by C. H. Spurgeon (1s.).

The Religious Tract Society has issued two new books for girls. One is a story—*Jill's Red Bag*, by Amy le Feuvre (2s.). The other has as much fascination about it as any story, and it is all true history. It is a book of *Noble Deeds of the World's Heroines*, by Henry Charles Moore (2s.).

YOUTH AND DUTY. By the Right Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, D.D. (*R.T.S.*). — Bishop Welldon, it seems to us, is nowhere so great as in the pulpit, and no pulpit has brought out his greatness so well as Harrow. He is a preacher to boys. He has a genius for preaching to boys. His sermons are not sermons—the thing so little loved by the average boy—they are the Headmaster himself, talking to them in his most serious searching way, and daring them to let an eye drop or an eyelid quiver. One feels in reading these twenty Harrow sermons as if in every one of them Dr. Welldon had been to the boys who listened to them either a savour of life unto life or of death unto death.

Professor Weidner of the Lutheran Seminary in Chicago is a great exegete as well as a great theologian. His fertility is altogether phenomenal. After finishing a commentary on the whole of the New Testament he commenced one on the Old. The second volume, expounding *Exodus*, has just appeared (Revell, 50 cents). It is the Bible-class teacher that Dr. Weidner keeps in mind, and the Bible-class teacher will find his commentaries very useful.

THE TRUE ESTIMATE OF LIFE AND HOW TO LIVE. By G. Campbell Morgan (*Revell*, 2s. 6d. net).—What is it that makes a writer popular? His popularity? No doubt, but that is only the sub-title. What gives him his first hold on the great fickle religious-reading mass? Mr. Campbell Morgan is a great preacher. But he is not a great writer, and it is as a writer that we have to do with him. These sermons are old-fashioned to commonplace, and they are blameless of original thought. Yet they are read eagerly all the world over.

EARTHLY DISCORDS AND HOW TO HEAL THEM. By Malcolm James McLeod (*Revell*, 2s. 6d. net).—There is no hesitation in accounting for the success of this writer; he is a story-teller. The book is brimful of anecdotes, and they are mostly told out of the writer's own experience. Perhaps that is the secret of Mr. Campbell Morgan's success too. For here we find an anecdote which begins: 'Calling upon an invalid lady recently, I found her reading a sermon of Campbell Morgan's, in which was a story that had almost a parallel in her own life. "Strange," she began, "but there's a story here that just suits me exactly."'

Mr. Robinson has published other two volumes of his sermons for the times. The one volume is for young men, its title being *Comradeship and Character* (3s. 6d. net). The other is for business men, its title, *The Cross and the Dice-Box* (3s. 6d. net). These sermons are all by able preachers, some of them by famous preachers. The idea is altogether a most commendable one, and the series is sure to be sought after.

THE ETHICS OF EVOLUTION. By James Thompson Bixby (*Small, Maynard, & Co.*).—Dr.

Bixby's book was in its first edition (this is the second) called *The Crisis in Morals*. That title expressed the object of the first half of the book, which is a clever and convincing refutation of Herbert Spencer's theory of ethics. But it did not at all describe the second and more important part, which states Dr. Bixby's own theory of ethics. So the name has been changed.

It is with ethics as with theology in America—all must be set down in terms of evolution. What does Dr. Bixby mean by the Ethics of Evolution? He means that the obligation to do the right in spite of utmost inconvenience is felt by us because it belongs to 'the nature of things.' 'The old school of ethics,' he says, 'when asked why one ought not to hate or lie, replied, "Because you ought not," and slammed the door in the face of the inquirer. But the school that is to meet the scientific demands of our age must supply for ethics, as for mechanics or æsthetics, a more rational ground. If moral obligation is a reality at all, and not a dream of idealists, a theological fiction handed down by tradition, or a political expedient to keep the people in order, *it must be rooted in the nature of things*.' Morality is a necessary law of our being. It does not depend upon statutes. We cannot any longer refer the origin and ground of right to the divine will, or to the revelation of the divine will given in the Bible. A new codex might correct the translation of an old commandment, and we should be in the foolish predicament of finding that which was once commanded now forbidden. An English translation of the Decalogue did once omit the *not* from one of the commandments, so that they called it the 'Wicked Bible.' That which is right, says Dr. Bixby, must be right in itself, and not dependent on the will of any one in heaven or on earth or under the earth.

THE NONJURORS. By J. H. Overton, D.D. (*Smith, Elder, & Co.*, 16s.).—A wholly new conception of writing history has arisen in our day. It may be called the writing of history by sympathy. It is the third stage in the evolution of that art. In the first stage history was a department of politics, whether parliamentary or ecclesiastical. The one side wrote its history of the Reformation or the Free Trade Movement, the other side wrote a different history. They agreed in one thing only, in the darkness of the picture they drew of the other side. It was the writing of history by denunciation. The second stage was the writing of history by indifference. History was history, *you* had nothing to do with it. It was found in blue-books. Transcribe them and preserve their dulness and their dates, and you were a great writer of history. The third stage is the writing of history by sympathy.

It differs from the first stage, not in saying there are no sinners in the world, but in eating and drinking with them though they are sinners. Then one result is that they are seen to be somewhat sinned against, and therefore not altogether the black sinners they were supposed to be. Another result is that now and then the sinners are found to be the saints, and the saints the sinners.

Canon Overton has written the history of the Nonjurors by sympathy. He opens his book by quoting three sentences from Professor Mayor: 'Perhaps the time has come when we may venture, without offence or loss of intellectual caste, to challenge the vulgar verdict upon the Nonjurors, and may at least call on their censors to name any English sect so eminent, in proportion to its numbers, alike for solid learning and for public as well as private virtues. Faction has too long been allowed to visit the violence of a few hotspurs on the entire class of loyal subjects, not merely by ruining them while living, but also by blackening their memory to this hour. The caricatures of hireling libellers pass current with most as the final judgment of posterity; phantoms which will never be laid till brought face to face with the authentic forms which they personate and defame.'

Professor Mayor speaks in that way when introducing the life of one of the Nonjurors: Canon Overton acts in that way when writing the lives of them all. His book is true history. It is not the first time that the story of the Nonjurors has been told, but it is the first time that it has been told by a true historian.

In his book he tells the story of them all; both of the original Nonjurors, who having taken the oath of allegiance to James the Second felt in conscience unable to take it to William and Mary; and also the later Nonjurors who on the accession of George the First were unable to declare on oath that 'George was rightful and lawful king, and that the person pretending to be Prince of Wales had not any right or title whatsoever.'

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN GENERATION. By James Thomas (*Sonnenschein*, 6s.).—This is a fair-minded and capable examination of the documents of the Apostolic Church. But it cannot be said to offer any results that are new. And in the multitude of such books it is to be feared that Mr. Thomas may find that his own gets lost. He says that certain objections to St. Luke's story of the Census under Quirinius, which he brought forward in an earlier book, 'have elicited no refutation.' He accordingly claims that they cannot be refuted. We fear it does not follow. Ramsay has dealt with the Census since Mr. Thomas wrote his book, and if he did not refute Mr. Thomas it may have been because he had not heard of him. Still the work is honest work and Mr. Thomas himself must be the better for it.

Evil not Everlasting, by the Rev. Osmond Dobrée, M.A. (Stock, 1s. net); and *Concerning them which are Asleep*, by John Furneaux (Arrowsmith, 1s.), are the latest pamphlets on the everlasting subject of everlasting punishment and the future state.

The Vicar of St. Mary's, Wolverhampton, has published, through Mr. Stock, five ordination addresses, calling his little book *The Work of the Ministry* (1s. 6d. net). Mr. Hunt has given himself to 'the work of the ministry,' else he could not call others so impressively to it.

KEY TO THE HEBREW PSALTER. By the Rev. G. A. Alcock (*Stock*, 7s. 6d. net).—The student of the Psalter in Hebrew must take note of this book. It is no 'crib,' but it will save him much useless labour. It is a complete vocabulary to the Psalms in Hebrew, and it gives all the passages where the word occurs, so that it is a complete concordance as well. Then it contains an appendix of all the proper names in the Psalter, the places in which they occur, and (very boldly) their etymology. And it ends with an Anglo-Hebrew vocabulary, full and accurate.

SERMONS OF THE AGE. By the Rev. T. Meredith Hughes, B.A. (*Stock*, 3s. 6d.).—Why Sermons of the Age? They seem no more of this age than of any other. There is indeed a remarkable lack of time tokens about them. The gospel is in them; and it is the good all-round wholesome gospel of the grace of God. They are undoubtedly 'of the age' these thirteen sound practical sermons, but they will be of the age long after Mr. Hughes and his age have gone the way of all living.

Mr. Stockwell has published: *What Baptists Stand For*, by the Rev. Alfred Phillips (1s. 6d. net); *Welsh Legends* (1s. net); *Where is Christian Effort most Needed?* (9d. net); *The Keys of the Kingdom*, by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, (1s.); *The Passing of Protestantism*, by E. Judson Page (1s. net); *An Easter Homily*, by the Rev. P. Barclay, M.A. (6d.); *The History of the English Bible* (3d.), and *Golden Rules for Human Life* (3d.), both by Henry John.

Messrs. Watts have published (in a single pamphlet, under the title of *Two Great Preachers*) two remarkable letters by Mr. G. J. Holyoake on Dr. Parker and Mr. Price Hughes.

They have also issued sixpenny editions of Samuel Laing's *Human Origins*; and Grant Allen's *Evolution of the Idea of God*.

NEW LIGHT ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Parke P. Flournoy, D.D. (*Westminster Press*, 75 cents net).—In this pleasant little book Dr. Flournoy tells the story of some of the recent discoveries bearing on the New Testament. One of the discoveries is that of the Sinaitic palimpsest, which is told very fully and sympathetically. Dr. Flournoy, however, does more than retell these interesting stories, he can appreciate the essential worth of the discoveries, and he is not torn with anxiety to bring out their apologetic value.

Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple.

By the Rev. G. C. M. Douglas, D.D., late Principal of the United Free Church College, Glasgow.

II.

There are two kindred subjects, though they are less closely connected with the temple, of which Ezekiel has a good deal to say in his vision. These subjects are the *prince* and the *land*.

First, The *prince*, chiefly in chaps. 45 and 46, yet also in 44 and 48. Ezekiel restricts himself to the word prince, in Hebrew *nasi*, in this vision, though he combines it with the word for king in 7^{27}. The Hebrew word is often used of a subordinate prince; but Ezekiel uses it so that we cannot distinguish its meaning from that of king, when he speaks of Zedekiah, the heir to David's throne ($12^{10.12}$ 21^{30} (English, v.^{25})). Moreover, it is the title given to the king in the prophecies introductory to the vision of the temple, 'my servant David' (chaps. 34^{24} 37^{25}), along with 'king' in $37^{22.24}$, where he is also called 'shepherd.'[1]

[1] Why this change from the simple name 'king' was made need not be determined in this paper. Living under the jealous king of Babylon, Ezekiel seems to have been spared the trying duty of prophesying against him: and it is possible that for this reason also he was not required to give the royal name to the future head of the commonwealth of Israel. There may, however, have been important ends to be served by the use of various titles to describe the expected Deliverer. In Jer 30^{21} we find *moshel*, 'ruler,' and *addir*, a term difficult to translate; and in Dn 9^{25} 11^{22}, *nagid*, which in the Books of Samuel is repeatedly applied to Saul and David. It is also to be observed, that in the glorious prophecy (Zec $6^{12.13}$) we read of the priest who shall sit upon his throne, but neither the noun 'king' nor the cognate verb 'reign' occurs; and the like is to be said of the fundamental passage, Ps 110. There are various points of resemblance between the description of the coming glory in Ezekiel's closing vision and that in Zec 14, where at v.^{9} it is Jehovah Himself who is to be king over all the earth. This corresponds with the teaching in the opening vision of Ezekiel (chap. 1^{26}) that there was 'the likeness of a throne,' and upon the throne 'a likeness as the appearance of a man upon it above.' So also, 20^{33}, after great judgments 'will I be king over you.' Shall we say that in the time when the kingdom of David is to be restored in the person of a worthy successor, concerning whom Ezekiel has not so many definite messages to deliver as some of his fellow-prophets, it is to be made clear that Jehovah Himself is the true king of Israel, since the name of the city is to be 'The Lord (Jehovah) is there' (chap. 48^{35})? The son and heir of David is at that time to be distinguished from Jehovah the king by receiving no higher title than 'prince.' At least the name of 'king' is not to be in common use until the great puzzle comes to be made plain in the light of the New Testament, when we learn that Jesus is Jehovah, and understand how David's son is also David's Lord.

The allotments of land, to which attention must afterwards be given, include a portion for the prince (chaps. 45^{7-9} $48^{21.22}$). In this account there are three things to be observed. (1) The prince's portion lay between the portion of Judah and that of Benjamin, that is, in the very position of Jerusalem the royal city in the reigns of David and Solomon; only the two tribes had inverted their relative positions.—(2) The portion of the prince being made as sure to him as possible, he had abundant legitimate means of providing for his sons and for his servants; and he was therefore solemnly charged ($45^{8.9}$ 46^{16-18}) to avoid oppressing his subjects by taking their possessions from them, as had no doubt been often done even by kings less daringly wicked than Ahab. (3) It would seem from 45^{13-17}, especially from v.^{17}, that an oblation of wheat and barley, and oil, and lambs, according to a fixed rate, was brought to the prince, in return for which the obligation was laid upon him to provide all the sacrifices and offerings required of Israel in the law. Possibly the daily sacrifice was an exception, certainly it is not named with the others. The particulars of his Sabbath sacrifice are recorded at 46^{4}. As a matter of course, we understand that this rule did not interfere with the private sacrifices which individuals brought. But its application to matters of public worship agrees well with the regulations giving prominence to the prince, and assigning honour to him when he went to the sanctuary to worship. The east gate, by which the glory of the God of Israel had re-entered, and which on this account remained closed to ordinary worshippers, was to be opened for the prince to enter and to go out again by it (43^{1-4} 44^{1-3} $46^{1-8.10.12}$).

The readers of Ezekiel's vision have sometimes expressed surprise that so little prominence should

be given to the prince in civil matters. Nothing whatever is said of his rights and duties in state affairs, there are only these simple church duties and privileges. But the surprise is a mistaken feeling, arising from an oversight. The reason why Ezekiel is silent in reference to the civil position of the prince is that this lay beyond the field of view; his vision concerned the new temple and its worshippers. That first mistake has led on to a second, namely, the attempt to cut out work for the prince in superintending the uniformity of weights and measures (45^{10-12}). Ezekiel says not a word of the prince having to do with the rules laid down in these verses, which are intended no doubt to secure the just and proper service of the sanctuary; compare 'the shekel of the sanctuary' in Ex $30^{13.24}$ $38^{24.25}$ Lv 5^{15} $27^{3.25}$, Nu 3^{47}, etc. Still less happy is the attempt to reconcile the comparatively very little that is said here about the prince with the noble position assigned to him, as virtually 'my servant David,' in chaps. 34 and 37, by suggesting that the prophet had changed his mind. The revelations in chaps. 34–39 make known God's providential preparation of the new Israel for the new temple. Israel is miraculously raised from death, which is the wages of sin, and receives the gift which invariably accompanies pardon and reviving grace, the gift of a new heart and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Next comes the reunion of the house of Judah and the house of Israel under the royal house of David, by a process as amazing as would be the union of two sticks into one living tree. Then follows the destruction of all the enemies that come against them, mustered under a prince more formidable than anyone whom they had encountered in the course of their past history; a deliverance this for the new worshippers of Jehovah that far transcended the promise in Ex 34^{24}. A city is named in connexion with the destruction of those enemies; it bears the name Hamonah, 'the tumultuous multitude' (39^{16}). But the name of Israel's city is Jehovah-shammah, 'Jehovah is there.' This is the glory of the city; though undoubtedly it also is full of a joyous tumultuous population, according to the descriptions of other prophets (Is 22^{2}, Jer 31^{38-40}, Zech 2^{1-5}). Ezekiel may perhaps not have had this additional fact within his field of vision at the moment, but his language at other times suggests that he knew of it. And such knowledge also agrees with his including in his vision the new allotment of the land, of which it might be alleged that it did not stand in any close connexion with his vision of the new temple.

Secondly, The *land* and the renewed occupation of it by the twelve tribes (see chaps. 6, 25, 35, and indeed the whole of chaps. 34–37) is the remaining subject on which Ezekiel touches.

1. We are struck by reading that the land was to be divided among the twelve tribes in regular portions, stretching east and west, and lying parallel. There is considerable uncertainty about the boundaries of some of the tribes, when the land was allotted by Joshua. The portions varied greatly in size; and their shape probably to a large extent depended upon natural features of the country, its mountains and valleys, its streams, its coasts, etc. Here any such physical causes of irregular contour are unknown or disregarded. Everything looks as simple and mathematically straight as the boundary lines on the maps of newly settled countries at the present day. We may well question whether Ezekiel's arrangement ever could be carried out in actual life until that day when Jehovah was to return in glory, when every valley was to be exalted, and every mountain and hill was to be brought low; see Is 40^{3-5}, Zec 14^{10}.

2. Was the land to be anew divided by lot, as Moses had commanded (Nu 26^{53-56}), and as Joshua and Eleazar had carried out (Jos 14^{2} 18^{6-10})? This would seem to be Ezekiel's meaning, as we observe his repeated use of the verb *naphal*, both in *Qal* and in *Hiphil* (45^{1} $47^{14.22}$ 48^{29}). The passage in Numbers, however, distinctly recognizes that the size of the portions is to be proportionate to the numbers of the tribes. Now Ezekiel appears to make the length of the portions always the same: did they vary then in breadth? Or in the new Israel were all the tribes to be equally numerous, as is the case in the list in Rev 7? Or were the positions of the tribes, as Ezekiel gives them, first determined by lot? In that case, not as in Joshua's allotment, it was to take place beforehand secretly; and the prophet announced what God had done. However we may answer such questions as these, it is to be observed that Ezekiel makes the land be divided among the whole of the tribes alike. But Joshua cast lots for only nine and a half tribes, since Moses at an earlier time had settled two and a half on the east of Jordan.

3. Practically the boundaries of the land in Ez $47^{15.\ 20}$ may be said to be the same as in the time of Joshua, who had received his instructions on this point very precisely from Moses. They are the same, that is, with the preliminary explanation, that in two ways there was a difference in the principles on which the boundary was drawn. For there had been held out before the eyes of Israel the possibility of a wider boundary line, embracing a vast territory from the brook of Egypt and the Red Sea to the Euphrates (Gn 15^{18}, Ex 23^{31}, Dt 1^{7}, Jos 1^{4}). Ezekiel is absolutely silent in reference to such extension of territory; those limits would have cut into the heart of the empire of Babylon. And there was also another difference of perhaps greater practical importance. There had been two and a half tribes settled by Moses on the eastern side of Jordan, in the land taken from the kings Sihon and Og. Nevertheless, these tribes had the option of returning within Canaan proper, if they found that this new territory was an unclean land (Jos 22^{19}); and from the first Moses had warned them that they were to forfeit it, and to take their possession with their brethren on the western side of Jordan if they failed to take their fair share in the wars for the conquest of Canaan (Nu 32^{30}). Whatever may have been the reason, in the vision of Ezekiel there are no tribes settled on the eastern side.

4. In the details of the settlement of the tribes there is little divergence from the arrangements under Joshua. Joseph has still two portions (47^{13}). Yet, since there are no eastern tribes, the entire tribe of Manasseh lies in one territory on the western side of Jordan. Dan has no longer two portions; the one position assigned to him is at the extreme north, where he had won a place for himself by his sword, after he had found the territory allotted to him insufficient. In Joshua's division of the land Simeon had been crushed into a portion subtracted from the too large possession which Judah had obtained in the first instance: there is no longer any trace of inferiority in Simeon's position. Moreover the tribes which seem to have been specially intimate, and were placed together at the first, remain with little or no change in their relations. Thus Dan, Asher, and Naphtali stand together in the north. So do Manasseh and Ephraim, near the centre. So do Issachar and Zebulon; only they now occupy a position towards the south analogous to their former position towards the north. On the other hand, Reuben and Gad had been together beyond Jordan; that territory no longer belonged to the tribes of Israel, and these two became completely separated. Judah and Benjamin are the two tribes on either side of the city, as of old Jerusalem lay between them, and perhaps in some sense belonged to both: only their positions are inverted, Judah being now on the north of Benjamin.

5. The Levites still have no portion in the equal division of the land, the twelve tribes being made up without them. 'I am their inheritance, and ye shall give them no possession in Israel' (44^{28}); much as had been said in Nu 18^{20}. Apparently in two respects a much poorer provision was made for them in Ezekiel's vision. In the Mosaic legislation, according to one view, they received the tithe of all that the land produced in compensation for the want of landed possessions, and also a share in the second tithe, which was to be spent in sacrificial feasts, etc. According to another view, this so-called second tithe was all their income. But Ezekiel makes no mention of tithes, either of one kind or another. Again, Joshua had given to the Levites forty-eight cities, distributed over the several tribes, according to the commandment of Moses; thirteen of these forty-eight being for the priests. Ezekiel says nothing of cities for them; but there is a holy portion, an oblation, adjoining the temple, divided into equal parts, the one for the priests, the other for the Levites (45^{1-5} 48^{8-14}). This oblation of the land might not be sold, nor exchanged, nor have its fruits alienated; in so far compare Lv 25^{34}. The portion of the priests is called 'an oblation from the oblation of the land' (48^{12}), so far reminding us of the tithe paid to the priests by the Levites out of the tithes which they had received from the people (Nu 18^{26-30}). In Ezekiel's vision the priests and Levites seem to receive their oblation and the twelve tribes their portions simultaneously. In Joshua's allotment the priests and Levites received their cities later, perhaps much later (Jos 21^{1-3}); and it is doubtful whether they ever received the whole of the cities to which they were entitled; see how defective the list in 1 Chr 6 appears compared with that in Jos 21.

6. The strangers and sojourners in Israel were to have an equal share with the born Israelites in the land, and the Israelites were to have no

advantage over the strangers ($47^{22.23}$). This is a provision such as the most liberal of modern states have had hesitation in conceding; and it is the more worthy of notice in Ezekiel, who has little to say of bright prospects for the heathen. It is on the principle enunciated in Nu $15^{15.16}$, but it goes far beyond it in application. And the liberality of the provision is the more noticeable, because the amount of land to be divided had become much less by the withdrawal of the territory beyond Jordan to the east.

7. There are some peculiarities which ought not to be passed over in the account given of the city, the metropolis of the tribes, the new Jerusalem, as we might call it. (1) It belongs to the whole of the tribes in common; as does also the 'possession of the city,' which is half the size of the priests' portion, or the Levites' portion. Along with these two it makes up a great square (45^{6} 48^{15-20}). (2) There is legitimate difference of opinion as to the relative positions of these three portions of the oblation. At present there is a predominant inclination to place the Levites to the north of the priests, though it might be the other way; then the city and its land are on the south of both the priests and the Levites. On either view the curious result is reached, that the temple stands wholly apart, one might almost say widely separated, from the city. There is a way of avoiding this conclusion, if we place the city and its land between the portion for the priests and that for the Levites; in which case the words in 48^{10}, 'and the sanctuary of Jehovah shall be in the midst thereof,' are to be understood as telling that it was in the midst of the priests' portion from east to west, but not from north to south. See the statement in v.^{8}. (3) But more singular, on any of these interpretations, it still remains difficult to see how the new Jerusalem and the new temple could stand where they stood in the time of David and Solomon. That original Jerusalem had only the tribe of Judah (including Simeon) to the south of it, all the rest of the tribes lay to the north of it. Quite differently, Ezekiel sees five tribes to the south of the city, whose situation, it has been said, would therefore more nearly correspond to that of Bethel or Shiloh. How far is this shifting of the city northward to be brought into connexion with what the prophet had taught of the reunion of the stick of Ephraim with that of Judah (37^{15-22}), and with what he had also taught of the restoration of Samaria and Sodom with Jerusalem (16^{60-63})? Or is it connected with physical changes in the land of Judah, such as are hinted in Zech $14^{4.8.10}$?

Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century.

By Rev. J. A. Selbie, D.D., Maryculter.

The editor, the authors, and the publishers of the great work whose title stands at the head of this notice, are all to be congratulated on its appearance. Professor Hilprecht's laborious and successful work, both in excavating and in deciphering Babylonian monuments, are too well known to need any detailed reference to them. Universally recognized as one of the most eminent archæologists of the day, he fittingly edits the whole of the work before us. The account of explorations in Assyria and Babylonia, from Dr. Hilprecht's own pen, occupies more than two-thirds of the book, which runs to about 800 pages. This proportion is not an undue one in view either of the materials that have been obtained from these explorations or the importance of their bearing upon the study of the Old Testament. At first sight some might be disposed to think that the account of researches in Palestine (only 43 pages) by Professor Benzinger, and those in Egypt (67 pages) by Professor Steindorff, are inadequate and meagre, especially as compared with that of the work in Professor Hilprecht's own special field. But the truth is that in the case of Palestine there have not been till quite recently any great amount of scientifically assured results. An enormous amount of site identification by men like Conder was done far too hastily, and has been

entirely superseded by more recent explorers. There can be no doubt that a very rich harvest remains to be gathered in Palestine. The excavations at Tell el-Hesy show what may be looked for, and every one will wish that the urgent appeal recently made by the *Palestine Exploration Fund* for financial aid to complete Mr. Stewart Macalister's excavations at Gezer, may be successful. As to Egypt, Professor Steindorff's account contains all that is needed by the student of the Old Testament, although we have no doubt that the information he obtains here will send him with fresh zest to study fuller accounts of what is in some ways the most interesting of all the ancient civilizations.

Professor Hilprecht's history of the course of exploration in Assyria and Babylonia is entitled to take rank as the best and most complete within its compass of anything of the kind that is extant. It is a most fascinating account of the part played by the leading countries of Europe and by America in bringing to light the records of the past. There is much that is flattering to the pride of England, whose roll of fame includes such names as Loftus, Layard, Rawlinson, and George Smith, not to mention many others, the story of whose work, either as pioneers or completers of discovery, is fully told by the graphic pen of the editor. But France is not a whit behind with names like those of Botta and Place and Oppert and de Sarzec; while Germany follows with Moritz and Koldewey. Last comes the great work of the American Expedition organized by the University of Pennsylvania, whose labours have been literally *campaigns*. Here the most prominent names are of course those of Hilprecht himself, Peters (whose zeal does not seem to have been always balanced by discretion), and Haynes. The achievements of Layard and Rawlinson which excited so much astonishment and admiration in the early days of Assyriology have been rivalled, nay in some ways surpassed by the results achieved by the Americans at Nippur. All this is told in a way that never allows the interest of the reader to flag.

In recent years, as is well known to Old Testament students, the South Arabian inscriptions have come to hold a very important place. We feel certain, indeed, that too much is built upon these by Winckler and Hommel and some others, whose combinations have at times a striking resemblance to the oft-recurring 'Jerahmeel' of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Nevertheless, we have much to learn from Arabia, and the reader will turn with interest to Professor Hommel's account of the explorations in that field (61 pages).

Finally, Professor Jensen writes 40 pages on 'The so-called Hittites and their Inscriptions.' It will be generally felt that no better selection of an author could have been made. Certainly no man living has devoted more patient study to the subject, or shown more perseverance in keeping to what he believed to be the right track. Without aid from any quarter, and shunning with marvellous foresight certain tempting paths, he discovered what appears to be now generally admitted to be the true road to the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions. This recognition has been long in coming and has been half-grudgingly accorded by some, but *it has come*.

The book closes with a general index and an index of Scripture texts, and it contains 4 maps and nearly 200 illustrations. The execution of these is all that could be desired, and adds very materially to the value of the book.

We have left to the last what we have felt to be the principal value of this great work, namely, that it brings together in *a single volume* a complete account of recent explorations in *all* Bible lands. We could read elsewhere of Babylonia and Assyria, or of Palestine or Egypt or Arabia or the Hittites, but there is no reliable book in which we can read of them *all together* as we can do in the pages of Professor Hilprecht. Nothing could have been more opportune than the publication of this book. It is precisely what we have been waiting for. Amongst the many services to the scientific study of Scripture which have been rendered by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, a very high place must be accorded to their placing a masterpiece like this at so small a cost (12s. 6d. net) in the hands of students of the past.

Contributions and Comments.

The Epistle of James.

Dr. Chase, in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (vol. iii., note, page 765), makes the suggestion that the messengers sent by James from Jerusalem to Antioch (Gal 2^{12}) were the bearers of his Epistle. Mr. Gurney, on the other hand, in The Expository Times for April, brings forward a theory that it was written near the close of the apostle's life, and was God's last word to the people of Israel before their overthrow as a nation. There is some possibility of this, but I do not think Mr. Gurney has considered the evidence from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, as expounded by Professor Mayor in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, which appears conclusive for an early date. I wish to make a further suggestion, with regard to the difference of note between the Epistles of James and 1 Peter. While the former is admirable, and in perfect harmony with all Christian doctrine that it touches upon, it appears to me that, after we have read it through, directly we begin to read the First Epistle of Peter, we get into a higher atmosphere. The author of the latter seems to have a more penetrating glance into the spiritual world, and to be a more hopeful and joyful Christian. This is just what might be expected from what we are told of these two apostles. James, by having withdrawn himself from association with his Divine Brother during His public ministry, had missed the high privilege of sitting at the Master's feet, and could not, after his acquisition of faith through the gracious appearance to him of the risen Christ, make up for lost time. We feel that he has a sober faith, but it is a faith that does not soar; that he is convinced, but does not realize the glory of spiritual things, as Peter and John and Paul do. His Epistle is like the ballast, while Peter's is like the sails. James walks steadily, but Peter has got wings. Throughout Peter's Epistle there seems to shine a light reflected from the Mount of Transfiguration, which must have constantly glowed in the apostle's heart, as well as in that of his companion John.

Margaret D. Gibson.

Cambridge.

Two Fragments from Early Christianity.

The number of Christian documents among the Egyptian papyri is rather surprisingly small, until we come to the Byzantine age. It may be interesting therefore to present the following letter, which dates from 350 A.D. or a little before. It is No. 51 in Professsor Jules Nicole's collection, *Les Papyrus de Génève* (fasc. 2, 1900), where it appears with about a score of letters from the correspondence of Flavius Aminnius or Abinnius, a Roman prefect in Egypt. The British Museum papyri include about twice as many documents from the same correspondence, three of which in Professor Nicole's opinion are due to the writer of the letter translated below, one Apamius. The letter is unfortunately mutilated at beginning and end. Its contents are not exciting, though perhaps quite as much so as some correspondence published in later times without the excuse of fifteen or sixteen centuries to give it prestige. But to the text.

'To the beloved brother Aminnius heartiest greeting in the Lord. Before all things I pray to God for your salvation[1] . . . (lacuna of three lines) . . . it is written [whosoever shall give a cu]p of water to one of these [littl]e ones shall not lose his reward.[2] Do not let your soul be grieved

[1] The usual formula *πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὔχομαι ἵνα ὑγιαίνῃς*, or the like, is slightly altered to fit Christian language.

[2] The Greek is [*γέ*]*γρα*[*πτ*]*αι . . . [ποτή*]*ριον ὕδατος ἑνὶ τῶν* [*μικρ*]*ῶν τούτων οὐκ ἀπολλῖ* (*sic*) *τὸν μισθὸν ἑαυτου.* Nicole supplies *ὃς ἐὰν δῷ* before [*ποτή*]*ριον.* It will be noticed that the *ποτίσῃ* of Mt 10^{42} and Mk 9^{41} has disappeared, as the dative *ἑνί* shows. The *ὕδατος* of Mk stands for the *ψυχροῦ* of Mt, but in other respects the quotation stands nearer to Mt, with a change of order, the omission of *μόνον εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ* and *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν*, and the substitution of *ἑαυτοῦ* for *αὐτοῦ*. The substitution of *οὐκ ἀπολεῖ* for *οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ*, in what is doubtless a memory quotation, is rather interesting. The extreme rarity of *οὐ μή* in the papyri —I only remember four cases of it—is one of the few points in which their grammar markedly differs from that of the N.T. It seems clear that *οὐ μή* is still a very emphatic negative, and it is noteworthy that it is only common in parts of the N.T. where a Semitic original can be presumed. It occurs eleven times in O.T. citations, is common in the Apocalypse, also in the Gospels (almost exclusively in sayings of Christ). Apart from this it appears four times in St. Paul, in places where it has great emphasis,

because you are in pain, but trust in God and take rest (*παῦη—sic*). I am writing to you also about my wife Naomi's[1] brother. He is a soldier's son, and he gave in his name to go on service. If then you can send him back,[2] do a good work, firstly for God's sake, and secondly for mine, for his mother is a widow and has no other but him. But if he should have to serve again, I beg you to keep him from going out with the selected troops for foreign service[3] (?), and may God repay you for your charity and exalt you more and more.[4] And when I Apamius (?)[5] then went out from your presence taking him with me—he implored me that he might go for his own baggage—he delayed me (?) . . . (fragments). . . . If you see him unwilling to return with freedom, as we admitted . . . (fragments). . . . And as I said to you, send the huntsman. I greet you and all in your house. God preserve you.'

Address, 'To the beloved brother Aminnæus.'

I am tempted to tack on to this papyrus letter a very touching sepulchral inscription from Lycaonia, published by the Rev. H. S. Cronin in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for November 1902 (p. 369). The Greek shows clearly, as Mr. Cronin notes, that the composer of the epitaph was more familiar with his native language than with Greek, like the Lycaonians in the Acts, but the simple pathos and the faith exhibited in his words must appeal to us all. The inscription runs thus:—

Γορδιανὸς τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μου συμβίῳ Γαεάνῃ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλιτος γλυκυτάτῃ, τῇ συνζησάσᾳ μοι χρόνους ὀλιγους ἐπιτίμως, κὲ τῷ ὑειῷ μου τῷ πρωτοτόκῳ Ἀμβροσίῳ τῷ διχοτομήσαντί με τοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ζῆν εἷς. ὡς γὰρ πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας πληρώσας ἐξηκολούθησεν τῇ μητρὶ τῇ πανμακαρίτῃ· λεύσομε δὲ κἀγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πληρώσας τὸ χρέος τοῦ βίου. 'Gordianus to my sweetest wife Gaiana, sweetest beyond honey, who lived with me honourably for a little time, and to my firstborn son Ambrosius, who rent me asunder for that I must live henceforth alone. For having fulfilled some fifty days he followed his sainted mother. But I too shall come to you when I have fulfilled my appointed portion of life.'

Mr. Cronin remarks that the inscription 'is little, if at all, later than the third century.' The reader will notice the N.T. word *διχοτομεῖν*, which, however, is not materially cleared up by its use here.

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Widow or Gentile?

Dr. Arnold Meyer, in his *Jesu Muttersprache*, iv. 8, referring to our Lord's discourse in the synagogue at Nazareth, Lk 4^{26}, suggests that the words 'unto a woman a widow' may originally have been 'unto a woman a Syrian' (gentile or heathen), ארמלתא for ארמיתא. On this supposition the sentence certainly gains greatly in point and coherence, and more completely accords with the following instance of Naaman the Syrian. Our Lord would then be emphasizing very plainly the fact that Elijah and Elisha, prophets of the holy nation, ministered respectively to a woman and to a man both 'Syrians.' What may be the exact worth of Meyer's suggestion I do not pretend to say, but I was struck recently by the fact that at Mk 7^{26}—the story of the Syrophœnician woman—where the Peshiṭta has ܥܡܡܝܬܐ = gentilis, and the Palestinian Syriac ܐܡܡܝܬܐ = gentilis, the Lewis palimpsest has ܐܡܡܠܬܐ = a widow. Against this passage Mrs. Lewis notes in her translation, 'the shortening of one letter would give us "heathen" instead of "widow."' This strange reading of Lp. looks very much like the confusion between ܐܡܡܠܬܐ and ܐܡܡܝܬܐ which Meyer supposes may have occurred at Lk 4^{26} and so far lends support to his suggestion.

Alphington, nr. Exeter. Albert Bonus.

and once in 2 Peter. We are evidently therefore to regard it as translation Greek, except in St. Paul, who uses it in the classical manner, but never with the future tense (Gal 4^{30} is a citation).

[1] Να[ωμ][ν]. Nicole observes that Jewish names are not rare in the prefect's correspondence.

[2] Παραγραφιναι (*sic*). Nicole emends *παραφεῖναι*. *Παραγράφεσθαι*, 'cancel,' was perhaps in the writer's mind, so that he perpetrated a 'portmanteau word.'

[3] *ἵνα μὴ ἐκβῇ ἔξω μετὰ τῶν ἐγλεγωμένων* (*i.e. ἐκλεγομένων*) *ἐκκομιδῶν*. My rendering is a mere guess from the possible meaning 'export': *ἐκκ.* almost always means 'burial.' None of the dictionaries give any help.

[4] Nicole remarks that one of Apamius' other letters begins with warm thanks to the prefect, very probably for granting this request. The verbs here are *ἀποδιδι . . . ἀννψι*. Presumably *-ι* represents *-οῖ*, which here is best taken as optative.

[5] Greek *ἐ[ν]ἐγκας . π . . ἁμιος*. If my conjecture ['A]π-[π]*ἁμιος* is right—and it is impossible to say without examining the original papyrus—this is the only place in the letter where the name is preserved. But Nicole shows close connexions of thought and language with the other three letters which bear the writer's name.

The Hittite Inscriptions: A Correction.

It is very gratifying to observe from the editorial notes last month (pp. 337, 338) that there is now a general disposition to admit that Professor Jensen has discovered the secret of the Hittite inscriptions. Professor Sayce, however, while joining in this aknowledgment, conveys a wrong impression, no doubt inadvertently, regarding one matter. Professor Jensen was *not* indebted to M. Six for the reading 'Karkemiš.' It was *after* Professor Jensen had firmly laid the foundation (including the identification of this name, which, by the way, was a comparative trifle) for his decipherment of the inscriptions that M. Six, with whom he had *no previous acquaintance*, informed him that he *too* had discovered the reading 'Karkemiš.' It cannot be too strongly emphasized that *the whole credit of having deciphered the Hittite inscriptions belongs to Professor Jensen.*

Maryculter, Aberdeen. J. A. Selbie.

Inter Alia.

Bishop Gore was the guest of the Authors' Club on the 9th May, and delivered a humorous speech. He spoke of the trouble experienced by authors of genius over the correction of their proofs, and mentioned one writer on geology who spoke of 'erratic blocks,' but found, after the book was published, that he had been made to describe the ways of 'erotic blacks.'

The editor of the *Inquirer* has also been opening his mind on this matter. In his issue of the same date as Dr. Gore's speech, he says 'that the proceedings of the National Conference of Unitarians at Liverpool will be issued in pamphlet form. The pamphlet will not, however, contain the speeches that were delivered. For with the pressure of matter which had to be dealt with in last week's *Inquirer*, it was not possible to submit the reports to the several speakers, and we fear that they are far from accurate. Indeed, we have received a letter from the Rev. L. P. Jacks declaring that the report of his speech is so full of mistakes, rendering his points so unintelligible, that he feels obliged publicly "to disclaim responsibility for any statement printed therein." As he shrinks from the task of revision, our only course is to refrain from reprinting the report. One mistake we will point out. In Mr. Jacks's speech there were some "dragon's teeth" sown, which incontinently in the very same line sprang up as "*dragoon's* teeth!" For this and all other errors we are as sincerely penitent as it is possible for an overdriven beast to be.'

The new Kerr Lecture has just arrived. Opening it at random—for there is no time to read and review it this month—we lighted on a page with a footnote. The discussion is upon the genuineness of the great passage which contains the missionary's 'travelling orders.' It also contains the commission to 'go and baptize'; and altogether there is much in it which certain advanced critics scarce know what to do with.

'It is a little amusing,' says the footnote, 'to find Dr. Moffatt frankly saying (*Historical New Test.*, 649): "It is very tempting to regard the whole commission, verses 18–20, or even 16–20, as a later addition;" but adding, "The main drawbacks are the absence of a textual basis, and the abrupt state of what would be the original Matthew." This suggests a clever surgeon who has laid some one on his table, and feels it "very tempting" to saw off his legs; but who has to admit, as the "main drawbacks" to the operation, that the limbs of his subject are perfectly sound, and that, if they were removed, his body would terminate rather abruptly.'

Then Mr. Lambert remembers Livingstone, and the worth of this passage to him. 'Felt much turmoil of spirit,' he quotes from Livingstone's Diary of 14th January 1856, 'in view of having all my plans for the welfare of this great region and teeming population knocked on the head by savages to-morrow. But I read that Jesus came and said, "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations; and lo, *I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*" It is the word of a gentleman of the most sacred and strictest honour; and there is an end on't.'

The subject of Mr. Lambert's Kerr Lecture is

The Sacraments in the New Testament (T. & T. Clark, 10s. 6d.).

We do not all practise the Sermon on the Mount, but we do not all say so with the satisfaction of Mr. Arnold Lupton of Leeds. Writing to the *Inquirer* he says: 'I know that I cannot love my neighbour as myself; that I intend to resist force with force; that I intend to seek my own advancement in wealth, health, and pleasure; that I only propose to give a moderate percentage of my time, energy, etc., to the good of others, and that I ask no more from others than I am prepared to give in return. So that if, in response to my appeal for instruction the pastor tells me to "sell all I have and give it to the poor," I shall not attempt to obey him. I also know that the enormous majority of mankind would act similarly to myself in that regard. I want a code to suit my practice, which I can then use as a weapon to attack the practice of other people when, as I think, it happens to fall below my standard.'

The very latest utterance on Ḫammurabi is by Dr. Johannes Jeremias, the brother of the famous Assyriologist Dr. Alfred Jeremias.

Dr. Jeremias has compared the Code of Ḫammurabi with the Mosaic Code, and finds that even in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20^{22}–23^{33}), which is unanimously regarded by modern criticism as the oldest portion of the Pentateuch, there are twenty-four 'certain or tolerably certain' analogies to Ḫammurabi's Code.

A writer in the *Christian World* has examined these analogies. The effect is undoubtedly striking. The divergence, it is true, is considerable, as well as the agreement, but the likeness is close enough in every case to suggest at least some connexion.

But it is curious to notice that the connexion is closer in form than in substance. Indeed, as regards the substance, even when the formula is identical, as when the Mosaic and the Ḫammurabi law each begins with 'If a man,' Dr. Jeremias finds the Hebrew Code far superior to the Babylonian. Three things stand out prominently to show the ethical superiority of the Mosaic Code —its prohibition of covetousness, its attack on natural selfishness, and its requirement of brotherly love.

But the Mosaic Code is superior as well religiously as morally. Wrong-doing is always sin against God. This thought is absent from Ḫammurabi's Code, which from beginning to end is remarkable for its indifference to religion. 'Notwithstanding religious phrases and the mention of many deities, not a single religious thought can be discovered in it.'

There is a long and laudatory review of Professor Adams' *Primer on Teaching* in the *Sunday School Chronicle* for 7th May. The writer is at one with Professor Adams as to the distinctive aim of the Sunday school, that 'it exists for character.' He quotes: 'Let it suffice to say, once for all, that unless we may assume that the teacher's character and influence are satisfactory, nothing else matters.' The sentiment is sound, and it is expressed in Professor Adams' forcible unmistakable language.

Other sentences which this careful reviewer quotes, are: 'Adults usually underestimate the knowledge of a child of a given age.' 'Memory is at its best between seven and ten years of age.' 'Temptation consists in the effort of an idea to realize itself.' 'We must nurture the mind with ideas of good, and starve it in respect of ideas of evil.'

The Dean of St. Patrick's has been lecturing on the fascinating theme of the Psalms in Christian History. His lecture is published in the *Church of Ireland Gazette* for 11th April. This is a specimen of Dr. Bernard's gatherings:—

'When Wyclif was visited on a bed of sickness by certain friars who exhorted him to make reparation for the wrongs he had done them, his grim reply was, "I shall not die, but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars." "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile," were the dying words of the greatest of the popes. Did resignation to God's will ever express itself in more touching words than were used by the Emperor Maurice when his five sons were murdered before his eyes?— "Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and true is Thy judgment." This was, indeed, a taking up of the Cross.'

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

It cannot be said that Professor Schmiedel's article on the Resurrection in the new volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* contains any surprise. It cannot be said that it contains anything new. Its importance lies in its being the latest word on the subject. We think that, after all the failures, someone will surely yet come and prove that Jesus did not rise again from the dead. We have so little experience of resurrection from the dead. We have so much difficulty in believing it possible. When faith in the Risen Christ has worked by love and borne fruit in our lives, we no longer expect the Resurrection to be disproved. But before that comes we do. And we turn to Schmiedel, as we have turned to so many before, thinking it quite probable that it has been done at last.

But it has not been done. Schmiedel is further from proving that the Resurrection of Jesus did not take place than any one of the bold unbelievers who went before him. For they have exhausted all the likely hypotheses. He cannot accept any of the hypotheses which they advanced. And he has not found a new one.

Nor can it be said that the article does Professor Schmiedel himself any good. It is hard to understand why he undertook it. He cannot start with the position that miracles are impossible. He knew that he had no theory to account for the belief in the Resurrection. To whittle away certain parts of the narratives on the ground of inconsistency or the like, must now be an easy, but it can never be an entirely satisfactory operation with him. And for the rest he has left the matter as it was; while his own attitude is incomprehensible and his judgment somewhat discounted.

In the very first paragraph of his article Professor Schmiedel compels us to discount the value of his judgment. He begins by saying that the Resurrection of Jesus is held to be the central fact upon which the Christian Church rests. And then he states the three fundamental thoughts of the Christian faith which rest upon the Resurrection. These are (1) the belief that the death of Jesus was not the death of a malefactor, but a divine appointment for the forgiveness of sins and for the salvation of men (1 Co 15^{17}, Ro 4^{25} 6^{4-7}); (2) a vindication of the supremacy of the exalted Christ over the Church (1 Co $15^{25f.}$, Ro 1^{4}, 2 Co 13^{4}); and (3) a pledge of the certainty of an ultimate resurrection of all believers to a life of everlasting blessedness (1 Co 15^{18-20} 6^{14}, Ro 6^{8} 8^{11}).

Whereupon he endeavours to show that there was no agreement among the early Christians

regarding the first of these three thoughts. As early as the speeches of Peter in Acts, he says, the death of Jesus was looked upon as a calamity (Ac 3^{13-15} 5^{30}). It could not, therefore, he thinks, have been considered part of God's plan for the salvation of men, which was completed and confirmed by the Resurrection. But he admits that even in these speeches of Peter the death of Christ is spoken of as foreordained of God (Ac 2^{23} 4^{28}). And Paul was as ready as Peter to call the crucifixion a calamity when looked upon as the act of the Jews and their rulers. From the side of His murderers the death of Jesus was no less a calamity that from the side of God it was intended for the redemption of the world.

The story of Joseph is one of the greatest difficulties with which the Egyptologist has to do. And in the difficult story of Joseph there are lesser difficulties. One of these is the meaning of the name Zaphnath-paaneah.

The Pharaoh, we are told, made Joseph to ride in the second chariot which he had; and he also called his name Zaphnath-paaneah. The change of name causes us no surprise. From the example of Daniel and his three friends at the court of Nebuchadnezzar we are content to suppose that the changing of the name was an arrogant way which all those eastern tyrants worked with their slaves or favourites from afar. But why did the Pharaoh call Joseph Zaphnath-paaneah? What does that name mean?

Dr. Pinches accepts Steindorff's explanation. In his recent book—a book that is like to be smothered under its own interminable title; he calls it *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, and it cannot be curtailed in writing—Dr. Pinches says: 'Many conjectures have been made as to the true Egyptian form and meaning of Zaphnath-paaneah, but that of Steindorff "(God), the living one, has spoken," is undoubtedly the best of all.' And he cleverly compares the name of the well near which Hagar *the Egyptian* fell down exhausted when fleeing from Sarai, Abraham's wife: 'The well of *the living one* who seeth me.'

But Professor Naville will not have Steindorff's meaning. He has been writing on this name in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, and he counts it a fatal objection to Steindorff's meaning that it makes no reference to what Joseph was or what he had done.

Dr. Naville prefers to follow Erman. As long ago as 1883 Erman suggested 'Member of the College of Hierogrammatists.' And the only fault Dr. Naville finds with the suggestion is that it is scarcely definite enough and scarcely exalted enough for the honour that was manifestly intended to be conferred on Joseph. There were many Members of the College of Hierogrammatists in Egypt, it was not enough to make Joseph another. But if Joseph was made *Head* of that Sacred College his honours were complete. For then he was made Head of the sacred, as already he had been made Head of the secular, community in Egypt. He was made High Priest as well as Prime Minister. And this meaning Professor Naville gets out of the name by altering a single letter.

Now if Professor Naville is right, what effect has this on the determination of the date of the story of Joseph? For that is the question of importance. Dr. Naville himself says it has no effect at all. For the title we have a fixed date. It belongs to the twenty-second year of Osorkon II., the fourth king of the Twenty-Second Dynasty. But the College itself was certainly much older than that, one of the oldest institutions in Egypt. And it is not improbable that the title and dignity of Head of the College was very much older also.

With the exception of Professor Sanday, no

theological writer of England is so well known in Scotland as Bishop Gore. There is a certain expectancy about himself, and there is an air of sweet reasonableness about all his writing. If Presbyterianism has been roused to a defence of its Ministry and Sacraments, Bishop Gore has roused it. He represents a position that annihilates Presbyterian pretensions, but he comes to this conclusion so reluctantly and so illogically that reply is irresistible.

Till recently there were three great branches of Presbyterianism in Scotland; in each of the three branches there was a lectureship founded; and last year the lecturers with one consent, though quite independently, resolved to reply to Bishop Gore. That is to say, they all chose either the Ministry or the Sacraments or both; they were moved by Bishop Gore to make their choice; and they quote and confute him most of all. Principal Lindsay chose for the Cunningham Lecture, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*; Dr. Macleod chose for the Baird Lecture, *The Doctrine and Validity of the Ministry and Sacraments of the National Church of Scotland*; Mr. Lambert chose for his Kerr Lecture, *The Sacraments in the New Testament.*

After the surprise that Presbyterians care so deeply for their Orders and their Sacraments—some will take a long time to recover from that surprise—the next wonder will be, the wealth of meaning they find in both. But that is not the matter we mean to touch upon. It is something that stands over against that, as a wonder on the other side. It is the fact, brought out very clearly by Mr. Lambert, that in only one of his Epistles, and there for purely practical purposes, does St. Paul refer to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Is it possible, then, to make too much of the Supper? Ah, if we would make more of it, it would be well with us—if we would find more meaning in it and draw more spiritual nourishment out of it. But it does seem possible to make the Supper too dominant in the life of worship, and too exclusive as the channel of grace.

Only in one Epistle does St. Paul speak of it. If it had not been for the misdemeanours of the Corinthian Church, he might never have referred to it at all. 'We are half tempted,' says Mr. Lambert, 'to echo the famous *O beata culpa* which fell from Augustine as he thought of that primal human transgression which led to the sending of the Only-begotten Son. But for the faults of the worldly and selfish Christians of Corinth we might never have obtained a single glimpse into the mind of Paul on the subject of the Lord's Supper.'

Nor even here does St. Paul give that place to the Supper which we should expect him to give. And when he spends his strength upon the exposition of the great truths of salvation, neither here nor elsewhere does he even mention the Eucharist in relation to them. It is not apparently in all his thoughts when he sets forth the two central ideas of his theology—the righteousness of God and justifying faith. It is apparently not once taken into account when he describes the life of progressive sanctification through the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Christian heart. Mr. Lambert quotes Bishop Gore. Bishop Gore speaks of 'the only sort of abiding which the New Testament suggests—the indwelling of Christ in the members of His Body, *of which it is the glory of the Sacrament to be the earthly instrument.*' But this is Bishop Gore and not St. Paul. St. Paul does not once mention the sacrament as an instrument for securing the indwelling of our Lord in the members of His Body.

A volume of sermons by the Rev. J. A. Stokes Little, M.A., has been published under the title of *Salt and Peace* (Stockwell, 2s. 6d. net). The curious combination is found in Mk $9^{49.50}$, which is the text in the first sermon. The words (after the Revised Version) are, 'For every one shall be salted with fire. Salt is good: but if the salt have

lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another.'

What is this salt, and what has peace to do with it? Mr. Stokes Little, like a wise master-builder, goes back to the occasion. The disciples had come upon a man who was casting out devils in the name of Jesus. Like their successors in all time coming they were shocked. Was he casting out devils or only pretending to cast them out? He was casting them out. But 'he followeth not with us.' That was the cause of their displeasure.

Jesus said they should not be displeased. They must not expect everyone to adopt all the forms of their worship. The Spirit works sometimes among those that 'follow not with us.' The essential thing is that the Spirit be at work.

And He calls this presence of the Spirit, this evidence of His presence, *salt*. So salt here is not used for its preserving property. Salt does preserve. But to the disciples it was more familiar as a condiment, as an ingredient in food to make it palatable, just as it is most familiar to us. In the temple service salt was sprinkled on the sacrifice, not to keep it from decay, for it was eaten at once,—and, moreover, it was not flesh, but meal,—but to give it taste or flavour.

So salt is that which gives flavour. And the salt which gives flavour to a man's life is the Holy Spirit, who is here called fire. 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire,' said the Baptist. Says Jesus similarly, 'Every one shall be salted with fire.'

It is the salt of the Holy Ghost that makes the man, not his following with us. If the salt have lost its saltness, no outward conformity will salt it. And more than that, it is not right for the disciples of the Lord to insist on outward conformity. Salt does not give every article of food the same taste. The Holy Spirit does not turn all men into a uniformity of life or of worship. Recognize the Spirit under diversities of gifts and operations. 'Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another.'

There is another volume of sermons worth noticing this month. It comes from America. It is the third volume of a series issuing from the Presbyterian Board of Publication in Philadelphia. Its title is *The Power of God unto Salvation.* The author is Professor Benjamin Warfield of Princeton.

The sermon in Professor Warfield's book that arrests us most is the fifth. Its title is 'The Love of the Holy Ghost.' Under such a title we have read innumerable remarks in books on the Holy Spirit, amiable and undeniable, but they have stirred no thought and touched no emotion. Professor Warfield never writes unless he has something to say. He may be somewhat emphatic; he is never vague or commonplace.

His text is a striking one. It is James 5^5. In the Authorized Version it reads, 'Do ye think that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy?' In the Revised Version, text and margin, various renderings are suggested. The one that Professor Warfield accepts gives a very different meaning from the Authorized translation. It is, 'Or think ye that the Scripture saith in vain, That Spirit which he made to dwell in us yearneth for us even unto jealous envy?'

That text, says Professor Warfield, asserts the Love of the Spirit. 'It is a declaration, on the basis of Old Testament teaching, of the deep yearning which the Holy Spirit, which God has caused to dwell in us, feels for our undivided and unwavering devotion.'

And it is a love of appropriation. Here lies the uniqueness of the passage, the value of the

new translation. The love of God as a jealous love is a familiar thought. Elsewhere, however, it is Jehovah whose jealousy burns unto envy, as He contemplates the unfaithfulness of Israel; or it is the Lamb of God, who cherishes the Church as a husband loves and cherishes his wife. But here it is God the Holy Spirit, dwelling within us, who yearns after us even to jealous envy. 'Surely,' says Dr. Warfield, 'this too is an inexpressibly precious assurance which we would fain, without doubting, embrace with hearty faith.'

But do we realize that the Spirit loves at all? We wonder and say, 'Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called children of God.' We worship and repeat, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?' But do we recognize the fact of the love of the Spirit? Do we find comfort in it, and power? We feel the lift of St. John's appeal, 'Beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another.' We feel the force of St. Paul's declaration that 'the love of Christ constraineth us.' But what effect has the same apostle's entreaty, when he says, 'Now I beseech you, brethren, by the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God'?

And yet, if it is not improper to say so, the love of the Spirit is more wonderful than the love of the Father or the Son. For the Father and the Son love us from without, but the Spirit loves us from within. Of Francis of Assisi it is told that one day he was riding along in the first joy of his new-found peace, when suddenly 'at a turn in the road he found himself face to face with a leper. The frightful malady had always inspired in him an invincible revulsion. He could not control a movement of horror, and by instinct he turned his horse in another direction.' But the victory came. He sprang from his horse, and kissed the leper's hand. Next he visited the lazaretto itself and brought some brightness from the outer world into that gloomy retreat. At last he made the great renunciation, and went to dwell there.

This is the wonder of the Spirit's love. No leprous sores can be as foul in the eyes of the daintiest bred as sin is foul in the eyes of the Holy Ghost. We cannot conceive of the energy of His shrinking from its polluting touch. Yet he comes into the foul lazaretto of our hearts and dwells there,—permanently lives there, for the word that is used carries all that weight of meaning,—that He may cleanse us and fit us to be the Bride, the Lamb's wife.

If the conflict between Science and Theology is now at an end, what is the result of it? Has Science simply been routed? Has it been driven into some department of its own, and confined there? Or has it affected Religion? Are there things in Religion that are different now since the conflict with Science began?

There is one thing that is different. It is different with Prayer. We do not pray for temporal things as we did. We are slow to change our forms, whether in public worship or in private devotion; but when we think about it we shrink now from asking God to alter the weather for our sakes. Elijah was a man of like passions with us, and he prayed fervently that it might not rain, and it rained not. But Science has been here since Elijah's day. We cannot pray so fervently now that it may not rain.

We take comfort, no doubt, and say that there are many things left to pray for yet. But are there? If we cannot pray for rain, is there anything left to pray for? Our Lord said, 'All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them' (Mk 11^{24}). That includes the weather. For there is no list of exceptions. And the moment we begin to make exceptions we turn the promise into ridicule.

Professor Moberly of Oxford has been preaching on Prayer, and he has published his sermons.

He has published them in a volume entitled *Christ our Life*. The volume was noticed on its appearance, but it deserves this additional reference, for the four sermons it contains on Prayer are enough to give it a place in the permanent literature of the pulpit.[1]

The words we have quoted from St. Mark are the text of Dr. Moberly's first sermon. He takes the words as they stand. He refuses to let us draw up a list of exceptions to the sweep of them. He refuses to let us water away their meaning. 'At the first sound,' he admits, 'they surround our imaginations, as with an air of fairyland; they seem to be something out of relation with the severities of the things that are—something out of relation with the necessary stringencies of a moral life.' But when we begin to limit, to qualify, to explain them, he pulls us up. For now, 'it is not merely some childish misunderstanding of the promise, it is the promise itself that is slipping away from us; the solemn declaration of Christ begins to mean nothing very definite or distinguishable; or, worse still, men find ground for pleasant mockery at the hollowness of a religious aspiration so transparently unreal.'

Professor Moberly pulls us up just when we are becoming pleasantly humorous over the absurd disproportion between the promise and what it accomplishes. 'Do the words mean what they say?' he asks, 'or do they not? Or what do they mean? If I ask for health, for wealth, for what not, —shall I receive it? Or what mental conditions are there which would ensure my receiving it?'

Now, however childlike a thing Prayer may be, it is not quite the childish thing we have sometimes considered it to be. Alongside the text from St. Mark, Dr. Moberly places one from St. James: 'Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss' (4^3). So something depends upon the asking. There is a right and a wrong way of asking. There is asking aright, says St. James, and there is asking amiss. When our Lord said, 'Whatsoever ye pray and ask for,' He meant no doubt that we should pray and ask aright.

Professor Moberly takes an illustration. Here is a man, under pressure (it may be) of great anxieties, moved (it may be) by a great desire, who kneels down and prays urgently to God for certain special gifts or special deliverances. So far well. But what is his real attitude towards God? He thinks of himself as one person, with a mind and will of his own; he thinks of God as another. There are some things he can do for himself, but there are some things he cannot. God can do them for him. He kneels down and prays. He hopes that by His praying he may persuade God to grant him certain things which he cannot obtain for himself.

Is that Prayer? Dr. Moberly is lenient with such a man. He will not deny that even such a prayer as that has its place 'among rudimentary efforts of prayer.' But is it praying aright? The man has a will of his own. He knows what he wants. All he asks of God is to give him what he wants. The wisdom and the will of God may be otherwise. He has not considered or concerned himself with that. He does not seek to enter into the will of God. He does not endeavour to conform himself to God's will. He makes no appeal to the higher wisdom of God. He simply asks God to give him what he wants.

It is the appeal of a child to a father? Perhaps, but of a spoilt child to an indulgent father. It is an appeal to the love of God? Perhaps, but it is an appeal to His love against His wisdom. In reality it is an appeal, neither to the wisdom nor to the love of God, but simply to His power. The man has the will; God has the power: the prayer means, 'O God, may *my* will be done.'

Dr. Moberly fears we may call that a caricature.

[1] These notes were written on the very day of Canon Moberly's early death. We did not know of it till the day after.

He need not fear. Even our most intensely earnest prayer is often that and no more than that—an intensely earnest desire to bend the will of God and win it over to our own.

Now what would it mean to succeed in such a prayer? It would mean that the will of God would be overruled, that the will of God would fail, that the will of God would not be done in the earth as it is in heaven—if it happened not to agree with our will. Therefore the first necessity of prevailing prayer is that it be in accordance with the will of God. 'Make Thy will my will, and my will into Thy will,'—that is its central petition. And with that Canon Moberly's first sermon ends.

The second enforces what the first has proved. It shows us Christ at prayer. For the thought at once arises in our mind, If this is prayer and the only prayer, how can we pray at all? If we may not ask for things that we want, what is the use of praying?

Canon Moberly does not say that we may not ask for things that we want. He only says that we may not ask God to give us things that we want which He does not want to give us. He shows us Christ praying. When Jesus spent the long night through in prayer with God, are we to suppose that He was striving against God? In the garden of Gethsemane He prayed, 'O my Father, if it be possible let this cup pass away from me'; and He added, 'nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' Are we to understand that first He prayed the Father to bend His will to something that was not His will, and that then, when He saw that could not be, He added, 'nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt'? Was this prayer—the example and encouragement of all prayer—really two different prayers? Was it first an effort to change God's will, and then, when that failed, an effort to be resigned to the failure?

'Surely,' says Dr. Moberly, 'it was far otherwise. Rather, the effort of His soul in that awful moment,—across all the inevitable shrinking of the flesh, across the deep horror and distraction of impulse which must form part of the undimmed consciousness of human life before the unnatural outrage of the knife of the murderer,—the real effort of His soul was one effort, single, consistent, and triumphant together. It was the final surrender and consecration of every impulse of necessary human shrinking, even from that death of inconceivable sacrifice. It meant, it was, not the defeat, indeed, or crushing, of human will, but its crowning simplicity, in perfect identification, perfect oneness, with the Divine. Was not this the real issue of that most victorious prayer—namely, that, in it, the will, even of human flesh, willed and chose for itself every unnatural detail of the agony, as voluntarily, as entirely, as did the will of God?'

But if this is Prayer, and only this, then, after all, Prayer has surely only a reflex influence on ourselves. Surely it is simply the means of bending our will into conformity with the will of God. What influence has it on the things around us? It may make us more submissive under our disappointment at the continuance of rain or the lack of it; but does it bring rain when we need it, or stop it when we have enough?

If it is not in accordance with the will of God, we shall not by Prayer compel Him either to give rain or to withhold it. But the prayer for rain or for dry weather is not in vain. For the will of God is not always done on earth. There are innumerable ways in which it is not done. In this human life of ours, with its endless catalogue of failure and sin, of intemperance and lust, of neglect, cruelty, or malice,—and their terrible entail of wasting and suffering, of disaster and death,—who can say that the will of God is always done?

And why is it not done? Because the will of man prevents it. For the will of man has power

to arrest the will of God. How otherwise could man be man? If God imposed His will on an unwilling subject, could that subject be a friend of God and love Him? If God insisted that His will be done whether man agreed or not, how could God and man come within sight of one another? How could man be man?

But when the will of God is thwarted in the earth by the opposition of the will of man, Prayer may remove the opposition. And then, if the will of God is that the blind see and the lame walk, the blind will see and the lame will walk. For the will of God is strong to heal. It only needs the consent of the will of man, that prevailing consent which carries power to heal not only on the person consenting, but upon others also. For it stems the powers of evil all around; it opens the way to the power of God; and, in proportion to the fulness of its surrender to the will of God, distributes healing and blessing.

Prayer may not bring rain just when we ask it. That may not be the will of God. For the will of God is the wisdom of God, and rain may be no blessing just when we ask it. But if the rain is withheld through the obstruction to the will of God which the will of man can make, then Prayer will bring it. And so, as St. James has it, the fervent prayer of a righteous man—a man who bends his will to the will of God—availeth much in its working; it brings rain not on his own garden only, but as far beyond his own garden-gate as his entrance into the will of God arrests the powers of evil and lets the will of God be done.

Hermann Schultz.

By the Rev. J. A. Paterson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh.

By the death of Professor Schultz on 15th May the Theological Faculty of Göttingen University has lost one who served it long and well, and whose fame in English-speaking lands was second only to that of his former colleague, Albrecht Ritschl.

Hermann Schultz was born in 1836, and studied theology both in Erlangen and Göttingen. He had a distinguished career as a student; and, on finishing his theological curriculum, spent a year or two as a teacher in Hamburg. His natural aptitude for such work was so marked that in 1859 he was encouraged to return to Göttingen, where he became a *privat-docent*. While in that position he published, in 1861, an elaborate treatise on *The Presuppositions of the Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, which is still considered a work of importance, and is certainly a noteworthy production for so young an author. The promise it gave of future eminence in the theological world has been amply fulfilled.

It is a striking and convincing proof of his popularity as a professor that Dr. Schultz during his professorial career was called to serve in no fewer than four universities. In 1864 he was elected to a professorship in Basle; and in the following year his own University of Göttingen conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Although his special department was that of Old Testament Literature the youthful professor did not confine his energies exclusively to that department, but also lectured for several sessions on New Testament subjects. So successful, as well as versatile, did he prove as a professor in the old Swiss town, that in 1872 he was called to the newly organized University of Strassburg, once more a German city. There, however, he remained only two years, when he was appointed to the famous University of Heidelberg. His stay in this most picturesque little town was equally brief, for in 1876 his own *Alma Mater* invited her brilliant *alumnus* to fill the Chair of Theology, an invitation naturally accepted with the utmost satisfaction.

For twenty-seven years Professor Schultz taught and preached in Göttingen with unflagging zeal,

being equally acceptable in the chair and in the pulpit. His life was indeed one of many-sided activity. Besides lecturing in the University he was the chief director in the Homiletical Seminary, being thus what might be called in this country professor of Practical Training, a post for which his ability as a preacher eminently fitted him. For the regular exercise of his popular gifts he was afforded ample opportunity by being appointed University Preacher; and in connexion therewith the title on which he, Protestant though he was, prided himself most, viz. Abt zu Bursfelde, 'Abbot of Bursfelde,' was conferred upon him in 1890.

As a professor Dr. Schultz gained the love and respect of all who attended his lectures; and it is well known that many of the Hanoverian clergy have long delighted to testify how much they owe to him for strengthening their faith in God and deepening their love to Christ, and thus enabling them, despite the many trying difficulties of the age, to preach with all boldness the old gospel of salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. To foreign students Dr. Schultz was specially considerate, as I know from what several of my own students who have studied under him have told me. They all spoke most gratefully of the kindness and hospitality extended to them both by himself and his amiable wife, who were constantly showing them those little attentions which add so much to the pleasure of a sojourn in a foreign land, and which linger pleasantly through all their after-life in the memory of those who have received them.

Besides being a first-rate Hebraist, and a scholar widely read in philosophy as well as theology, Professor Schultz was also an able and popular preacher. And little wonder; for he was a fluent speaker, an earnest sympathetic man, and had at command a most beautiful and attractive style. He was, in fact, one of the very first German professors who paid attention not merely to the matter but to the form and expression of their thoughts. Half a century ago nothing could well be more tangled, cumbersome, and altogether 'without form' than the page-long sentences often found in German theological works. But a full generation before the advent of an emperor born to set all things right, and so conscious of the natural obscurity of the German language that he has actually issued an order for lucidity of style in official despatches, Schultz was, by his power of vivid expression, setting an admirable example to rising authors; and such men as Wellhausen and Duhm were not long in joining him in this praiseworthy work. Hence a style, possessing the clearness and verve formerly characteristic of French authors only, has already become by no means uncommon among the younger generation of German theologians. Without question this marked improvement was largely due to Professor Schultz. He had the imagination of a poet, and in his beauty of expression, as well as in his depth of thought and saneness of judgment, may well be compared to our own recently lost and deeply regretted Dr. A. B. Davidson.

Alike from natural temperament and from the fact of his having the good fortune to combine the work of a professorship with that of regular, although not unduly frequent, preaching, Schultz was peculiarly well qualified to act as a mediating influence in academic and ecclesiastical controversies. His wide knowledge and his wealth of sympathy were such as to enable him to understand better than most the point of view from which even those from whom he was constrained to differ regarded the matter in dispute. Hence he could argue most persuasively for the freedom which academic research requires and demands, while at the same time he never forgot the necessity of keeping in touch with the past history of the Church and of not breaking away too roughly or hastily from the traditions of that past.

Professor Schultz was a prolific author, and wrote on a great variety of subjects. So long ago as 1869 he published his *Old Testament Theology*, which has gone through no less than five editions, the last of which was issued in 1896. It is clear from a comparison of the successive editions that Schultz always kept abreast of the literature and thought of his time, and that, possessing a mind open to new light, he frankly yielded to its effects and acknowledged that his own views had been changed thereby. At the time he published his first edition, the most powerful influences under which he had written were evidently those of Ewald and Dillmann; but in the later editions the influence of Wellhausen is equally manifest.

Meantime, in 1881, Schultz had written a most important work on *The Divinity of Christ*, characterized by great philosophical learning and broad Christian sympathy. It strikes one, there-

fore, as passing strange that any minister should argue that a man, like Schultz, having changed his critical standpoint so as to approach that of Wellhausen was logically bound to give up all belief in the 'supreme Divinity of Christ.' Yet this has been actually done in a very recent work on *Old Testament Critics*. It is certain that such argumentation would be regarded as nothing short of unjustifiable misrepresentation not only by those nearest to the deceased but also by the distinguished theologian who, on 18th May, preached his funeral sermon from the words, 'Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you,' and who testified from personal knowledge to the strong, unshaken faith of the departed in the living Christ, who gave that promise to every faithful follower. Nor must it be forgotten in this connexion that Schultz was quite as much at home in Dogmatics as in Old Testament Theology. Indeed, towards the end of his life he seems to have devoted himself with ever-increasing satisfaction to that branch of Christian learning. His latest works are, with the exception of a volume of University sermons, three separate handbooks on *Evangelical Dogmatics*, *Evangelical Ethics*, and *Christian Apologetics*, the last of which passed into a second and greatly enlarged edition in 1902.

In these days, however, when in our own country the battle rages most fiercely around the Old Testament, and when myth and legend are regarded by many who ought to know better as words of evil omen, and are treated as synonymous with 'lie' and 'falsehood,' we may be pardoned for bringing this brief sketch to a close with a quotation or two which will serve to show what this learned evangelical professor understood legend to mean, and at the same time help the reader to realize in what chaste and beautiful language he habitually clothed his thoughts. In the second chapter of his *Old Testament Theology*, Professor Schultz writes thus: 'Wherever we see a nation stepping forth out of the darkness of the prehistoric age into the light of historical life, it invariably brings with it, as one of its most precious spiritual treasures, the national legend. . . . Wherever the memory of a period as yet without a literature is transmitted orally, we always find legend. A nation wreathes around the figures of its ancestors and the places famous in its earliest days a many-coloured garland of spontaneous poetry—not a garland of fiction or of falsehood. Hence in legend there is invariably a historical kernel. . . . Hence the perennial freshness of legend; hence the feeling that we have to do with figures of flesh and blood, more real than those of history. Indeed, one never feels so much at home in history as in legend. One sits by the hearth in a people's home, and listens there to the very breathing of its inner life. . . . In fact, legend must be regarded as fitted in a higher degree than history to be the medium of the Holy Spirit. . . . Abraham is, for Old Testament revelation, a more instructive figure than all the kings of Israel from Saul to Zedekiah.'

That the Christian world is poorer to-day for the loss of Hermann Schultz must be the conviction not only of all who know his published works, but, and still more emphatically, of all who ever came into personal contact, however brief, with this gifted genial Christian believer and scholar.

The Transfiguration.

By the Rev. A. E. Burn, B.D., Rector of Kynnersley, Wellington.

'He was transfigured.'—Matt. xvii. 2.

These words have not found a place in any form of the Apostles' Creed, the historic faith of the Church, where we might have expected to find them beside the words 'He suffered.' Yet they describe an important event in the Lord's life on earth, and they open out almost untrodden paths of divine wisdom, where the din of controversy is not heard, and the voice of prejudice is hushed, and the shadow of pride falls not,—ways of pleasantness and paths of peace.

The reason why these words have not found a place in the Creed is not far to seek. The Vision of the Transfiguration was only vouchsafed to chosen disciples, whose minds were prepared to

profit by its teaching. The fact points to the conclusion that the deeper lessons of the narrative can only be understood by those who bring to their meditation on it, hearts prepared by spiritual discipline, as well as merely intellectual training. Thus the wisdom of our Church is justified in leaving practically optional the keeping of the Festival of the Transfiguration on this day (6th August), a festival which has been observed in the Eastern Church from the eighth century, and in the West from earlier times.

He was transfigured. Let us ask first when this came to pass. It was the very climax of the Lord's ministry. Thousands of Galilean peasants were ready at a word to raise the standard of revolt against Roman tyranny and crown Him as their king. The word was not spoken. His faithful followers, the apostles, who had forsaken all to share His homelessness and poverty, to brave the displeasure of chief priests and Pharisees, with some foreboding of greater perils to come, had been tested by the searching question, 'Whom say ye that I am?' The glorious hopes, which centred in the confession, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' had been confirmed by the ringing words with which He accepted the title and blessed the faith which offered it. But the promise of future victory was conditional. The weary war must be waged right up to the gates of hell; the faith, which seemed in this hour of insight invincible, must be tested by fiery trials. Day by day the Lord reiterated the inexplicable prophecy that the Son of man must be taken and by wicked hands be crucified and slain. Only those hopes which had been renewed in the hour of defeat, only that faith which had passed through the darkness of despair and the shadow of death, could be transfigured and transformed into motives worthy of those who should aid in the task of the world's redemption.

On a Sabbath eve three chosen apostles ascended with Him the slopes of Mount Hermon. They understood that He went to pray. He was always ready to pray. And they, in the cool of evening, with the vision of the high Mountain standing, as the Psalmist says, 'like Divine Righteousness' before their eyes, might well feel moved to offer an evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. Travellers have described the changing glories of sunset on those snow slopes now rose-coloured, now deepening red, next the deathlike pallor and the darkness relieved by the snow in quick succession. 'From high up there,' writes a traveller, 'a deep ruby flash came over all the scene, and warm purple shadows crept slowly on. The Sea of Galilee was lit up with a delicate greenish-yellow hue between its hills . . . a pale steel-coloured shadow succeeded, the great shadow of the Mountain crept across the plain. The sun went down in the sea and went out like a blue spark.'

We may picture to ourselves the scene as the disciples beheld it. We know the sad thoughts which possessed them about Him of whom they thought as the Sun of righteousness arising with healing power. Alas, if the light of His Presence should be extinguished! But the stars shone out overhead, and the moonlight, which glittered on the snowfields above, presently revealed to them two mysterious forms beside their Master. Their eyes were as heavy with sleep as their hearts with sorrow. But they could discern a great change in Him. He was transfigured. Unearthly light shone round about Him brighter than lightning flash, more glorious than the glow of the setting sun. His garments were white and glistering as the sheen of moonbeams on the snowy peak above. Even more mysterious than the Vision were the words of the other speakers revealing them as visitants from the unseen world,—Moses and Elijah, who talked with Him of the exodus, the decease, which He should accomplish in Jerusalem. The joy that was set before Him through which He should endure the Cross, was the joy of delivering mankind from a worse tyranny than the iron rule of the Pharaohs in Egypt, by a victory more glorious than that which inspired the triumph song of the Israelites by the Red Sea. The disciples heard but little, and with drowsy brains understood but little. They felt, however, that it was good for them to be there, to see this fairest vision of the King in His beauty. St. Peter was the spokesman: 'Let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias.' As Mr. Latham has said so well in *Pastor Pastorum*, this was a characteristic request from a Galilean fisherman, a practical man, like one of the famous Alpine guides, always looking out for something to do. There was no time to say more, and nameless terror seized them when they saw a bright cloud overshadowing them, and out of the

cloud heard a mysterious Voice: 'This is My Beloved Son, hear Him.'

When the cloud had passed they saw no man save Jesus only. It was His hand which raised them from the lowliest posture of adoration into which they had cast themselves, it was His voice which bade them 'Arise, and be not afraid.' Still more bewildering was the stern command to tell no man what they had seen till the Son of man should have risen from the dead. But there was bliss in the remembrance of that transcendent glory, and there was perfect calm in His manner while He spoke to them on the way down in the grey dawn. The genius of the painter Raffaelle has enshrined for ever in Christian imagination the contrast between the unrest of earth exemplified in the scene to which they came down from the calm of faith's unclouded gaze. In his last great picture we see, above, the Lord transfigured talking to Moses and Elijah; below, the other apostles vainly striving to heal the poor afflicted lad brought to them by his distracted father, amidst an uneasy, excited crowd. So soon they return to life's daily trials, and distressing scenes, probably with a feeling that they were hampered rather than helped by the secret, which was to be guarded so jealously, of the vision which they had seen. Obedience brought in the end its reward. When the Son of man had risen again from the dead, they understood the meaning of this foretaste of the glory which should follow His sufferings.

We may think of the transfiguration as (i) the reward of sinlessness, (ii) as teaching the secret of progress, (iii) as conveying a message of transcendent hope.

i. He was transfigured. The fact sets clearly before our minds the natural end of man's earthly probation, which through sin has been clouded by the shadow of death. Not death but transfiguration would have been the goal of our pilgrimage if we had not sinned. This was the reward of the stainless years lived in the village home at Nazareth, and under the fierce glare of the public opinion of the Scribes and Pharisees, which discussed every detail of His ministry and criticised every word of His discourses. And in the end the critics were silent when challenged: 'Which of you convinceth Me of sin?'

Moses and Elijah came to attest, with the sanction of divine law and the witness of most sure prophecy, the miracle of divine life manifest in flesh. They found the Lord prepared by toils and temptations to be the author of our faith, ready in the Manhood which He had assumed for our sakes to enter upon the spiritual inheritance prepared for us in the Father's house. They came to fetch Him to a triumphant Ascension, 'Victor after hard fought fight.' But they came to find that there was a lower depth of self-sacrifice to which He wished to descend before He would enter into His glory. For our salvation He had resolved to die, offering up on the cross the only sacrifice which can take away sins; our sins, not His own, 'who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness.' These words of 1 St. Peter (2^{24}) include the use of a word for *dead*, which is not found elsewhere in the Greek Testament, and which, without wresting the meaning, may be taken to express the change which this vision of the Transfiguration, which he had been privileged to behold, had wrought in his thought about death. Instead of the ordinary word ἀποθανόντες, he uses a mystical word ἀπογενόμενοι, which means literally 'departing,' exactly analogous to the word ἔξοδος used in the Lord's conversation with Moses and Elijah about His death and in the Second Epistle of St. Peter (1^{15}) with reference to the apostle's death.

Death is regarded in a new light; it is not the end-all of earthly probation only, it is the symbol henceforth of life under changed conditions, the same life continuing, redeemed from imperfection, purged from sin, transfigured.

It is not possible for us now, but it shall be possible for us hereafter. It has been said in glowing words that 'the transfiguration of man is the vision of God.' 'Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.'

Sin affects national life as it affects individuals. Again and again in the history of the Chosen People transgressions and errors marred their work for God. And in the last resort, when the Word of God 'came unto His own, His own received Him not.' Therefore the Church of Christ did not come into being as it might have come through the transfiguration of Judaism, through the collective response of the whole people to the call of God and the claims of Christ. Only through

the terrors of a great spiritual revolution, only after the reversal of many cherished hopes, only by the call of individuals to take up the cross, was the Church founded and the purpose of God fulfilled in spite of national rejection of His Messiah. 'To as many as received Him, to them gave He power to become the sons of God.'

Thus the Transfiguration of Our Blessed Lord, which was the reward of His sinlessness, directs our attention alike to the failure of mankind to fulfil their destiny even in the case of the most favoured nation, and to the marvellous success of the divine method of missionary enterprise which began with the call of a few and has made of them the holy Church throughout all the world.

ii. The Transfiguration teaches the secret of progress. We are led to trace out the progressive transfiguration of the idea of the Christ in the law, in the prophets, during the Lord's ministry, after the day of Pentecost.

We do not live in a world of day dreams. To think too much of what might have been is to make the mistake which St. Peter made when he spoke of setting up three tabernacles, desiring to continue in contemplation with that glorious company on the mountain, leaving undone the tasks awaiting them in the lower world of blinding sin and sorrow. The world is what it is, but in His love God has not abandoned it. The very failures of minds weighed down by earthly thoughts and desires are made to serve His ends.

We think of Moses as a pattern of meekness, who so meekly bore the reproach of his people, who implored that their punishment might fall on himself, putting up with ingratitude; we think of his words: 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me; to Him shall ye hearken.' Like and yet unlike, because the Christ in the majesty of suffering meekness endured to the end, whereas Moses in the last crisis of his trial forgot himself and turned upon the people with the withering scorn which rendered him unworthy to enter into the Land of Promise. The limitations of the law given by Moses correspond to the limitations of Moses' character. The Sermon on the Mount transcends the teaching of the Law as far as the Divine Patience of the Crucified transcends the troubled petulance of Moses. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy,' becomes 'Love your enemies; do good unto them that hate you.' The love of man which responds with gratitude to service is transfigured in the love of God, which shines even upon the unthankful and evil.

What the Law failed to perfect in the sphere of human action, the Prophets failed equally to accomplish in the domain of thought. We think of Elijah in the splendid isolation of his triumph on Carmel, but we must not forget his connexion with the schools of the prophets, which had existed from the days of Samuel, and of which he took solemn farewell before his ascension. The reverence in which he was then held explains the fact that he was regarded as the typical prophet, though the one fragment of his teaching is the motto, so to speak, of his life: 'As the Lord liveth before whom I stand.' This is enough, however, to link his life to those of later prophets less full in dramatic incident, more fruitful in words, which echo down the ages the revelation of the Lord our Righteousness. Men of like passions with ourselves, they failed both in word and deed, but their very failure was 'a triumph's evidence for the fulness of the days'—when the suffering Servant of the Lord, whom their dim words foretold, and whose way their lesser sacrifices prepared, offered the one sacrifice for sins for ever, making self-sacrifice the measure of heroism, and Atonement the proof of infinite love.

During the Lord's earthly ministry none of His disciples could understand how He thus fulfilled the Law and the Prophets. It was the work of the Holy Spirit to reveal after the day of Pentecost what the Transfiguration had taught the three witnesses as by an acted parable.

To St. James it was granted soon to pass within the veil and behold with open face the glory of the Lord. But St. Peter and St. John remained to teach us what, in contrast to the elements of Christian religion, summed up in the words repentance of sins and faith in Jesus as the Lord, which was the primitive Creed of the Apostolic Church, may be described as the higher education of Christian law and Christian prophecy.

At every turn St. Peter's Epistles remind us of the conflict between faith and reason which had tried the disciples' characters all the time that they companied with Jesus of Nazareth. He who exults in the lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, he who speaks of the prophets inquiring, when the spirit of Christ testified beforetime the sufferings of Christ and

the glory that should follow, is he who was rebuked so sternly for the indignant protest against the very least suggestion of a suffering Messiah. The old pride of Jewish exclusiveness which, even after Pentecost, came into collision with the largeness of Christian liberty revealed to St. Paul, has passed forever away in the willingness with which St. Peter in his First Epistle accepts the mixed Church of Jews and Gentiles made one in Christ as the royal priesthood, the holy nation of God; thus by transfiguration of the old Law are they called together to show forth the praises of Him who had called them out of darkness into His marvellous light. And St. John, from the point of view of Christian prophecy, as one who had seen the vision of God manifest in flesh, beholding His glory on that holy mount as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, unfolds other aspects of the Life which previous writers had begun to describe, and explains mysteries of the kingdom no longer uttered in parables. Through long years St. John had treasured in his memory words of eternal life, and it is to his Gospel that the Church turns again and again for instruction on her task to preach to every age in its own tongue, and according to its own need, the truth that Jesus is the Lord.

iii. Thus we are led to our last division of thought about the Transfiguration. It was the proof of the Lord's sinlessness; it shows the secret of progress through the transfiguration of the human aspirations expressed in law and prophecy; it therefore conveys the message of a transcendent hope, of hope in the steady performance of our duty, in the calm endurance of our sorrows, in the continual refreshment of our worship.

The call of duty seems sometimes to the hurried Christian of the twentieth century a different and less distinct summons than the voice which rang in the ears of the early Church. The words of St. Peter on holy matrimony, on brotherly love, on pastoral responsibility, sound like counsels of perfection alike too lofty and too simple to profit the perplexed Christian of to-day. Modern society is fastidious in the treatment of moral problems, which it sometimes chooses to regard as more complex than they really are, out of mere faintheartedness in the attempt to solve them. The faithful parish priest knows where the old sores of humanity—impurity, dishonesty, selfishness—lie masked, mocking the appearances of health in the body politic, poisoning innocence, perverting trade, compelling poverty. How is it possible to deliver the message of the Christ in words so stirring that they shall sound as a trumpet-call in the ears of Christians tempted in such subtle ways to indulge the flesh, and take the world easily, and forget the devil? Only one kind of preparation will avail for such a task, that which the Lord Himself sought when He went to pray in the holy mount before facing the trial of Crucifixion. And then He was transfigured, and this teaches that in such moments of spiritual aspiration we, who are children of God by adoption, may find grace to see His way made plain before our face through all the tangled perplexities of modern life, and hear His voice praise our acceptance of duty. True, it is that the

> Tasks in hours of insight willed
> Must be in gloomy days fulfilled.

But the remembrance of those hours when the light of the Eternal Presence has shone upon our spirits remains and incites and exalts. And when we see saintly souls schooled in affliction, bearing with faith and hope a burden of sorrows heavier than is the common lot of men, yet living as with a glow of the evening sunlight on their faces, while all that is dearest to them on this earth fails and passes like the setting sun, almost transfigured we say, then we know that this is the spiritual counterpart of the Lord's Transfiguration, and take knowledge of them that they have been with Jesus. The conquest of physical pain and weakness suggests a thought which St. Anselm works out in his sermon on the Transfiguration, that in the Resurrection the spiritual body shall in some sort correspond to the Lord's transfigured Body, not unclothed, but 'clothed upon, that mortality may be swallowed up of life.' Even so we have seen teachers in the house of God whose faces were lit up with heavenly joy, as the face of St. Stephen before his judges, when they spoke to us of the truths which are 'the master light of all our seeing.' It was good for us to be there, yet not good to remain. Ours likewise to descend, to return to the task set before us, to find that, as earthly teachers pass away, the Lord, who for our sakes and for our salvation was transfigured, is with us all the days. The light which shines on

the path of duty, and the mystery of pain, and the hour of worship, proves that we have not followed cunningly devised fables when we keep this day the Festival of the Transfiguration, taking heed to the sure word of prophecy which the apostles of Christ delivered who were eye-witnesses of His majesty. 'For He received from God the Father honour and glory when there came such a voice to Him from the excellent glory: This is My Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'

At the Literary Table.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA. Vol. IV.

A. & C. Black, 20s. net.

There has been no expectation that the last volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* would alter the character of the work, and it has not done so. Between the first and fourth volumes there is undoubtedly a considerable difference; the chief editor's mind has been making rapid progress while the work has been passing through the press; but the progress has been in the way of extending the scope of that peculiarity which has given the book its character, and the fourth volume but adds increased emphasis to it. Christ is less in this volume than in any of those that preceded it, and Jerahmeel is more.

Dr. Cheyne is aware that he has made progress. In the article on Rachel he says: 'As pointed out in Jacob, the phraseology of Gn 29[1] suggests that, according to a very early form of the tradition the home of Laban was among the Jerahmeelites of the south. Evidence which was not in the writer's hands when that article was written, or at least was not fully appreciated by him, is now before him in abundance, showing that this was indeed the case, *i.e.* that Laban was indeed originally regarded as an Aramæan or Jerahmeelite of the south. Laban's Ḥaran was, however, not Hebron, but a district of the Negeb, which also supplied to Sanballat (?) the designation Ḥaranite. It was there that Rachel and Leah—a distinction without a difference, if both names are corrupt fragments of Jerahmeel—dwelt, according to the early tradition, and the Bethel where the divinity appeared to Jacob was, if not, strictly speaking, in "the land of the children of Jerahmeel," at any rate at no great distance from it, for, like Ḥaran, it was in the Negeb.' And so Jerahmeel is now not only the name of a large number of persons and a large number of places, but also the name of a god, and 'there are several indications that the worship of Jerahmeel had made its way into Judah some time before the fall of the state.'

The sub-editing, if we may use that convenient expression for the work that is really finest in all the book, is exceedingly well done. Only one slip has been noticed, the omission to say whose are the initials C. C. which are found under the very first article. But is it not a loss of space to allow Dr. van Manen to express at length such an obvious fact as that he is independent both of science and tradition?

In this volume a little more attention is paid to the theology of the Bible than before. The lack of the Biblical Theology has been the only serious fault of the book on the side of omission, and it is pleasant to see that omission supplied, though so late and to so limited an extent. The article on Reconciliation is the first of this kind, and even although it occupies but three inches, and is purely linguistic, it is very welcome.

THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTRY AND SACRAMENTS.

Blackwood, 6s. net.

This book is the Baird Lecture for 1903. Its title is *The Doctrine and Validity of the Ministry and Sacraments of the National Church of Scotland.* Its author is Dr. Donald Macleod.

It is often said, it seems to be almost universally believed, that the Presbyterian ministry of Scotland has no interest in itself or in its Sacraments. A month or two ago Principal Lindsay published his Cunningham Lecture on the *Church and Ministry*. Last month Mr. Lambert's Kerr Lecture on the *Sacraments in the New Testament* appeared. And now Dr. Macleod publishes his Baird Lecture on the *Presbyterian Ministry and the Sacraments*. They have all chosen the Ministry or the Sacra-

ments or both; they have chosen them independently; they have chosen them as the subject of most pressing interest at this time. Surely the notion that the Sacraments are nothing to Scotsmen, and that Scottish ministers have no interest in their own Orders, will be a little disturbed.

These three books are strong, the work of strong men. Dr. Macleod is as little dependent as Dr. Lindsay or Mr. Lambert on secondhand authority, and he is as little tempted to uncharitable words concerning those who deny him the standing of a minister of Christ and his Church the authority of a Church of Christ. It does not even embitter him that he is driven upon the defensive. He accepts that position. He does not cross the border. He defends the Presbyterian form of government, and the Presbyterian administration of the sacraments, *in Scotland*. And he says that if the Church of England can claim historic continuity for Episcopacy in England, much more can the Church of Scotland claim historic continuity for Presbyterianism in Scotland. To pretend that in Scotland Episcopacy is of the essence of the Church is to go against history. For Episcopacy, he says, did not exist as a form of Church government in Scotland until the attempt was made to force it in from the English side.

No doubt the defence of Presbyterianism in Scotland compels Dr. Macleod to look beyond the history of Scotland. If Episcopacy is of the *esse* of the Church, it is of no use to point to its absence from Scottish history. So Dr. Macleod investigates its origin. And he holds that while the presbyterate is the New Testament form of government, the episcopate arose out of the presbyterate by 'elevation'; that 'essentially, as the Roman Church itself teaches, it was not a separate order, but a dignity, even as an archbishop is not a new order, but a dignity invested with certain privileges and powers.'

The Sacraments are dealt with in Lectures 6 and 7. The space may seem disproportionate, and no doubt a separate detailed exposition of the Reformed doctrine of the Sacraments is a necessity. Mr. Lambert has just supplied that necessity. But Dr. Macleod's purpose is sufficiently served. For the chief difference between the doctrine of the Church of England and the doctrine of the Church of Scotland on the Sacraments, arises from the difference regarding those that administer them. Let the Ministry be settled, and the Sacraments, including the vital question of Sacrifice, will settle themselves. Round the Lord's Supper has raged the fiercest controversy of the modern Church, but it is really a personal controversy.

Dr. Macleod's book has come at the right time. He has Dr. Gore to answer and Dr. Moberly, but he has also the Bishop of Salisbury, and his is the latest and most approachable statement. He has, moreover, such able and candid newspapers as the *Pilot*. It is true that the *Pilot's* review of Dr. Lindsay's *Church and Ministry* was inadequate and disappointing; but that was only one error in judgment in a most honourable career. Even the High Church now is ready to consider whether these things are so.

THE FAITH OF R. L. STEVENSON.

Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier.

A great book on the religion of Robert Louis Stevenson, an artistically bound, a beautifully printed book, an ideal gift and greedy possession! But what is the use of it? What does it matter what the faith of R. L. Stevenson was? What does it matter to us whether he had any faith at all? Well, the answer to that is, first, that when a man can write a book so well as the Rev. John Kelman can write, the subject of the book is of very little consequence. Let him write. Izaak Walton wrote a book about Angling—is it only among anglers that it is immortal? In the writing of a book matter is of infinitely less consequence than manner; for, as Buffon says, the matter of a book, even if it be original to the author, soon becomes common property, but the style remains his own,—*ces choses sont hors de l'homme, le style est de l'homme même.* Mr. Kelman can make a book. The style belongs to himself. Its phrases haunt you; its atmosphere goes with you; if it were a tune you would discover yourself humming it all day long.

But there is more than that. Robert Louis Stevenson is the idolised of innumerable young men in our time. Is it nothing to a young man whether his idol is a believer or not? It is everything. Mr. Kelman is greatly concerned about the religious attitude of our young men. If he can show them—show them honestly, without straining or suppressing—that Stevenson was a man of God, he knows that he has gone some

way to win them to that which he would have them be. It is really an apology for Christ. Mr. Kelman does not conceal it. But he knows that to be an apology for Christ, it must be no apology for Stevenson; and he tells the whole truth.

It is right well done; an achievement in biography; one of the greatest, we may yet recognize, of our time.

Books of the Month.

The interest in the personality of Phillips Brooks seems to be as keen as ever. New editions of two of his most personal books have lately been published by Messrs. Macmillan. And now Mr. Allenson has issued two booklets; one *The Life with God* (1s. net), an address to business men, delivered in 1891, the other, *Huxley and Phillips Brooks* (1s. net), the reprint of an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, by Professor Newton Clarke.

Messrs. A. C. Armstrong & Son of New York have issued a new edition of Dr. Broadus's famous *Harmony of the Gospels*. The new edition is revised by Professor A. T. Robertson. The book deserved the revision, for it was a true scholar's original work, and at the same time a practical teacher's effort to meet the teacher's needs. And the revision is worthy of the book. Now we have a Harmony in the words of the Revised Version (with the margins also), with cross references, and many useful notes and analyses.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1902–1903 were on Marcionism. Who is interested in Marcionism? Who has the courage to find interest in any theological *ism* since Huxley's way with that offensive termination? Canon Foakes-Jackson is aware of it. He has to *make* his *ism* interesting. He has to show that Marcionism is a matter of to-day, and there are many Marcionists amongst us. He has to show—and he does it—that to say the Sermon on the Mount is the thing, let the supernatural husk go and give us the ethical kernel, is to be a mere repeater of an old-fashioned and utterly exploded heresy. The title of the book is *Christian Difficulties in the Second and Twentieth Centuries*. It is published both by the Messrs. Heffer of Cambridge and by Mr. Edward Arnold. Do not let it escape you. It is as living and instructive a book as the month has produced.

To the 'Guild Text-Books,' edited by Dr. Charteris and Dr. M'Clymont (*A. & C. Black*, 6d. net), an important addition has been made by Professor W. P. Paterson of Aberdeen. It is a volume on the Teaching of St. Paul, the first of two volumes on *The Apostles' Teaching*. Insignificant in size, this book is likely to leave its mark on the religious education of the country. For it is the work of a fully furnished scholar, and it is his best work. Professor Paterson is singularly fitted for the hard task of writing a small book. His interest is in thoughts rather than in words; he commands his words to convey his thoughts expeditiously, and then get out of the way. And they convey his thoughts accurately, so that no time is lost in deciphering the language; the only delay is over the fulness of meaning. One thing in the thought deserves emphasis—its orthodoxy. This front thinker and fearless expositor is not ashamed to agree with St. Paul.

CRITICA BIBLICA. Part III. By T. K. Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D. (*A. & C. Black*, 3s. net).—This third part covers the Books of Samuel. In handling the text of the Books of Samuel Dr. Cheyne has had to handle Dr. Driver's great book, as well as Professor H. P. Smith's edition in the 'International Critical Commentary.' But his methods are so peculiarly his own, and his suspicion of the text is so sleepless and so ruthless, that he scarcely comes into touch with any of his co-workers. He might be discussing a different part of Scripture from Dr. Driver, so rarely does he even name him. Never had geography so much to do as here, and never was geography so much in the air. Thus on 2 S 17^{17}—a verse at random—'The original of Ain-Rogel was En-jerahmeel (En-gilead is less probable). Since the original form of Jerusalem was probably Ir-ishmael or Ir-jerahmeel, it would not be surprising if there were one En-rogel near Jerusalem and another near Kirjath-jearim.'

While other men are wondering if it is possible to teach the Old Testament in its 'critical' interpretation to children, an Aberdeenshire minister, the Rev. Alexander Wilson, M.A., of Ythan Wells, has been doing it. And now to encourage

others (for he says he has been quite successful), he has published the matter of his teaching in a little book called *Prophets and Prophecy* (Blackwood, 1s. net).

CRITICAL QUESTIONS (*S. C. Brown*, 5s.).—The Rev. James Adderley is deeply interested in those questions of the criticism of the Bible which are deeply interesting to every thinking man to-day. He believes that the more openly those questions are discussed the better it will be for us all. And he invited to his Church of St. Mark's, Marylebone Road, Dr. Kilpatrick, Dr. Swete, Dr. Knowling, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Sanday, and Mr. Headlam, allowed them to select their own topic, and called his people together to hear. The topics selected were: 'How to read the Old Testament,' 'The Trustworthiness of the Gospel Narrative,' 'The Authority and Authorship of the Acts,' 'The Resurrection of our Lord,' 'The Virgin-Birth,' and 'The Witness of St. Paul.' The lectures are gathered into this volume. It is the most timely and the most trustworthy of all the recent volumes of theological and critical lectures.

TWO LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE. By James Hope Moulton, M.A., D.Lit. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*, 1s. 6d. net).—Much as the Nineteenth Century did for many sciences, Dr. Moulton is right when he says that there are few for which it did as much as it did for the science of Language. One of the things it did was to make it a science. Another was to give very many people an interest in it. Now in this small book Dr. Moulton can do little for Language as a science, but he can do a great deal for an interest in the study of it. He is as enthusiastic as he is scientific. He shows us that the pursuit of the severest scientific method is possible along with the most catching love of the labour. And he does that which it is the highest hope of a teacher to do, he sends us to pursue the subject further for ourselves. In the first lecture he tells us what the science of Language is; in the second he shows us what the science of Language can do in the way of recovering unwritten History. At the end of both lectures comes an invaluable guide to the bibliography of the subject.

MACEDONIAN FOLKLORE. By G. F. Abbott, B.A. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*, 9s. net).—What are our University Presses coming to? To publish a book on Folklore—the very author of it calls it 'nonsense'; and to publish such a book on Folklore, frivolous and frolicsome to the length of punning!

The book is fit for any Press's publishing for all that. It is all in the interest of science, it is all original and most painstaking investigation. Mr. Abbott went to Macedonia for his Macedonian Folklore. He went to the unknown villages, to the khans where the peasants are found, and to their private dwellings. 'At Melenik I was doomed to a second disappointment at the hands of an aged story-teller. Fame described her as a walking *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* in a complete and unexpurgated edition. But, when weighed in the balance, she was found sadly wanting, and the few things which I lured out of her reluctant mouth had to be expurgated to a point of total annihilation. A third female—a renowned witch—on whom I had been led to build high hopes, showed her diabolical wickedness by dying a short time before my arrival. These failures shook my faith in old women—of the fair sex, at all events. But the fortune that favours the folklorist enabled me, before leaving Melenik, to fall in with an old woman of the opposite sex. Kyr Liatsos, though a mere bearded man, was from the student's point of view, worth at least a dozen ordinary old dames rolled into one.'

The folklore which Mr. Abbott gathered from Kyr Liatsos and others is set down in melodious modern Macedonian Greek and thoughtfully translated into less melodious English. Much of it is of deep mysterious import. Thus (we omit the Greek)—

> It snows, it snows,
> And white the flagstone grows,
> Now cooks the cat,
> And romps the rat.

Or thus: 'For a bleeding nose, say to the part whence the blood flows, secretly in the ear, "mox, pax, ripx," and it will stop.'

If you are not a folklorist, you will see no wisdom in that. But read this book and you will be a folklorist.

Messrs. Cassell have begun to reissue the pocket edition of Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary*

at the very low price of 2s. a volume. Now Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary* is not out of date; work like Sanday's can never be out of date; and this enterprise deserves encouragement.

BIBLE CLASS PRIMERS: JEREMIAH THE PROPHET. By the Rev. John Robson, D.D. (*T. & T. Clark*, 6d.).—Not one of the prophets suffers more from the arrangement of his prophecies than Jeremiah. To rearrange them is to write his biography. And then how deeply moving and how memorably instructive a biography it is. This 'Primer' may be used in any class, and it may be used with excellent effect upon the moral life and the spiritual temper of the young.

A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCHES. By C. Silvester Horne, M.A. (*Clarke*, 6s.).—There is much meaning in this book. In the very title of it there is something to make us think. There has been a Free Church in Scotland for many years. When it took its name Mr. Gladstone objected. It was an assertion, he thought, that the other Churches were not free. The adoption of such a name in England was then undreamt of; the idea that the great unestablished denominations could come close enough together to go under one name, was scarcely thinkable.

And the book itself is full of meaning. If this is true history it is an honourable one. It is an inspiring history. It is such a history as ought to be made known to every young man and woman. To some it will bring sorrow that a battle like this should have had to be entered upon and continued; to others it will bring honest pride that it has been fought so manfully and so long.

After the 'Free Churches' found their name, it was natural that they should look around for their historian. A better for them and for us all could probably not have been found. To tell the story of the past with pride is not to shut any door to the future.

STUDIES IN THEOLOGY. By J. Estlin Carpenter and P. H. Wicksteed (*Dent*, 5s. net).—The essays that make up this volume are so significant that each of them should be reviewed by itself. Their significance rests upon their intrinsic worth and upon the importance of that movement in 'liberal' thought in which they take their place. It is a movement which undoubtedly springs from a sincere denial of all that is called supernatural, but its method is wholly new. The denial is less than the assertion, the negative is almost lost sight of in the constructive. And even when the denial is most manifest there is none of the old bitterness clinging to it. Whether it is the sense of power, or merely a wiser policy; whether it is the influence of Jesus, or the inevitable outcome of 'better manners, better laws,' it is a welcome change. No one need read a page of this book with pain or shame; every earnest believer in a supernatural Saviour will be drawn to the writers and profit by what they write. For there is much in the essays with which the mind of Christ can have no quarrel. 'He that is not against us is on our side.' And in so far as he is not against us, is he on our side. Professor Carpenter is willing to learn from Buddhism: surely we may learn from Professor Carpenter.

SCHLEIERMACHER. By Robert Munro, B.D. (*Gardner*, 4s. 6d. net).—This study of Schleiermacher, Mr. Munro tells us, was begun for Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics.' Hindered by illness from finishing it, he found that series discontinued, and now he publishes it by itself. Schleiermacher ought to have been included among the 'Philosophical Classics.' He is not easily made accessible to the unphilosophical reader, but the task is worth endeavouring. Mr. Munro makes no effort to furnish food for babes. He takes for granted some knowledge of the language of philosophy. But he has been most careful to enable those who were capable of understanding Schleiermacher to understand him, and not to run away with false impressions of him. It is an able book. It is a successful book. It will do something for the knowledge of Schleiermacher amongst us, and it will do something for the knowledge of Mr. Munro.

LOMAI OF LENAKEL. By Frank H. L. Paton, B.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 6s.).—There is much more here than Lomai, but Lomai is enough. Lomai is enough for a novelist's hero, and behold he is only a naked New Hebrides savage whom the truth as it is in Jesus has made free. The story is told without art, at least without conscious

art, though there is much of that natural tact in telling which springs from sympathy with one's subject. More art might have made Lomai less a hero.

The author is a son of the famous John G. Paton of the New Hebrides. So that he is following his father in first carrying the gospel personally to the savage and then in persuasive books to us.

RITSCHLIANISM. By James Orr, M.A., D.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 6s.).—The interest in Ritschlianism is spreading. Dr. Orr has found that his essays on the subject, contributed to various periodicals, are often quoted, and he wishes men to get at them more easily and quote them as freely as they wish. Two of them appeared in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, one of the two being an excellent estimate of Ritschl himself, far more necessary, because far less often attempted, than estimates of his theology. There are two new essays. Though not named after Ritschl they have the Ritschlian air around them, and it was right to give them a place. The one is on 'The Miraculous Conception and Modern Thought'; the other on 'Faith and Reason.' Few men can speak to scholars and to the public at the same time. Professor Orr can do it.

THE RELIGIOUS SENSE IN ITS SCIENTIFIC ASPECT. — By Greville Macdonald, M.D. (*Hodder & Stoughton*, 3s. 6d.).—There has been no Systematic Theology for a long time. Biblical Theology has been the only theology in evidence. Is Systematic Theology never to come again? Are the old terms dead, and the old hair-splitting distinctions? Are we no longer to hear of Infralapsarianism and the Offices of Christ? Here is a manual of Theology. It is wholly scientific. There is not a definition in it that is not expressed in terms of physical science. There is not a phrase, there is scarcely an important word, that the old systematic theologian would have known the meaning of. If Systematic Theology is to return in this form, can we call it Systematic Theology?

Dr. Macdonald will not care what we call it. This is theology, this is God and the doctrine of God, and that it is revealed through Nature makes it not less true and not less a revelation. This is the theology to which the modern mind will listen. That it is expressed in terms of science rather than philosophy makes it more acceptable, and does not make it less true.

FREDERICK WILLIAM FARRAR: THREE SERMONS (*Longmans*, 2s. net).—The late Dean of Canterbury—he will always be remembered as *Canon* Farrar—was greatly hated or greatly loved. For he himself was 'ever a fighter.' So when he died three friends came and preached these three sermons—the Master of Trinity and the Master of Pembroke Colleges in Cambridge, with Archdeacon Spooner, were the three—and told how they loved him.

GOD AND THE INDIVIDUAL. By T. B. Strong, D.D. (*Longmans*, 2s. 6d. net).—The purpose of the Dean of Christ Church in the four addresses which are contained in this book, is to protest against 'an extreme and exclusive individualism.' If he feels the danger he is right to protest against it; many feel that to-day the danger is all the other way. And feeling so, they will feel that Dr. Strong runs the risk of advocating an extreme and exclusive — whatever you call the opposite of individualism. For God does touch the individual. God has often touched individuals who were out of connexion with the Catholic Church, so that they became manifestly endued with power from on high. Is it the question whether the individual or the Church is first? It is a question that is fundamental, and men will always differ fundamentally upon it.

THE BLESSED LIFE. By the Rev. Jesse Brett, L.Th. (*Longmans*, 2s. net). — The Beatitudes have far less attention in the pulpit than they might have. The reason is their want of incident. To make them effective pulpit themes demands study—persevering, self-restraining study. But then, what a harvest of delight! Mr. Brett has gathered some of it. Very quiet he is, very orderly, what he does see he holds by and makes us see also. If we receive what Mr. Brett offers us we shall find it is enough to make all things new to us. And yet there is much left in the Beatitudes to know and to do.

AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH. By T. B. Strong, D.D. (*Longmans*, 2s. 6d. net).—Much of the interest of modern ecclesiastical

life arises from ecclesiastical controversy. Ecclesiastical controversy is usually the result of ignorance, the one side being usually as ignorant as the other. Read the letters which are published in a religious newspaper on some subject which you happen to know. Is it wise, then, to remove this ignorance? Where would the joy of life be to the controversialist? Yet Dr. Strong determines to remove it. And that, too, in respect of the question which produces more ecclesiastical controversy than any other—the question of the Authority of the Church. The only chance for the controversialist is not to read the book, and that is a not unlikely chance. But after all it does not make an end of all strife. It does not settle the great controversy as to the relative authority of Church and Bible. To some of us the Bible is the sole authority; to others the Church. The question really is whether the Church can invent new contents of worship or only modify the forms in which worship is to express itself. Take the invocation of Saints. Dr. Strong says there is no sign of it in Scripture, nor any language suggestive of it. That is enough for some. He says that it cannot be traced in the earlier centuries of the Church. That settles it for others. It is true the practice exists. It grew up through ignorance, Dr. Strong thinks, and then was sanctioned by the Church as the easier way to deal with it. But *can* the Church sanction it? That is the question. There is interest in life for the controversialist yet.

REUNION ESSAYS. By the Rev. W. R. Carson (*Longmans*, 6s. 6d. net).—The Church of Rome is always ready to give an account of itself, and it is always accommodating enough to suit the manner of the account to the condition of those it addresses. This is an apology for Rome addressed to the English and American Episcopalian, and in particular to the High Church Episcopalian. There is a sense of sympathy. It is not obtruded, it is simply there. All that can be named as common is rejoiced in. The one thing more is shown to be logical and inevitable. Indeed, one feels that less is claimed of a Protestant by this Roman Catholic than by many an Anglican Catholic. If one has gone so far, it seems easy enough to go all the way; in some respects it is almost a retracing of one's steps. And even as to the one thing needful, the recognition of the pope and reordination, is even that demanded by this bold and astute theologian? The appendix on the Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, in which the Orders of the English Church were declared to be 'absolutely null and utterly void,' ends with the expectation of a time when that decision will be reversed by some pope that is to come.

JEWISH HISTORY. By S. M. Dubnow (*Macmillan*, 2s. 6d. net).—Is it possible to write the history of the Jews within 160 small pages? Dubnow has done it. There are events he has not described, there are persons he has not named. But what the Jews mean to the philosophy of history and to us, he has written, and it is sufficient. For Dubnow is the master of a scientific mind, and his pen is a most obedient servant. In the hurry to know, this book will serve, and we shall really know.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY. By the Ven. James M. Wilson, D.D. (*Macmillan*, 3s. 6d. net).—Is it possible to unite evangelical fervour with the recognition of science? Is it possible to preach the gospel of the grace of God persuasively and yet believe that there is an evolutionary progress of the race? Archdeacon Wilson thinks that it is. Who could be more fervently anxious that Christ should be received and be all in all to men? Who could more earnestly urge that *every* good gift, scientific, philosophical, educational, cometh down from above? This volume on Pastoral Theology restores the Christian minister to his place in the march of intellect, and shows him no less a minister. There are pastors, says Dr. Wilson, who speak of 'unbelief,' and what they say of it is twenty or even fifty years out of date. He would have them understand the unbelief of to-day — the unbelief that is serious not light-hearted, conscientious not scoffing, often full of sadness and pain.

Parting Words is the name which Miss Rainy has given to a volume of selections from Luther's sermons on John 14–17. The sermons have not hitherto appeared in English, and Miss Rainy is heartily to be thanked for giving them to us, and for giving them in such appropriate English. The volume is published by Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier (2s.).

THE MARTYR GRAVES OF SCOTLAND. By J. H. Thomson (*Oliphant*, 7s. 6d.).—This very handsome volume is welcome on many grounds. Chiefly on the ground of Mr. Thomson's own pleasantly discursive and deeply touching description of the places where they lie whom Scotland most delights to honour. It is also welcome, however, because for the first time, so far as we know, a complete list is given in it of the Dunnottar prisoners—a list to make the intolerant among us stop and think. For that list we are indebted to Dr. Hay Fleming. And it is to him we owe the third feature that gives the book its value. That is 'The Story of the Scottish Covenants in Outline.' The story is well told. Just this brief and just this sympathetic but altogether unbiassed narrative was needed. The book is a great book; the illustrations add to its value and its popularity; it is well worth its price; but still we hope that Dr. Hay Fleming's 'Story of the Scottish Covenants' will be printed separately. For there are thousands who would read it and profit by it most, to whom this book is forbidden.

The only effective apology for Missions is found in the lives of missionary converts. Such an apology, undeniable, unforgettable, is the life of Matula, a Congo convert, which is told in *A Miracle of Modern Missions*, by John Bell (R.T.S., 2s.).

Under the title of *Eden and Gethsemane* Mr. Robinson has published a volume of Addresses for Communion Services (3s. 6d. net). They are contributed by Principal Stewart, Mr. Greenhough, and others. Who suggested the title, and what does it signify?

Another of Mr. Robinson's volumes of sermons by various preachers is *The Divine Artist* (3s. 6d. net). Its authors include the late Dr. Hugh Macmillan and Mr. J. H. Jowett. The sermons are for the sorrowing.

The first volume of a new edition of *The Shepherd of Hermas* has been published by the S.P.C.K. (2s.). The editor is the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; and the Committee could not have found a more competent editor than Dr. Taylor. The most original thing in the book is the proof that one of the chief sources of the *Shepherd* was the Tablet of Kebes. Dr. Taylor works that out with irresistible persuasion.

CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGY. By Guido Villa (*Sonnenschein*, 10s. 6d. net).—Professor Villa opens his book by saying, 'The word Psychology is nowadays on every one's lips.' The saying is true, and it has a wider application than he seems to know. For he mentions only the departments of Law, Economics, and History; whereas the students of Theology have the word on their lips as often as any others. Professor James of Harvard has done that for us. Not that we never heard of Psychology till he delivered his Gifford Lectures, but that he accelerated its pace, brought it on us with a rush, and now the Psychology of Religion is quite the proper subject to talk about.

It is important, then, that just at this stage we should have good guidance. We are beginning to learn about Psychology, let us get on the right lines in our studies, let us learn so that we shall not have to unlearn it all again. Professor Villa is on the right lines. His book is easy enough to be an introduction, and full enough to give us a working (or at least a talking) knowledge of the subject; and we shall not have to retrace our steps. That it should have been chosen by Professor Muirhead for his 'Library of Philosophy' speaks more for it than any words of ours. It has not only been so chosen, however, but it has been translated and edited with very great care, and with the English reader constantly in mind.

But we must not mistake the book. It is not an apologetic for Christianity; it is not a manual of Theology, or Religion, or even Morality. Its chief aim is to separate psychology from all other sciences whatever, and after asserting its right to the name of science for itself, deal with it on strictly scientific lines. And Professor Villa has much respect for his science. 'The physical world,' he says, 'is subject to mechanical laws; the moral world, on the contrary, is spontaneous and independent. Mental energy is continually on the increase, and is the product of a conscious activity, and not an inevitable force to which free will is foreign. History, society, art, religion, and science are the result of a continuous and incessant action which has no precise limits, and which,

issuing from the untrammelled will, is the expression of the noblest and most elevated part in man. The spiritual world exists by itself, as a psychical reality, as positive and real as any material reality.'

THE SILVER VEIN OF TRUTH. By the Rev. H. Livesey (*Stockwell*, 2s. 6d. net).—This is the anecdotal style of preaching, and it does not matter how old the anecdotes are. The anecdotal style is chosen deliberately. Is not the revelation that is in the Bible given through anecdote? What else are the lives of Abraham, Moses, and David? Can a better method of preaching be discovered by us than that which the Spirit has used?

SOME GREEK PLAYS. By Cyril Grey (*Stockwell*, 2s. 6d. net).—The story of certain of the great plays of the Greek dramatists is here told. But it is told with a purpose. It is told to show the superiority of the Hebrew morality over the morality of Greece. In short, the book is an apologetic for the Bible. And it is a clever apologetic, cleverly conceived and honestly executed.

There is no subject that takes hold of men and women with so unrelaxing a grasp as that of the Second Coming. True, there are many who pooh-pooh the whole subject. The apostles were mistaken, they say, and all their foolish successors have been mistaken with them. Is it so certain that the apostles were mistaken? Why should they have been mistaken in this one thing? Mr. F. B. Proctor, Fellow of King's College, holds most firmly that the apostles were not mistaken. If we mistake them, that is our business. He shows that a new interptetation of every utterance in the New Testament is worth making. He makes it. He gives it consistency. He delivers the apostles from our charge. He brings Christ near. He shows that the literal word is good, 'The Lord is at hand.' The title of his book is *Maranatha* (Stockwell, 3s. 6d. net).

The most direct road to the memory is through the eye, not through the ear. That Sunday School teachers may be taught that, a book has been written and illustrated by A. W. Webster and the Rev. W. Dryburgh, D.D., and republished by the Sunday School Union. Its title is *Through Eye to Heart.*

From the Sunday School Union come two books on the Sunday School Lessons. The one is called *The Captain on the Bridge* (1s. 6d. net). It is written by Mr. Newton Jones, who has the evangelist's eye for immediate and striking effect. Its purpose is to prompt the teacher, whether for his class or his quarterly address. It recognizes the place of the anecdote, and offers anecdotes to fill the place. The other book is *Bible Talks with the Little Ones*, by Clara R. Nash—a series of fifty-two infant class lessons (1s. 6d. net).

HEINRICH EWALD, ORIENTALIST AND THEOLOGIAN. By T. Witton Davies, Ph.D., M.R.A.S. (*Unwin*, 3s. 6d. net).—It is to be hoped that Professor Witton Davies does not hate as he loves. There is no reason why he or any man should do so. He loves intensely. He loves perseveringly. And he lets his love cost him something. Once he knew and learned to love Heinrich Ewald, Orientalist and Theologian, and now, after all these years, he has erected to the great man's memory that *monumentum aere perennius*, a living book. The book touches on many things, and introduces many people (of most of whom a portrait is given), people associated in some way with Ewald; but Ewald himself is ever the centre of it. And the book closes with a very acceptable and laborious bibliography of all the books and pamphlets which Ewald ever wrote.

WESLEY AND HIS PREACHERS. By G. Holden Pike (*Unwin*, 7s. 6d.).—Mr. Holden Pike has made a hit this time. He is not less popular than before. His style is still unencumbered with shading and qualification, just as a popular style must be. His illustrations are plentiful and pleasing, and the people love to have them so. But this time he is more than popular. He is original. The very idea of taking Wesley's preachers from behind their great leader and placing them so that they may be seen by everybody is original. And it has cost him not a little original and laborious search. What a time it was and what men it made! Looking back upon it now we stand, as it were, beside Christ Himself, and with His prophetic vision we see the greatness

of the men the world counted small, the smallness of the men the world counted great. Already the first are last and the last first.

Biblical Quotations in Early English.[1]

THE volume before us is an outcome of the recent bicentenary commemoration of Yale University. It was suggested, on that occasion, that a series of works should be issued under the superintendence of professors and other members of the teaching staff, to serve as specimens of the chief studies pursued at Yale. Professor Cook had already, in 1898, published the first instalment of a work on the *Biblical Quotations in Early English Prose Writers*. The book now under review, accordingly, is the second instalment of this important work. The extracts containing the quotations from the Bible, in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, are from the writings of King Alfred (†900) and Ælfric (Abbot of Peterborough in 1004), the *Blickling Homilies*, and the like. The editor claims no higher result of his labours than the furtherance of the study of Anglo-Saxon literature. The comparison of different renderings of the same passages in the original Latin will furnish material, as he expresses it, 'for synonymic study, even if we disregard the varying form of the Latin.' But we venture to urge that 'the varying form of the Latin' should on no account be disregarded. It is one of the properties of good work like Professor Cook's that those who have tasted of it crave for more. Professor Cook, in giving the original Latin at the foot of each page, prefixes an obelus to those passages which do not agree verbally with the Vulgate. This, we venture to submit, is not enough. It would be interesting to ascertain in what cases the variations from the Vulgate point to a use of the *Vetus Itala*; and in what cases an independent rendering has been followed. It would also have been a concession to the ignorance of the ordinary reader, for which he would have been duly grateful, if, without overlapping the contents of the first volume of the series, the date and authorship of the Anglo-Saxon authorities could have been briefly indicated. The labour spent on this task must have been immense. The index of biblical texts alone fills twenty-three large octavo pages. To say that the work has been well and scholarly done, is no more than to say that it sustains the reputation which Professor Cook has previously earned.

A few misprints may be noticed.

Page 3, col. 2, for 'littora' read 'littore'; page 5, col. 1, for 'iudicavit' read 'indicavit'; page 9, col. 1, for 'aeternam' read 'aeternum'; page 19, col. 1, for 'hoc nocte' read 'hac nocte'; page 60, col. 1, for 'dignem' read 'ignem'; page 61, col. 1, for 'abundabit' read 'abundabat'; page 72, col. 1, for 'delictuum tuum' read 'delictum meum'; page 93, col. 1, for 'sermones meas' read 'sermones meos'; page 94, col. 2, for 'medio nocte' read 'media nocte'; page 95, col. 2, for 'sicut ab ablactatus' read 'sicut ablactatus'; page 99, col. 2, for 'visitasti' read 'visitastis'; page 100, col. 1, for 'oculos meas' read 'oculos meos'; page 103, col. 2, for 'acquivit' read 'acquirit' or 'acquiret' (the Vulgate has the plural); page 106, col. 2, for 'sive aliquid qui' read 'sive aliud quid'; page 111, col. 1, for 'fili' read 'filius'; page 128, col. 1, for 'divident' read 'dividant'; page 137, col. 1, for 'ad cum' read 'ad eum'; page 137, col. 2, for 'servare' read 'servire'; page 138, col. 1, for 'diligit' read 'diliget'; page 151, col. 1, for 'domicilum' read 'domicilium'; page 166, col. 1, for 'debat' read 'dabat'; page 169, col. 1, for 'speluneam latronium' read 'speluncam latronum'; page 169, col. 2, for 'respondentis' read 'respondeatis'; page 192, col. 1, for 'incendentes' read 'incedentes'; page 193, col. 2, for 'scapulus' read 'scapulas'; page 196, col. 2, for 'massam . . . quem' read 'massam . . . quam'; page 199, col. 1, for 'levari' read 'levavi'; page 200, col. 2, for 'preparata' read 'preparatum,' but see vv. ll.; page 201, col. 2, for 'iniquitatem' read 'iniquitatum'; page 206, col. 2, for 'manum amus' read 'manum suam'; page 208, col. 1, for 'elcemosynam' read 'eleemosynam'; page 215, col. 2, for 'impudicitis' read 'impudicitia.'

J. H. LUPTON.

London.

[1] *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers.* Second Series. Edited, with the Latin Originals, with Indices, etc., by Albert S. Cook, Ph.D., L.H.D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: Edward Arnold, 1903.

Some Heathen Survivals in Christianity.[1]

THE brilliant lectures named below are Dr. Rendel Harris's farewell to Cambridge; and in the whole series of research studies with which he has enriched the University Press during his tenure of the Readership in Palæography, there is nothing more characteristic of his ingenious mind and his rich and varied stores of learning. The book will increase the wonder of the learned world that his College should have allowed Cambridge to lose him. Clare must have some wonderful undergraduates on its boards if it is to keep the level of its Fellows from suffering a heavy fall when Dr. Harris's last year expires.

The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends is not too technical for the educated non-specialist to follow. This being so, I hope the little book will be widely read by those who still think it a serious matter that England's Christianity should cease to be catholic and become 'Catholic' once more. Anthropological research has been demonstrating of late with startling effectiveness how much paganism popular Christianity has contrived to digest in most periods of its history. It has been done on principle, and a very plausible case for such policy could no doubt be made out. The common people are devoted to the old cult of the corn-mother and the corn-baby. Greek religion conserves it under the names of Demeter and Persephone, and in the same spirit Christianity contrives to capture it for devotional use by bringing in the innocent picture of the mother Mary and the Holy Child. They little thought whereto this thing would grow! In an earlier book, *Annotators of Codex Bezæ*, Dr. Harris showed how the myth of the Assumption veils the old idea of the corn-spirit's return to heaven after the harvest. Dionysius the Areopagite was selected for sponsor at its christening simply because his name was so conveniently near to 'Dionysus'; and a primitive practice of beheading the last sheaf, and tucking the head into the centre, was preserved in the veracious story of 'St. Denys's' martyrdom. It was doubtless thought that people would be more easily won for the faith if they could keep their old rites and myths with only the names changed, and that when they were once Christianized, these rites and legends would become a means of grace. The former expectation has always been gratified, as the baptisms of Jesuit missionaries show to the present day. But doubts may fairly be harboured as to the price paid for such success. Among other ill effects we see the impulse given to the pious fraud. The present volume brings before us a startling example in the 'discovery' of the relics of the blessed martyrs Gervasius and Protasius at Milan. Dr. Harris shows that these twin saints are described in terms borrowed from the story of the Dioscuri at Lake Regillus, and that they were really wanted as protagonists against the Arians. Of course, the Arians were wrong and Ambrose was right; but Truth is not served by concocted miracles, however well-intentioned, and one is sorry to find Ambrose smirched with complicity in this fraud. I wonder what Dr. Westcott would have said to this damaging chapter, in the light of his interest in 'the open graves of Sts. Gervasius and Protasius, so full of memories of Ambrose and Augustine' (*Life*, i. 255). One is wickedly disposed to quote his own words (*ib.* 394), 'Can it really be that principles of honour die out in Churchmen? It is a terrible spectacle for our enemies.'

The particular survival with which these lectures are concerned is the cult of the Divine Twins. Its origin lies buried in the wastes of primitive antiquity, and the anthropologist and the nature-mythologist may both perhaps with equal right claim their share in its interpretation. To this day the woman who has borne twins is led round the fields in Uganda to impart the fertility of which she is so marked an example. But in the later forms of the cult, as seen in the familiar story of the Dioscuri, twins of whom one is mortal and one divine, we may recognise a combination with phenomena of the skies.

> 'Sweet Hesper-Phosphor, double name
> For what is one, the first, the last,
> Thou, like my present and my past,
> Thy place is changed; thou art the same.'

The primitive astronomer had not learnt the identity of Hesper and Phosphor, who accordingly

[1] *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends.* By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., D.Litt., late Reader in Palæography in the University of Cambridge. 64 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1903.—[I had sent the present notice in before the appearance of Dr. Agnes Lewis's paper in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for June; and it has seemed best not to cut out the parts of my paper which partially repeat what she has written.]

became Heavenly Twins, the former mortal, 'Sad Hesper o'er the buried sun,' the latter deathless. A variety of attributes attached themselves to these popular divinities. They became the patron saints of sailors, and they had a close connexion with the horse — in both those rather incongruous features resembling Poseidon. They were, moreover, famous builders. Dr. Rendel Harris shows how these characteristic notes recur in a series of twin saints who have inherited the worship paid to the Great Twin Brethren under their various ancient styles. Generally the names rhyme.[1] The learning and ingenuity shown in combining indications from the most unlikely quarters to bring out the characteristics in each case are very familiar to readers of Dr. Harris's work: they produce a peculiar mental exhilaration in the reader as he comes to the successive disentanglements of what at first looks so complicated. But we must not here attempt to summarise his results. It will suffice to sketch the most startling of them. There was a very obvious Biblical resource for pious daring to exploit when Twin-worship was to receive its baptism as a holy exercise for good Christians to indulge in. Was not there an apostle whose own personal name had disappeared behind the surname which proclaimed him 'Thomas, that is, the Twin'? But it takes two to make twins, and the other brother must be found. Will it be believed that, following the Greek story that Leda bore Pollux to Zeus, but Castor to the mortal Tyndareus, Thomas became 'Judas Thomas,' the twin-brother of *Jesus*!! It will take a good deal to surprise us after that, and we read calmly the *Acts of Thomas*, which brings out successively all the now familiar features of the Dioscuri. Most of us know already that remarkable story of Thomas's adventure in India, where he undertook to build a magnificent palace for the king, spent the money on almsgiving, and escaped death at the hands of the angry king by showing him the mansion in the skies which his involuntary charity had reared for him. We probably felt some hesitation about accepting its moral, but it hardly occurred to us that the saint who took over the functions of 'the Great Twin-brethren to whom the Dorians pray' must be given to 'edification' even as they were.

The fact is that these primitive semi-demi-Christians who wrote the *Acts of Thomas* and similar literature were forerunners of Dr. Josiah Oldfield, who came to set Indian missionaries right in the last number of the *Hibbert Journal*. Like him, they had either not read the Gospels, or had read some remarkable novelties into them, comparable with that verse which the modern critic apparently found in his copy, 'The Son of Man came neither eating nor drinking.' The ancient romancer knew that there flourished in India a cult of the *Açvināu*, the Twin Horsemen, a cult which was presumably brought into the Punjâb, ages before Vedic times, by the ancestors of the men who worshipped the Alci in the country near the Baltic in the days of Tacitus, and of those who sang of the Dioscuri or the Theban Twins, Amphion and Zethus, in Hellas. He undertook therefore the pious task of adapting Christianity to the popular cult, that baptism might not involve the sacrifice of the divinities to whom sailor and stonemason and horseman especially loved to pray. We see the results of this policy in the superstitions of modern Europe, and the polytheism which is fostered by Roman hagiolatry. Perhaps, after all, our missionaries are not so far wrong when they decline to preach a compromise Christianity, adorned with skilfully disguised Hindu myths, and feebly competing for a prize of ascetic virtue with fakirs to the manner born.

There are other reflexions which will occur to the reader of these fascinating lectures, but perhaps these will suffice as introduction to the study of a little book which every reader will be sorry to finish so quickly.

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[1] By the way, one of the Biblical pairs Dr. Harris cites for this practice will hardly do (p. 1): עִיר and נַחַר (Gen. 22^{21}) do not rhyme, any more than *use* and *booze*. I fear philology is never likely to make the 'nexus between the names of Castor and Pollux' (p. 2).

Who Wrote the Fourth Gospel?

By A. N. Jannaris, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Post-Classical and Modern Greek in the University of St. Andrews.

In perusing the Fourth Gospel, any attentive reader will be struck by the curious phenomenon that the name of John the Apostle does not occur once in that Gospel, whereas the other apostles figure in it more or less prominently. That there was an Apostle John cannot be questioned, since his existence and even prominence in the circle of Jesus' disciples is too well attested by the other evangelists (*e.g.* Mk 1^{19} $9^{2.\ 38}$, Mt 4^{21} 10^{2}, Lk 5^{10}, 6^{14}; also Ac 1^{13} $3^{1f.}$ 4^{13}, Gal $2^{6.\ 9}$). How is it then that John is never mentioned in the Fourth Gospel? Is it perhaps because its author had some grudge against the said apostle, and so maliciously ignored him? But in that case, who is the anonymous disciple occasionally introduced in the narrative ($1^{35\text{-}41}$ $13^{23\text{-}25}$ 18^{15} 19^{35} $20^{2ff.}$; also in the appendix $21^{2.\ 22f.}$), and why is that individual represented as standing in a friendly and close connexion with Jesus: as 'one (not *the* one) whom Jesus loved' (13^{23} 19^{26} $21^{7.\ 20}$)? Could the writer represent his own enemy as enjoying Jesus' favour? Or is that anonymous disciple a self-designation for the writer himself? The latter alternative appears the more rational and probable; it has also been the traditional view ever since ancient times. This interpretation, however, has met, within the last eighty years, with serious objections, especially in recent times, and the opposition has grown to such dimensions as to give rise to what is now known as the great Johannine problem. The opponents to the traditional view contend that external testimony as to John the Apostle's identity with John the Evangelist is partly conflicting and partly legendary; that we have no internal evidence as to the real author of the Gospel, and that this Gospel is so unhistorical that it cannot be the work of John the Apostle nor any other apostle. The line of argument and the verdict of this rational criticism are thus summarized in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. ii. (1901), p. 2542, by Professor Schmiedel, the writer of the articles 'Gospels' and 'John, son of Zebedee' (there is no separate entry for the Apostle John in the said *Encyclopædia*):—

'But we have said enough and more than enough. A book which begins by declaring Jesus to be the *logos* of God and ends by representing a cohort of Roman soldiers as falling to the ground at the majesty of his appearance (18^{6}), and by representing 100 pounds of ointment as having been used at his embalming (19^{39}), ought by these facts alone to be spared such a misunderstanding of its true character, as would be implied in supposing that it meant to be a historical work.'

It is not my purpose here to defend the historicity of the Fourth Gospel, but I must own that a special and prolonged study of that Gospel makes me pause before accepting such a sweeping verdict as the above. I do not refer to the ill-concealed feeling of the learned professor, but cannot help dissenting from his summary charges. In the first place, 'the logos' (ὁ λόγος) in the exordium of the Gospel (1^{1}) does not mean Jesus. As many readers of The Expository Times are aware, here ὁ λόγος refers to the oracular word which (according to Gn $1^{1ff.}$) God uttered and created the world; it refers to God's creative λόγος by which all things whatsoever were created; to God's λόγος as defined and adumbrated in the said exordium. Here the evangelist himself says that God's well-known λόγος was meant to be the *life* and the *light* of men, and that, having been not understood by them, it was embodied or incarnated in Christ and became man or flesh. The opening λόγος therefore alludes not to Jesus in the flesh, but to God's word *before* it was incarnated in Christ; *before* it ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, *before* this λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.

Still less founded appears to me the second charge, which represents 'a cohort of Roman soldiers as falling to the ground at the majesty of his appearance (18^{6}).' Here the evangelist does not speak of a battalion of proud Roman soldiers as falling to the ground; he does not even speak of *Roman soldiers* at all. The words of the evangelist are: ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ (ἐκ) τῶν Φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας, ἔρχεται κτλ. Here τὴν σπεῖραν obviously refers to *the* (local) band of the Jews who formed

the police or guard of the temple; hence the meaning of the evangelist is: 'So Judas, having taken with him the band, namely, attendants from among those of the chief priests and Pharisees, cometh,' etc.[1] These Jewish attendants, then, are represented as falling to the ground out of awe before Christ's tragic majesty.

As regards the amount of a *hundred* pounds of ointment which Nicodemus is represented as having used at Jesus' embalming (19[39]), the statement certainly appears incredible. Nor can we assume here a rhetorical exaggeration on the part of the writer, since in that case he would have probably said not '*about* a hundred pounds,' but '*over* a hundred pounds.' However, a closer examination of the passage (*φέρων μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν*, 'bringing a mixture of myrrh and aloes about a hundred pound weight') makes it highly probable that the true reading is not *ἑκατόν* but *ἕκαστον*, some scribe having misread or altered *ἕκαστον* to *ἑκατόν* out of excessive Christian zeal. In that case the evangelist apparently wrote *ὡς λίτρας ἕκαστον*, 'about a pound each,' so that the whole mixture of myrrh and aloes amounted to *two* pounds only.

As I said, I do not purpose to refute all the charges or arguments brought against the historicity of the Fourth Gospel. But when I examine them closely and one by one, I hesitate to accept such a crushing verdict as the above and ask myself, Are all these strictures really founded, or do they largely rest on scribal editorial and exegetic misconception? This is a very wide question. But it is sufficient for our purpose here to have suggested that many of the charges brought against the historicity of our Fourth Gospel are cases of misreading. Moreover, many a critic will decline to accept the soundness of the chief argument that historicity and genuineness necessarily go together.

Limiting ourselves here to the question of genuineness or authorship apart from historicity, we have to investigate whether we can produce some conclusive *internal* evidence, since tradition or external testimony offers no safe ground of discussion. On this point the present writer believes he has found some valuable evidence in the Gospel itself, but before adducing it, he must be allowed to premise a few remarks on certain meanings and usages of the familiar words *ἐκεῖνος οὗτος* and *ἵνα*, usages hitherto overlooked.

The term *ἐκεῖνος* need not detain us long. Classical students know that this pronoun, like Latin *ille*, often stands for the name of some absent personality of great repute or notoriety: 'that great or notorious man,' '*the* man.' Examples of this usage are met everywhere in classical and later texts, and the Fourth Gospel contains several passages with *ἐκεῖνος* in this sense. Thus 7[11] and 9[12] *ποῦ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος*; 'where is that notorious man?' 16[13] *ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας κτλ.*, 'but when that One is come, the Spirit of truth,' etc.

Conversely, *οὗτος* often implies contempt: 'this fellow,' as 3[26] 6[42. 52] 7[15. 25. 36. 49] 9[24] 11[47] 21[24], Lk 6[52] 7[11] 9[12. 15. 28], etc. At the same time this *οὗτος* is also used, like classical *ὅδε*, in place of the personal pronoun *ἐγώ*. As is well known to Greek students, a speaker, instead of using *ἐγώ*, could point to himself and say *ὅδε*, meaning 'this self of mine,' *I*. In process of time the gesticulation was dispensed with, and *ὅδε* alone came to be used colloquially for *ἐγώ*, just as Latin *hic* often stands for *ego*. Now, when in the course of post-classical antiquity, *ὅδε* began to be superseded by *οὗτος*, this substitute and successor appropriated also the meaning of *ἐγώ*, *I*. In other terms, post-classical parlance uses *οὗτος* for *ἐγώ*, just as Latin uses *hic* for *ego*. This phenomenon, hitherto overlooked, should be well understood and borne in mind, because it explains many a perplexing phenomenon. Thus, to limit ourselves to the Fourth Gospel, 2[19] *λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν* was said by Jesus in the sense of 'destroy this sanctuary of mine (*i.e.* this body of mine), and in three days I will raise it up (*i.e.* I will raise up mine own self).' But His hearers mistook the meaning of *οὗτος* at the time, and realized it only when He had risen from the dead: then His disciples remembered that He had spoken of His body, that is, of His own self.—Again, in 6[50f.], Jesus says *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος κτλ.* 'this is' *οὗτος ἐστίν* (*i.e.* 'I am') the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die:

[1] This is also the sense in the subsequent v.[12]: *ἡ οὖν σπεῖρα, καὶ ὁ χιλίαρχος καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τῶν Ἰουδαίων, συνέλαβον τὸν Ἰησοῦν κτλ.* 'So the band, namely, the commander (*χιλίαρχος*) and the attendants of the Jews, seized Jesus,' etc.—[Since writing the above (in October last) I heard that my interpretation is confirmed by *Syr. Sin.* as translated by A. Merx (p. 223).]

I am (*ἐγώ εἰμι*) the living bread which came down from heaven; if any man eat from *this* bread (*ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου, i.e.* from mine own self), he shall live for ever.'—So, further, in v.[58] 'this is (*οὗτός ἐστιν, i.e. I* am) the bread which came down from heaven.'

And now let us come to chap. 19[35ff.] and read that text in the light of the above observations. The writer says:—

καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν, καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία· καὶ ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύσητε· ἐγένετο γὰρ ταῦτα. ἵνα[1] *ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ· ὀστοῦν οὐ συντριβήσεται αὐτοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ <ἡ> λέγει· ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκεντησαν.*

'Now it is he who hath seen (the above things) that hath borne testimony: and true (indeed) is his testimony; even **He** (the Lord) knoweth that he (the reporter) saith true, so that ye also may believe; for these things did happen. Would that the Scripture should be fulfilled, Not a bone of His shall be crushed! and again another Scripture <which> saith, They shall account unto Him whom they stabbed!'

The above text shows beyond all reasonable doubt: (1) that the reporter or writer claims to be an eye-witness; (2) that he asseverates his words by invoking Christ the Lord (*ἐκεῖνος*) as witness to the truth of his statements; (3) that he urges his addressees to believe him; (4) that he ends with a prayer that Christ's bones (which, in the writer's mind, appear as still undecayed, or intact) may not be desecrated, then with an imprecation that Jesus' murderers may answer in judgment for their crime (*ὄψονται*, cf. 3[36]; Mt 27[4. 24], Ac 18[15]).

Equally suggestive are the closing two verses of appendix (21[24f.]):—

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων, καὶ ὁ γράψας ταῦτα. καὶ οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν. ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἃ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἅτινα ἐὰν γράφηται καθ' ἕν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρήσειν τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία.

'I am the disciple who beareth testimony of these things, namely, he who hath written these things. And I do know (*i.e.* God knoweth) that my testimony is true. Now there are many other things besides which Jesus did, the which, if they are being written one by one, I think that not even the world will hold the books that can be written.'

In the first of these two verses we again recognize our anonymous disciple, who, however, now speaks in the indirect *first person*: 'my own self is (= *I am*) the writer of these things.' That *οὗτος* here stands for *ἐγὼ* appears unmistakably from the succeeding *οἴδαμεν* and *οἶμαι*, the former of which is a unipersonal plural equivalent to *οἶδα*,[2] and expresses the writer's customary asseveration, like the previous *ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν*. Nor can it be objected that this *οἴδαμεν* is a genuine plural referring to a congregated audience, and thus showing that the two verses in question form an addition or appendix on the part of the congregation intended to express their assent (like the responsive *amen*). Such an objection is refuted by the succeeding *οἶμαι*: **I** *deem*, **I** *suppose*, which is not parenthetical, since it governs the infinitive *χωρήσειν*.

Equally important is the closing part, in particular the words (*ἅτινα*) *ἐὰν γράφηται*, an expression misrendered in our versions by: 'if they *should be* written.' Had the writer such a meaning in his mind, he would have said: (*ἅτινα*) *εἰ ἐγράφετο*. But by writing (*ἅτινα*) *ἐὰν γράφηται* he meant: (which things) 'if they are actually in process of being written,' 'if people are busied with writing these things.' This incidental remark is very suggestive of the time when our Gospel, or rather its appendix, was composed. For it points to a time when people busied themselves with writing Gospels, or, to use Luke's introductory words, when 'many took in hand to rearrange a narrative of their own concerning those matters,' etc.

Up to this point we have seen that our anonymous disciple claims to be the writer of the Gospel, and that as such he speaks in the *first* person: *οὗτος* (= *ἐγώ*), *οἴδαμεν οἶμαι*. This manner of self-designation meets us even in the prologue. Here in two passages, the genuineness of which

[1] Here *ἵνα* does not express the purpose of the previous clause, but stands adverbially like *εἴθε*. In the post-classical and subsequent history of Greek, we find that the infinitive, the optative, and the future indicative retreat, leaving their functions to *ἵνα* with the subjunctive. Accordingly, the colloquial speech of those times uses *ἵνα* before assertions, commands, and wishes as a strengthening adverb, corresponding to classical *ὅπως, ἄγε* or *φέρε, εἴθε*: *do, let; would that!* This phenomenon is fully discussed in the *Expositor* of 1899, pp. 296–310, besides in my *Historical Greek Grammar* (where see *ἵνα* in the Index).

[2] As is well known, this unipersonal plural of modesty (*pluralis modestiæ*, often misnamed *pluralis maiestaticus*) is very common in Greek, especially in the speech of Græco-Roman times.

cannot be questioned, we read (1^{14}): 'and *we* beheld (ἐθεασάμεθα) His glory'; then (1^{16}): 'and of His fulness *we* all received' (ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν), where the writer includes himself among those who beheld and received. That the *we* here is *not* a unipersonal plural (for *I*) appears clearly from the second example, where the writer says: '*we* **all** (*all of us*) received.' So the writer speaks in the *first* person: ἡμεῖς and οὗτος: *we* and *I*: Now, who is this *We*? Who is this *I*? A short digression will lift up the veil.

All three Synoptists describe a grand scene in Jesus' life which we know as His 'Transfiguration,' a misrepresentation, by the way, of the Greek μεταμόρφωσις due to the Latin Vulgate, which mistranslates μετεμορφώθη by *transfiguratus est*. In that scene of the Transfiguration, which marks 'the culminating point in Jesus' life,' the Synoptists (Mk 9^{2-7}, Mt 17^{1-7}, Lk 9^{28-35}; also 2 P 1^{16-18}) record that Jesus took Peter and James and John up on a high mountain, and there He was transformed before them (μετεμορφώθη, Lk ἐγένετο ἕτερον τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ), His garments having become glistering (στίλβοντα, λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς, Lk λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων). And there appeared unto them (ὤφθη αὐτοῖς, ἰδοὺ ὀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ) Elijah and Moses, talking with Him. Peter then asked Jesus to allow him to make three tents or tabernacles (σκηνὰς ποιῆσαι). Then a call or voice (φωνή) came from the clouds: 'This is My beloved Son (ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός): Listen ye unto Him!'

Now, is it likely that this grand scene, this 'culminating point in Jesus' life,' should have been overlooked or ignored by the fourth evangelist? Surely this evangelist, whose object is to represent Jesus as the Son of God, could find no better evidence of Jesus' Divinity than His transformation, with God's direct behest: 'This is My beloved Son; listen ye unto Him.' A parallel examination of the Transfiguration scene, as narrated by the Synoptists, with some weighty and significant passages in the prologue, will throw the desired light.

After telling us in 1^{5} that, having been not comprehended by men, the λόγος of God 'became man' (ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος),[1] the writer further down (1^{14}) proceeds by restating—

John i. 14.	Synoptists.
καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο (so God's *logos* was made flesh, was transformed to flesh),	μετεμορφώθη, ἐγένετο ἕτερος.
καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν (and tented with us),	σκηνὰς ποιῆσαι.
καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα (and we beheld),	ὤφθη αὐτοῖς, εἶδαν.
τὴνδ ὁξαν αὐτοῦ (His glory), δόξαν (splendour),	τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ἔλαμψε, τὸ φῶς.
ὡς μονογενοῦς (as of an only begotten),	ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός (a **μονογενὴς** is naturally an **ἀγαπητὸς** υἱός).
παρὰ πατρὸς[1]	(πατὴρ is implied in the υἱός μου[2]).

In this connexion we must also refer to the opening verses of the First Johannine Epistle: 'That which was from the beginning (*i.e.* God's logos: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος), that which we heard (ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν, *i.e.* God's voice or behest: This is My beloved Son; listen ye unto Him), that which we saw (ὃ ἑωράκαμεν, *i.e.* Jesus' Transfiguration) with our own eyes, that which we beheld (ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα, *i.e.* His glory) and our own hands handled (ἐψηλάφησαν, cf. Mt ἁψάμενος αὐτῶν),[3] concerning the word, the life (περὶ τοῦ λόγου, τῆς ζωῆς): yea, the life was *manifested* (ἐφανερώθη, like μετεμορφώθη), and we saw (ἑωράκαμεν), and we testify (μαρτυροῦμεν) and declare unto you the eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested (ἐφανερώθη) unto us; that which we saw and heard (ὃ ἑωράκαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν), declare we unto you also,' etc.; cf. also God's further testimony in Jn 3^{33} $5^{32.37}$ 8^{18}, and 1 Jn 4^{14} 5^{9-10}.

The above coincidences between the Synoptic narrative and the two Johannine prologues speak for themselves. Their striking agreement, both material and verbal, leaves hardly any doubt that they all refer to the same event: to Jesus' Transfiguration. Luke's statement alone that the three apostle's εἶδαν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, when compared with the Johannine words ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, renders the identity absolutely certain. It is by recognizing this fact that we are now enabled to realize or recover the true meaning of the two Johannine prologues, especially the meaning of the hitherto mysterious though weighty statement: 'and the Word was made flesh and tabernacled (or tented) with us, and we beheld His glory, such a glory as of an only begotten son.'

[1] See The Expository Times of last July, pp. 477 ff.

[2] The correspondence or relationship between the two expressions is brought out more clearly if we adopt the reading ὡς μόνος ἔχει **ὁ υἱὸς** παρὰ **πατρὸς** as proposed in The Expository Times of April 1901, pp. 333 f.

[3] Compare also the 'palpable' proofs given by Him at Thomas' demand in 20^{24-29}, then Lk 24^{39}.

We are now further enabled to answer our main question, Who is the Fourth Evangelist or anonymous writer of whom we saw that he speaks of himself in the first person, now as οὗτος or *I*, and now as ἡμεῖς or *we*? The Synoptists reveal the mystery. They tell us that those who witnessed Jesus' Transfiguration were *three*: Peter and James and John. Our evangelist tells us: '*We* beheld His glory' or Transfiguration; in other terms, '*I* am one of the three disciples who beheld the Transfiguration.' Well, who is this *I*? Is it Peter or James or *John*? The reply is self-evident; it is also authoritative, all three Synoptists vouching for it.

And now one more closing word: As the name Ἰωάννης or *Johanan* means 'one whom God favours,' can it not be that our evangelist's self-designation as ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, 'whom Jesus loved,' is a mere translation of Ἰωάννης or John?

The Descent into Hell.

By the Rev. De Lacy O'Leary, B.A., Bristol.

There is probably no passage in the Western Creed so difficult of interpretation as that which affirms that Christ 'descended into Hell.' That there is some reference to a passage in Scripture is to be assumed; what that passage can be is not so easily perceived. The casual observer will probably dismiss the matter as of very minor interest; one, however, who has spared even a very small degree of interest for mediæval literature, will be aware that no item of Christian teaching received so large an amount of attention in the Middle Ages as did that; he may well suspect that there is more conveyed than at first appears; that there is, in fact, a very important problem of doctrinal evolution underlying the surface.

The usual modern explanation is that the 'Hell' intended is Hades, a place where the souls of the dead await the final judgment. So popular has this theory become, in the Church of England at any rate, that it is difficult to find one who will give even a hearing to any other view. Laying aside any idea of what is orthodox, or believed to be so at the present day, it may be of interest to inquire into the historic evolution of this interpretation. This 'Hades' view is generally rested on hermeneutic exposition. It is especially contended that the Paradise of which Christ spoke was this place of waiting. Such an interpretation is not of very ancient standing; the early writers seem to have used the word 'Paradise' as synonymous with 'Heaven': as, for example, Cyprian (*de exhort. Mart.*), Ambrose (on the death of Valentinian), and others. In fact, the teaching of a waiting-place was the peculiar view of Origen, Tertullian, and possibly of Augustine, so far as one can get an understanding of his confused and contradictory teaching on the subject.

The ideas of the mediæval Church were widely different. There it was commonly supposed that this 'Hell' of the Creed was Limbus, the place where souls, whether of the just or unjust, waited for the death of Christ, and that He then descending thither led out with Him the souls of the righteous and took them to Heaven or Paradise, for mediæval theology made the two identical. Such is the only logical meaning of the words in the *Te Deum*: 'Tu devicto mortis aculeo: aperuisti credentibus regnum cœlorum.' The whole incident is described at length in the Gospel of Nicodemus, the most popular life of Christ known to the Middle Ages, and it formed the favourite subject of the miracle plays and of art. Now, granted that the Gospel of Nicodemus is not very ancient, of the fifth century, as Renan suggests (*Études d'Histoire Relig.*), or the end of the third, as Dr. Lipsius says (article 'Gospels, Apocryphal,' in Smith's *Dict. Chrn. Biogr.*), it is older than the Apostles' Creed in its present form.

A closer examination of the Western Creeds will give some interesting results. The Aquileian form of 341 A.D. is the first which contains the passage 'descendit in inferna,' which thence passed into the modern Roman Creed, and into that which popularly goes by the name of Athanasius. It is entirely absent from the Formularies given

by Origen, Tertullian, Irenæus, and those of the Eastern Church, as well as from the fourth century Roman Creed (cf. Rufinus in *Symb.*). When it does occur the words 'in inferna' hardly justifies the rendering 'into Hell': indeed Rufinus expressly states 'vis tamen verbi eadem videtur ese in eo quod sepultus est.' A comparison of the Roman and 'Athanasian' Creeds seems to endorse this, for we get—

1. Early Roman.	2. 'Athanasian.'	3. Modern Creed.
crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus.	passus est pro salute nostra: descendit ad inferos.	passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferna.

Here we see (1) and (2) evidently express the same thing by *sepultus* and *descendit ad inferos*, whilst the two were not combined in the same Creed until a much later date. No doubt the substitution of *inferna* for *inferos* was due to the influence of the Aquileian form. When the Roman Creed took its present form, the legend of the 'harrowing of Hell' had already been popularized by the Gospel of Nicodemus, although it did not pass under that title until the thirteenth century.

To suppose that the Gospel of Nicodemus was pure invention would be a very improbable way of dealing with the matter; pure fiction has played a microscopic part in the history of any religion. If not based on fact, it was based on some popular current belief. We see a certain view creeping into prominence, until at last it influenced the wording, if not the sense, of the current confession of faith; meanwhile it took a clear and rigid form in a written gospel, which became a popular, if unauthorized manual. There are a few passages in the canonical Scriptures which could be brought into line with it, but which are certainly not sufficient to have suggested it, such passages, namely, as 1 P 3^{19}, Hos 13^{14}, and Zec 9^{11}, with, perhaps, Eph 4^{9}. To what source can such current opinion be traced?

It is well known that the Platonic, and to a less extent, the Aristotelian, philosophy deeply influenced the Christian systems. Beyond these the popular conception of Christianity was leavened with pre-Christian beliefs. For the most part these were merely local, *e.g.* the vulgar superstitions of the Roman peasantry, the Irish holy well, a survival of earlier water-worship, and so on. The 'harrowing of Hell' mythus may well have sprung from the popular Orphic ideas prevalent in Italy in pre-Christian times.

The actual nature of those Orphic legends is but little known; it appears that the story of Orpheus' descent into the world of the dead formed its base, and that it was impregnated with superstitions about the possibility of communication with the dead. It is not surprising that such a belief could linger on after the general spread of Christianity, which dwelt so much on the future life and the resurrection, especially when we find the survival of so many far more incongruous ideas. It is surprising, however, to find Christ represented as Orpheus, as is actually the case in more than one instance in the catacombs, *e.g.* on the ceiling of the cubiculum of St. Calixtus, and elsewhere (see De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*, chap. 14). The comparison is fairly common also in early writers (a short list is given in Smith, *Dict. Chrn. Antiq.*, article 'Paganism in Chrn. Art').

It may well be supposed that the Orphic cult, more popular, and therefore more tenacious than the official paganism, coloured the early ideas of Christianity, especially in Italy, and thus generated a Christian-Orphic mythus. This mythus, long a popular legend, took its final and fixed form in the two versions of the 'Descent into Hell,' which form two of the six documents which Tischendorf has collected under the title of the 'Gospel of Nicodemus.' Finally, it crept into the Western Creed as an additional article, although at first no more than an equivalent for *sepultus*. It thus played a part in the generation of minute theories about the after-life, a matter on which the canonical Scriptures are conspicuously silent.

Point and Illustration.

EPITHETS do not stick now so easily as they used to do. We have tried to call our Prince Consort, whom we love more as the years of his departure lengthen, Albert the Good; the audacious but very prudent Emperor of Germany, misses no opportunity of referring to his grandfather as William the Great; and Westcott has received the singular title of the Good Bishop. But the people, by whom the question is always decided at last, take up these titles with more and more reluctance. We do not know if Westcott will be known as the Good Bishop. We can only show that he deserved it.

We can show this by touching his biography. It has been written by his son Arthur. It is published in two volumes by Messrs. Macmillan (17s. net). Messrs. Macmillan have published all Westcott's works, except the *Commentary on St. John* in the 'Speaker'; in the beginning of our knowledge of books and publishers we associated Macmillan with Westcott and not Westcott with Macmillan; and now the long list closes with this biography, which is a work of Westcott's as any that carry his name.

We shall not review the book. A collection of adjectives would entirely miss the mark. Westcott's son is neither a Boswell nor a Stanley. He is not a biographer. But he has done better for his father and for us than had he been. We may still have to make our own picture, but we have the materials for making it. 'When, at the request of his University, Dr. Westcott sat for his portrait, the artist found less difficulty in painting his features than in shaping his peculiarly sensitive fingers. And thus, too, for the writer it is easier, by quotation from his works, to convey an idea of his spiritual and intellectual power, than to give an impression of the fine tact which was equally characteristic of Dr. Westcott.'

His Goodness and Power of Work.—'I have already endeavoured to show how active an interest he would take in our boyish games, but the mention of that "long dark study in the old home down the lane" bids me say that, though on occasion my father proved himself a most delightful playfellow, in the ordinary way he occurred to us as a monument of industry, and, in all sincerity I say it, a pattern of holiness. It was his goodness and his marvellous power of work that most impressed us. When we came down to Prayers in the morning, we would find him writing away with a pile of finished letters before him, and when we went to bed he was working still' (i. 350).

His Anger.—'Only on one occasion have I seen him angry, and I mention the circumstance now, because I feel convinced that his lack of disciplinary power, which has been noted in the matter of his Harrow work, was due to excess rather than to defect of moral force. Conscious of his power, he was, I believe, afraid to let himself go, and so habitually exercised a severe self-restraint. It was in the early Peterborough days, as he and I were starting out for a walk, that in passing through the passage, which was then being tiled, he remarked to the man at work that he was not laying the tiles straight. The man contradicted him, and then my father said something which seemed to annihilate the culprit. I was astonished at my father losing his temper, but more astonished still at the effect of his wrath: the man trembled and turned pale, and I thought he would be falling down dead' (i. 351).

His Belief in Words.—'If I am to select one endowment which I have found precious for the work of life beyond all others, it would be the belief in words which I gained through the severest discipline of verbal criticism. Belief in words is the foundation of belief in thought and of belief in man. Belief in words is the guide to the apprehension of the prophetic element in the works of genius. The deeper teachings of poetry are not disposed of by the superficial question: "Did the writer mean all that?" "No," we boldly answer, "and yet he said it, because he said the truth which he did not, and perhaps at that time could not, consciously analyse"' (i. 26—Speech at Birmingham in 1893 on Prince Lee).

'I confess, as you know, to a most profound and ever-growing belief in words, and I should rejoice if all who might share in any such commentary as is proposed could bring to the work an absolute faith in language, and so in Scripture' (i. 207).

'That εἷς[1] in Galatians is one of the most

[1] Gal 3^{28} πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησου, 'For ye are all one [one person] in Christ Jesus.'

wonderful syllables in the New Testament' (ii. 225).

His Interest in the Poor.—'An anecdote in the *Guardian* of a little girl buying a farthing's worth of pease for her day's meal. As many as forty in one morning at one shop in St. George's East, London. And we ——. Who shall right the evils of society?' (i. 54).

'A description of England by a Spaniard who visited the country in 1803 was most startling. I must look at the book. It is easy to see how the grandchildren of those who were children then should be radicals now. And what was the Church doing? I wonder whether our eyes are open now' (ii. 10).

His Ideal of Life.—'You have often heard my views of life, yet hear them once again; for I should never forgive myself if I were to mar your happiness by representing my opinions falsely. To live is not to be gay or idle or restless. Frivolity, inactivity, or aimlessness seem equally remote from the true idea of living. I should say that we live only so far as we cultivate all our faculties and improve all our advantages for God's glory. The means of living then will be our own endowments, whether of talent or influence; the aim of living, the good of men; the motive of living, the love of God' (i. 145—in a love-letter).

'This morning, my dearest Mary, as I hoped, I was ordained deacon. In this the great work of my life is begun, and so in part of your life too, and may we both be enabled to discharge it with all zeal and diligence and love, "to the glory of God's name and the edification of His Church." Silence at such a time is perhaps better than many words—silent, earnest, effectual prayer. Henceforth I—and you with me, for our lives must be one—am pledged to be, as far as in me lieth, "a wholesome example to the flock of Christ." Who could undertake such a pledge save with such promises as the Gospel gives us? . . . O, Mary, I cannot tell you how I felt when I received the commission of my office. When the hands of the bishop and the priests were resting on my head, I felt as I cannot feel again. It seemed like a fire kindled within me, and indeed may it be a fire, ever burning clearer and brighter!' (i. 167 f.).

'At the most solemn hour of my life I promised that, by the help of God, I would maintain and set forward, as far as in me lay, quietness, love, and peace among all men, and that I would show myself gentle and be merciful, for Christ's sake, to the poor and needy, the stranger and the destitute. I have endeavoured, with whatever mistakes and failures, to fulfil that promise' (ii. 389—from the last address to Durham Miners).

His Reverence.—'One of the chief features of his school life was his reverence. To see his pained face when any wrong or rash word was spoken was a lesson' (i. 6—from a schoolfellow).

'It was his delight to be alone at night in the great cathedral, for there he could meditate and pray in full sympathy with all that was good and great in the past. I have been with him there on a moonlight evening, when the vast building was haunted with strange lights and shades, and the ticking of the great clock sounded like some giant's footsteps in the deep silence. Then he had always abundant company. Once a daughter in later years met him returning from one of his customary meditations in the solitary darkness of the chapel at Auckland Castle, and she said to him, "I expect you do not feel alone?" "Oh, no," he said, "it is full"; and as he spoke his face shone with one of his beautiful smiles' (i. 312).

'Finding the Bishop struggling late and minutely one night over the draft of a service for the Dedication of Gifts in some humble church, his chaplain said, "Well, my lord, that congregation will not be a critical one; they are accustomed to anything." With a gentle, surprised smile, such as Elisha's might have been in Dothan, the Bishop looked up from his desk and said, "You forget: *who* are the congregation? We are only an infinitesimal part of it." The words, and the way they were spoken, will not be easy to forget' (ii. 327).

His Humility and his Dignity.—'The avidity with which, to use his own phrase, he would "guard the inheritance," formed a piquant contrast to his personal modesty. His satisfaction in the coronet round the mitre of the Bishop of Durham's arms as a witness to the past, and the vigour with which he would denounce its unauthorized adoption by the two Archbishops, contrasted quite consistently with his habit of sitting huddled up, with his back to the horses, as a personal protest against being the owner of a carriage; from the door of which, by the way, he preferred to have the said mitre deleted' (ii. 365).

'Seven years after his consecration he was discussing titles with his chaplain, and said how greatly he disliked the more than necessary use of "My lord." "I experience," he said, "the sensations of that man described in some southern clime where elementary bleeding is practised, who has to sit on a stone in the river while a number of very little arrows are shot into him. Each one draws just a little blood. It is said to be wholesome, but it is certainly unpleasant"' (ii. 367).

The Teaching of Jesus concerning Himself.

By the Rev. George Jackson, B.A., Edinburgh.

'Who say ye that I am?'—Matt. xvi. 15.

I.

This was our Lord's question to His first disciples; and this, by the mouth of Simon Peter, was their answer: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' And in all ages this has been the answer of the Holy Catholic Church throughout all the world. In the days of New Testament Christianity no other answer was known or heard. The Church of the apostles had its controversies, as we know, controversies in which the very life of the Church was at stake. Division crept in even among the apostles themselves. But concerning Christ they spoke with one voice, they proclaimed one faith. The early centuries of the Christian era were centuries of keen discussion concerning the Person of our Lord; but the discussions sprang for the most part from the difficulty of rightly defining the true relations of the Divine and the human in the one Person, rather than from the denial of His Divinity; and, as Mr. Gladstone once pointed out, since the fourth century the Christian conception of Christ has remained practically unchanged. Amid the fierce and almost ceaseless controversies which have divided and sometimes desolated Christendom, and which, alas! still continue to divide it, the Church's testimony concerning Christ has never wavered. The Greek Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the various Protestant Churches, Lutherans, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Christian men and women out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation —all unite to confess the glory of Christ in the words of the ancient Creed: 'I believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God.'

This, beyond all doubt, has been and is the Christian way of thinking about Christ. But now the question arises, Was this Christ's way of thinking about Himself? Did He Himself claim to be one with God? or, is it only we, His adoring disciples, who have crowned Him with glory and honour, and given Him a name that is above every name? To those of us who have been familiar with the New Testament ever since we could read, the question may appear so simple as to be almost superfluous. Half a dozen texts leap to our lips in a moment by way of answer. Did He not claim to be the Messiah in whom Old Testament history and prophecy found their fulfilment and consummation? Did He not call Himself the Son of God, saying, 'The Father hath given all judgment unto the Son; that all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father'? Did He not declare, 'I and My Father are one'? and again, 'All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him'? And when one of the Twelve bowed down before Him, saying, 'My Lord and my God,' did He not accept the homage as though it were His by right? What further need, then, have we of witnesses? Is it not manifest that the explanation of all that has been claimed for Christ, from the days of the apostles until now, is to be found in what Christ claimed for Himself?

This is true; nevertheless it may be well to remind ourselves that Christ Himself did not thrust

the evidence on His disciples in quite this wholesale summary fashion. It is an easy thing for us to scour the New Testament for 'proof-texts,' and then, when they are heaped together at our feet like a load of bricks, to begin to build our theological systems. But Peter and Thomas and the other disciples could not do this. The revelation which we possess in its completeness was given to them little by little as they were able to receive it. And the moment we begin to study the life of Jesus, not in isolated texts, but as day by day it passed before the eyes of the Twelve, we cannot fail to observe the remarkable reserve which, during the greater part of His ministry, He exercised concerning Himself. When first His disciples heard His call and followed Him, He was to them but a humble peasant teacher, who had flung about their lives a wondrous spell which they could no more explain than they could resist. Indeed, there is good reason to believe, as Dr. Dale has pointed out, that the full discovery of Christ's Divinity only came to the apostles after His Resurrection from the dead. At first, and for long, Christ was content to leave them with their poor, imperfect thoughts. He never sought to carry their reason by storm; rather he set Himself to win them—mind, heart, and will—by slow siege. He lived before them and with them, saying little directly about Himself, and yet always revealing Himself, day by day training them, often perhaps unconsciously to themselves, 'to trust Him with the sort of trust which can be legitimately given to God only.' And when at last the truth was clear and they knew that it was the incarnate Son of God who had companied with them, their faith was the result not of this or that high claim which He had made for Himself, but rather of 'the sum total of all His words and works, the united and accumulated impression of all He was and did' upon their sincere and receptive souls.

Are there not many of us to-day who would do well to seek the same goal by the same path? We have listened, perhaps, to other men's arguments concerning the Divinity of our Lord, conscious the while how little they were doing for us. Let us listen to Christ Himself. Let us put ourselves to school with Him, as these first disciples did, and suffer Him to make His own impression upon us. And if ours be sincere and receptive souls as were theirs, from us also He shall win the adoring cry, 'My Lord and my God.' Let us note, then, some of the many ways in which Christ bears witness concerning Himself. In a very true sense all His sayings are 'self-portraitures.' Be the subject of His teaching what it may, He cannot speak of it without, in some measure at least, revealing His thoughts concerning Himself; and it is this indirect testimony whose significance I wish now carefully to consider.

II.

Observe, in the first place, how Christ speaks of God and of His own relation to Him. He called Himself, as we have already noted, 'the Son of God.' Now, there is a sense in which all men are the sons of God, for it is to God that all men owe their life. And there is, further, as the New Testament has taught us, another and deeper sense in which men who are not may 'become' the sons of God, through faith in Christ. But Christ's consciousness of Sonship is distinct from both of these, and cannot be explained in terms of either. He is not '*a* son of God'—one among many—He is '*the* son of God,' standing to God in a relationship which is His alone. Hence we find—and we shall do well to mark the marvellous accuracy and self-consistency of the Gospels in this matter—that while Jesus sometimes speaks of '*the* Father,' and sometimes of '*My* Father,' and sometimes, again, in addressing His disciples, of '*your* Father,' never does He link Himself with them so as to call God '*our* Father.' Nowhere does the distinction, always present to the mind of Christ, find more striking expression than in that touching scene in the garden in which the Risen Lord bids Mary go unto His brethren and say unto them, 'I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and My God and your God.'

This sense of separateness is emphasized when we turn to the prayers of Christ. And in this connexion it is worthy of note that though Christ has much to say concerning the duty and blessedness of prayer, and Himself spent much time in prayer, yet never, so far as we know, did He ask for the prayers of others. 'Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not.' So did Jesus pray for His disciples; but we never read that they prayed for Him, or that He asked for Himself a place in their prayers. How significant the silence is we learn when we

turn to the Epistles of St. Paul and to the experience of the saints. 'Brethren, pray for us'—this is the token in almost every Epistle. In the long, lone fight of life even the apostle's heart would have failed him had not the prayers of unknown friends upheld him as with unseen hands. There is no stronger instinct of the Christian heart than the plea for remembrance at the throne of God. 'Pray for me, will you?' we cry, when man's best aid seems as a rope too short to help yet long enough to mock imprisoned miners in their living tomb. But the cry which is so often ours was never Christ's.

It has further been remarked that, intimate as was Christ's intercourse with His disciples, He never joined in prayer with them. He prayed in their presence, He prayed for them, but never with them. 'It came to pass, as He was praying in a certain place, that when He ceased, one of His disciples said unto Him, Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples. And He said unto them, When ye pray, say—.' Then follows what we call 'The Lord's Prayer.' But, properly speaking, this was not the Lord's prayer; it was the disciples' prayer: 'When *ye* pray, say—.' And when we read the prayer again we see why it could not be His. How could He who knew no sin pray, saying, 'Forgive us our sins'? The true 'Lord's Prayer' is to be found in the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel. And throughout that prayer the holy Suppliant has nothing to confess, nothing to regret. He knows that the end is nigh, but there are no shadows in His retrospect; of all that is done there is nothing He could wish undone or done otherwise. 'I glorified Thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which Thou hast given Me to do.' It is so when He comes to die. Among the seven Words from the Cross we are struck by one significant omission: the dying Sufferer utters a cry of physical weakness—'I thirst'—but He makes no acknowledgment of sin; He prays for the forgiveness of others—'Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do'—He asks none for Himself. The great Augustine died with the penitential Psalms hung round his bed. Fifty or sixty times, it is said, did sweet St. Catharine of Siena cry upon her deathbed, *Peccavi, Domine miserere mei*, 'Lord, I have sinned: have mercy on me.' But in all the prayers of Jesus, whether in life or in death, He has no pardon to ask, no sins to confess.

We are thus brought to the fact upon which of recent years so much emphasis has been justly laid, namely, that nowhere throughout the Gospels does Christ betray any consciousness of sin. 'Which of you,' He said, 'convicteth Me of sin?' And no man was able, nor is any man now able, to answer Him a word. But the all-important fact is not so much that they could not convict Him of sin; *He could not convict Himself.* Yet it could not be that He was self-deceived. 'He knew what was in man'; He read the hearts of others till, like the Samaritan woman, they felt as though He knew all things that ever they had done. Was it possible, then, that He did not know Himself? Not only so, but the law by which He judged Himself was not theirs, but His. And what that was, how high, how searching, how different from the low, conventional standards which satisfied them, we who have read His words and His judgments know full well. Nevertheless, He knew nothing against Himself; as no man could condemn Him neither could He condemn Himself. Looking up to heaven, He could say, 'I do always the things that are pleasing to Him.' This is not the language of sinful men; it is not the language of even the best and holiest of men. Christ is as separate from 'saints' as He is from 'sinners.' The greatest of Hebrew prophets cries, 'Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips.' The greatest of Christian apostles laments, 'O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?' Even the holy John confesses, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' It is one of the commonplaces of Christian experience that the holier men become the more intense and poignant becomes the sense of personal shortcoming. 'We have done those things which we ought not to have done; we have left undone those things which we ought to have done': among all the sons of men there is none, who truly knows himself, who dare be silent when the great confession is made—none save the Son of Man; for He, it has well been said, was *not* the one thing which we all are; He was *not* a sinner.

This consciousness of separateness runs through all that the evangelists have told us concerning Christ. When, *e.g.*, He is preaching He never associates Himself, as other preachers do, with

His hearers; He never assumes, as other preachers must, that His words are applicable to Himself equally with them. We exhort; He commands. We say, like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'Let us go unto perfection'; He says, 'Ye shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.' We speak as sinful men to sinful men, standing by their side; He speaks as from a height, as one who has already attained and is already made perfect. Or, the contrast may be pointed in another way. We all know what it is to be haunted by misgivings as to the wisdom of some course which, under certain trying circumstances, we have taken. We had some difficult task to perform—to withstand (let us say) a fellow-Christian to his face, as Paul withstood Peter at Antioch; and we did the unpleasant duty as best we knew how, honestly striving not only to speak the truth but to speak it in love. And yet when all was over we could not get rid of the fear that we had not been as firm or as kindly as we should have been, that, if only something had been which was not, our brother might have been won. There is a verse in Paul's second letter to the Church at Corinth which illustrates exactly this familiar kind of internal conflict. Referring to the former letter which he had sent to the Corinthians and in which he had sharply rebuked them for their wrong-doing, he says, 'Though I made you sorry with my epistle, I do not regret it, though I did regret'—a simple, human touch we can all understand. Yes; but when did Jesus hesitate and, as it were, go back upon Himself after this fashion? He passed judgment upon men and their ways with the utmost freedom and confidence; some, such as the Pharisees, He condemned with a severity which almost startles us; towards others, such as she 'that was a sinner,' He was all love and tenderness. Yet never does He speak as one who fears lest either in His tenderness or His severity He has gone too far. His path is always clear; He enters upon it without doubt; He looks back upon it without misgiving.

This contrast between Christ and all other men, as it presented itself to His own consciousness, may be illustrated almost indefinitely. His forerunners the prophets were the servants of God; He is His Son. All other men are weary and in need of rest; He has rest and can give it. All others are lost; He is not lost, He is the shepherd sent to seek the lost. All others are sick; He is not sick, He is the physician sent to heal the sick. All others will one day stand at the bar of God; but He will be on the throne to be their Judge. All others are sinners—this is the great, final distinction into which all others run up—He is the Saviour. When at the Last Supper He said, 'This is My blood of the covenant which is shed for many unto remission of sins'; and again, when He said, 'The Son of man came to give His life a ransom for many,' He set Himself over against all others, the one sinless sacrifice for a sinful world.

There is in Edinburgh a Unitarian church which bears carved on its front these words of St. Paul: 'There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.' I say nothing as to the fitness of any of Paul's words for such a place—perhaps we can imagine what he would have said; I pass over any questions of interpretation that might very justly be raised; I have only one question to ask: Why was the quotation not finished? Paul only put a comma where they have put a full stop; the next words are: '*Who gave Himself a ransom for all.*' But how could He do that if He was only 'the *man* Christ Jesus'?

> No man can save his brother's soul,
> Nor pay his brother's debt,

and how could He, how dare He, think of His life as the ransom for our forfeited lives, if He were only one like unto ourselves? There is but one explanation which does really explain all that Christ thought and taught concerning Himself; it is that given by the first disciples and re-echoed by every succeeding generation of Christians—

THOU ART THE KING OF GLORY, O CHRIST,
THOU ART THE EVERLASTING SON OF THE FATHER.

Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology.

By A. H. Sayce, D.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.

I.

La Magie assyrienne: étude suivie de Textes magiques. By C. Fossey. Paris: Leroux, 1902.

Dr. Fossey has given us an important and interesting work. Magic played a very large part in the belief and life of Babylonia and Assyria, and a considerable proportion of the texts recovered from the library of Nineveh relate to it. But hitherto, since the pioneering labours of Lenormant, it has received but scant attention from Assyriologists. Now and again a magical text has been edited or translated, and writers on Babylonian religion have, perforce, dealt more or less briefly with the subject; but no attempt has been made to take up the task which dropped from the pen of Lenormant and systematically examine and describe one of the most potent factors in ancient Babylonian culture. It is fitting that the work should at last be undertaken by a countryman of that brilliant scholar whose premature death science still has reason to deplore.

Dr. Fossey has done his work thoroughly. The second half of his book contains the magical texts themselves, transliterated from both the Sumerian and the Semitic originals, and translated line by line. The first half is a very full and luminous account of what these magical texts teach us, written with French lucidity and method, and covering the whole ground of the subject so far as it is known to us at present. No Assyriologist can afford to neglect Dr. Fossey's monograph, and the same may be said of the theologian and anthropologist who are not Assyriologists.

Babylonian magic lay at the back of Babylonian religion, and it is impossible to understand that religion unless the magic is understood also. It makes no difference whether we regard the religion as mainly due to a new and intrusive Semitic element which engrafted itself on the older beliefs of Chaldæa, or whether we hold that the religion developed naturally out of the magic that preceded it. In either case the result is the same; Babylonian religion and magic are so closely bound up together that as long as the magic is ignored our conception of the religion will be faulty and erroneous.

Dr. Fossey has, I believe, succeeded in drawing the true distinction between magic and religion, at all events so far as ancient Babylonia is concerned. Magic, as he says, 'constrains' and obliges the supernatural or superhuman powers which surround man to perform his will; religion 'conciliates' them. The demons and jinns of magic are, like the forces of nature, under law and control; the gods of religion possess free will. They can grant or refuse the prayer as seems to them good; the jinn must obey the spell of the sorcerer.

Dr. Fossey's work is full of facts and suggestions which a reviewer would be glad to dwell upon. The remark that 'every city, like the divinity who protected it, probably had a mystic name which could be revealed to no one,' is highly suggestive, and explains why it is that cities appear as divinities in the inscriptions. The *sêdu*, again, from which the Hebrews borrowed their *shêdîm*, is shown to have been a demon with the evil eye, and the curious reference to pointing with the finger in Is 58^9 is explained by the fact that stretching the hand towards the light was considered unlucky. In the Babylonian 'Confession,' to eat the flesh of the sacrifice is stated to be a sin; and Dr. Fossey notes that perhaps the sin-offering is meant, since according to the Jewish law (Lv 6^{30}) no 'sin-offering' was allowed to be eaten. At any rate there seems to be a connexion between the two prohibitions.

I have one fault, and one fault only, to find with Dr. Fossey's volume; there is no index, either of subjects or of words.

II.

Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens. Première Série. By Fr. Martin. Paris: Letourey & Ané, 1903.

I have already drawn attention in The Expository Times to Professor Martin's researches into Babylonian religion. He has now published the first volume of a work which will embrace the larger portion of such Babylonian or Assyrian

religious texts as are known, each of them being transliterated and translated and accompanied by philological notes. The very complete indices at the end of the book make it particularly valuable to the Assyriologist.

But there are others besides the Assyriologist who ought to study it. Like Dr. Fossey's book, it appeals to the anthropologist and theologian, not to speak of the student of the Old Testament. The latter will find in the introduction which Professor Martin has prefixed, abundant matter for thought and comparison. Following in Professor Zimmern's footsteps, Professor Martin points out the numerous coincidences that exist between the Babylonian ritual and the Mosaic Law. Time after time the law of Israel looks back to Babylonia not only in the beliefs and principles that underlie it, but even in the letter of its ordinances. Like the earlier chapters of Genesis, the law, too, has a Babylonian background of far earlier date than the age of the Exile.

The 'leather bag of the oracle of the heavens and the earth,' which contained the lots of destiny, and was entrusted to the 'seers,' reminds us of the Hebrew ephod, and is certainly not favourable to some modern explanations of the latter. The bodily defects which, according to Lv 21, prevented an Israelite from exercising the office of priest, were also those that banished a Babylonian from the order of the seers. The parts of the victim offered in sacrifice and the objects of the offering were, as Professor Martin shows, similar among both Babylonians and Israelites, and it is at least interesting that the Babylonian *asipu* was required in a certain ceremony to present twelve cakes to the gods, recalling the twelve loaves of shewbread.

Professor Martin follows the German school in identifying the *asipu* with the *masmasu* or 'divine.' But the two are distinguished from one another in the texts, and the ritual to which he refers as describing the functions of the *asipu* really makes mention of the *masmasu* and not of the *asipu*. The *asipu* was rather a 'prophet,' and Merodach is accordingly addressed as both the *masmasu* and the *asipu* of the gods.

It will doubtless be objected to Professor Martin, as it was to my Hibbert Lectures, that he has included magical texts among his 'religious' documents. But in Babylonia, magic and religion were too closely connected to be separable; religion took magic under its protection, and magic remained the religion of the people. Purely religious hymns are often embedded in a magical text and intended to be used for magical purposes, while the religious ritual retained to the last a magical taint. There was no such separation between magic and religion in Babylonia as there was in Israel.

III.

Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum. Parts xvi., xvii. British Museum, 1903.

The rapidity with which the accurate and beautifully printed cuneiform texts of the British Museum are being published is really wonderful, and Assyrian scholars ought to be correspondingly grateful. Hardly have we had time to examine the last two volumes that were published than two more have appeared, containing the very class of documents on which the works of MM. Fossey and Martin are based. Many of them are now published for the first time; others are re-edited with important additions, and assigned their place in the literary works to which they belong. Thus at least one-half of a magical text called *Utukki limnûti* by the Babylonians has been recovered. In the light of these new or more complete documents many of our conclusions will doubtless have to be revised.

I must, however, once more protest against the view that in a text which has been believed to refer to the sacrifice of children the word *uritsu* means a 'lamb' or some other young animal. Both the Sumerian original and the Semitic translation are perfectly plain in the revised edition. The *uritsu* or 'offspring' is stated to be *sa amelûti* 'among men,' not *sa amelu* 'of a man'; and to make the meaning still clearer, it is defined as *sag-ilû*, 'with head erect' like a man, and not with the head inclined like a brute beast. 'The offspring with head erect among mankind' can naturally signify a human child and nothing else.

Contributions and Comments.

A New Work on the Parables.

THE great work of Professor Jülicher on the Parables has met with a very good welcome both in this country and by this journal: see the articles of Dr. David Eaton (THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, x. 539–543, on the second volume; xi. 300, on the second edition of the first). In the *Expositor* the Rev. G. W. Stewart devoted three articles to 'Jülicher's Views on the Nature and the Purpose of the Parables' (March, April, and June 1900). The second number of the new *Journal of Theological Studies* was opened by an article of Professor Sanday, the title of which I have taken the liberty to place at the head of my own lines, which are meant to introduce to the readers of this journal the new work of a Roman Catholic scholar on the Parables.[1] Its author, Leopold Fonck, Professor of Divinity at Innsbruck, made himself first known through a nice little book entitled 'Rambles through the Biblical Flora' (*Streifzüge durch die biblische Flora*), and through minor papers on various Oriental subjects, published chiefly in the *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* and the Innsbruck *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*. He was led to lecture on the Parables by observing, firstly, that on the Roman Catholic side no monograph on this grand and attractive subject had appeared since the days of old Salmeron (1613); secondly, because he saw the influence of a work like that of Jülicher, and considered it dangerous; finally, because by a long stay in the Orient he believed himself in a position to contribute something to a better understanding of some of the outer details connected with the Parables. There are indeed cases of this kind, in which we owe to him more correct information than was hitherto available; but in other points he shows strange misunderstandings. He thinks it possible, for instance, that the 'twelve yoke of oxen before him,' with which Elisha was ploughing, were all yoked to the same plough (sec. 208 on Lk 14^{19}). On the whole, his book is a defence of the traditional explanation of the Parables, which treats them to a large extent as allegories, against the thesis of Jülicher, which excludes this altogether. Perhaps the truth lies midway between them. After an introduction of some sixty pages on the nature and the purpose of the Parables he divides them under three heads: (1) parables describing the kingdom of heaven in its growth, nature, and fruit; (2) parables treating of the members of the kingdom; (3) parables on the Head of the kingdom and His position towards its members.

For each parable he gives the Greek text (or texts in parallel columns), with a selection of variants, and a translation; then follows the 'Wort und Sacherklärung,' the explanation of the text, then the exposition of the parable, finally the use and further application which may be made of the parable. Very full is the literature given on each passage, and especially welcome is the list of the texts occurring in the Missale Romanum. Fonck deals with sixty-four parables. If we compare this number with that of fifty-three admitted by Jülicher, we find that J. treats in seven cases two parables of F. together; in one case the opposite takes place (9 and 10 with J., the Light of the World and the Town on the Mountain, are treated under one head by F.); eight passages are omitted by J. altogether, among them being five out of the Fourth Gospel, besides The Plenteous Harvest, The Shut Door (Lk 13); The Mote and the Beam, The Dogs and the Swine. F., on the contrary, omits four passages counted as parables by J., The Manifestation of the Hidden (Lk 4^{22}); The Eye as the Light of the Body, Physician heal Thyself, and The Way to the Judge (Mt 5).

The Roman Catholic standpoint of the author expresses itself chiefly in the identification of the kingdom of God with the 'Church'; comp., for instance, sec. 81, 4: 'No religious community, which organizes itself for a special country . . . can be the universal kingdom of God founded by Christ'; sec. 94, 6: 'Only the Catholic Church received from Christ the fulness of truth and grace, and has preserved it always; in her alone the true Christian spirit of sacrifice has been always alive and efficient.' On other points he is very reticent;

[1] *Die Parabeln des Herrn im Evangelium exegetisch und praktisch erläutert.* Von Leopold Fonck, S.J., Dr. Theol. et Phil., ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Innsbruck. Mit Gutheissung der Kirchlichen Obrigkeit. Innsbruck: Fel. Rauch (Karl Pustet), 1903. Pp. xx, 808.

for instance, not a single word on the use made in the Church of the word *compelle intrare*. Great freedom is shown by the author towards the official Vulgate. Neither does he make it the basis of his explanation; he even says that the addition *in manibus vestris* (Lk 12^{35}) found its way wrongly 'into some editions of the Vulgate'; it is the reading of the official text. Otherwise his respect for tradition is very marked. For the parables of the Five Talents and the Ten Pounds he does not acknowledge a common basis, because this assumption would seriously endanger the trustworthiness either of the transmission or of the reports of the Saviour's words, and open a door to the subjective treatment of the holy text so common with the critics of days past and present. My suggestion that a confusion of ככרים = talents and כרכים = towns may have something to do with these parables, he does not mention.

To sum up. The book is a careful explanation of details and very welcome to Protestants to whom the Roman Catholic literature is not easily accessible. New paths are not to be found here. Professor Jülicher may have shown too much 'vigour and rigour' in maintaining his theory (see the article of Professor Sanday quoted above), but this book inclines too much to the old allegorical explanation.

EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

'Deuteroproton.'

THE 'second Sabbath after the first' of Lk 6^{1} has been, and will probably remain, an unsolved enigma. The adjective δευτερόπρωτος occurs nowhere else in all Greek literature; and, in view of this fact, those critics, including W.-H. and the Revisers, would seem to be justified who reject it as a marginal gloss due to a transcriber's addition, first of πρώτῳ with reference to ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ in 6^{6}, and then of δευτέρῳ in relation to ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν in 4^{31}. The older Syriac omits it, and it is absent from Codices ℵ, B, and L.

While no one can take exception to the summary scission of such a knot, it should be remembered at the same time that the term appeared in current copies of Luke's Gospel as early as 370 A.D. At this date, or very shortly afterwards, Gregory of Nazianzen settled in Constantinople, and Jerome, who became one of his hearers and disciples, in the well-known Epistle to Nepotianus, relates a striking anecdote about him bearing on the interpretation of the difficult word. 'I asked him,' says Jerome, 'what the δευτερόπρωτον Sabbath in Luke meant, and he playfully replied, "I will teach you that in church. You will find that the people will applaud, and you will be forced, in spite of yourself, to applaud too, and to confess that you have gained some information about what you did not previously know. Otherwise, if, unlike the rest, you remain silent, you will be condemned by them all as a dunce."' Jerome, however, gives no report of the sermon, nor does he state what explanation was offered by Gregory Nazianzen. We are left in the dark as to whether he held the 'second-first Sabbath' to mean the first after the second Easter Day, or the Sabbath after Pentecost, or that before the new moon preceding the Passover, or which of the many conflicting opinions he favoured.

It appears to me extremely likely that Gregory's discourse on the subject was never delivered, nor intended to be delivered. In his answer to Jerome, as we find it in the famous Epistle, he virtually tells him that the secret of successful, as distinguished from useful, public speaking, lies to a large extent in the orator's contempt for his auditory. He betrays a cynical and insincere vein, for which one is hardly prepared when recalling the manifest earnestness of his *Apologeticus*, and the unbridled passion exhibited in his fierce *Invectives against Julian*. But in my opinion it is eminently consistent with both. In his earlier work, the *Apologeticus*, Gregory mentions the reasons which induced his flight, when a youth, from the service of the Church, assigning, among others, the difficulty he felt of expounding the Word of God to a popular audience, the different treatment required for different minds, and the readiness with which a raw babbler, who could only utter some empty pious sentiments, would be accepted by the multitude as their religious teacher. His later *Invectives*, on the other hand, wear a certain rhetorical and exaggerated character, not unlike what one might expect from the developed and expert poet-preacher. He had shrunk back at first from practising the art of leading a congregation by mere words, but when he did at last become a finished master, if not the creator of pulpit oratory, he could use his resources of per-

suasive, minatory, or pathetic language with telling effect. That a full consciousness of superiority to his hearers underlay his success, and is confessed in his answer to Jerome, there can be no doubt. The connexion in which his words appear in the Epistle to Nepotian makes this perfectly plain. Nepotian had requested advice on the special qualifications and duties demanded of the clergy, and Jerome, referring particularly to the pulpit, says: 'I would have you become no declaimer or garrulous blusterer, but one erudite in the mysteries of God. To roll off verbiage, and by mere fluency of speech to win the admiration of the vulgar, is the mark of the unlearned. A brazen-faced speaker (*attrita frons*) often expounds a subject of which he is ignorant, and usurps the name of science in order to allure others. My old teacher, Gregory Nazianzen,' . . . here follows the story and the sound conclusion, which I quote in the original: 'Nihil tam facile quam vilem plebeculam et indoctam concionem linguae volubilitate decipere, quae, quidquid non intelligit plus miratur.'

I cannot help thinking that the anecdote about Gregory, occurring as it does in immediate sequence to the sentence beginning with *attrita frons*, conveys an indirect charge of blameworthiness. Translating *attrita* literally, we might regard Jerome as indicating the latitude of didactic method permissible in men of experience, but this departure from a familiar phrase (*Juv.* 13, 242) is too bold. In any case, the passage shows us that popular preaching has been always the same in its employment of *ad captandum* tricks, and that candidates of superior learning on a leet need not be ashamed to use the rhetorical artifices which the Father of Christian pulpit eloquence himself did not disdain.

J. M. Robertson.

St. Ninians.

On the use of Γραφή in N.T.

In N.T., Γραφή is found thirty-one times in sing. (R.V. omits Mk 15^{28}), and twenty times in plur. In his note on Gal 3^{22}, Lightfoot lays down the rule that γρ. in sing. always refers to a passage of Scripture. So Page on Ac 1^{16}; Knowling on Ac 8^{32}; Swete on Mk 12^{10}—who all refer to Lightfoot's note. On the other side, see especially Vaughan on Ro 4^{3}. Other commentators who accept the collective sense of ἡ γρ. do not discuss the question, so far as I have seen, *e.g.* Abbott on Eph 4^{8}; Beet on Ro 9^{17}.

Cremer, *s.v.*, gives a list of seventeen places where γραφή, as distinct from γραφαί, means 'Scripture.' Jn 2^{22} $7^{38.42}$ 10^{35} 19^{28}, Ac 8^{32}, Ro 4^{3} 9^{17} 10^{11} 11^{2}, Gal $3^{8.22}$ 4^{30}, 1 Ti 5^{18}, Ja 4^{5}, 1 P 2^{6}, 2 P 1^{20}. To that list I would add Jn 20^{9}, and attempt to justify Cremer's classification. Cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 108 (p. 112, Eng. tr.), who supports Cremer's general view. The discussion may start from Lightfoot's note. Gal 3^{22} reads: συνέκλεισεν ἡ γραφὴ τὰ πάντα ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν. Lightfoot refers to 3^{10} or 2^{16} as the particular γραφή. But 3^{10} does not prove that all are sinners, and 2^{16} is a long way back. Paul's argument surely rests on a broader basis if γρ. is taken as 'Scripture.' Ro 3^{10-18} shows that he regards the fact of universal sinfulness as one proclaimed by the 'general tenour of Scripture,' whilst the personifying συνέκλεισεν points the same way. Vaughan says (on Ro 4^{30} in reference to this passage) 'the reference is to the general tone and doctrine of Scripture, not to one passage.'

Lightfoot's arguments are—

1. αἱ γραφαί is the form used to refer to the sacred Scriptures as a whole. But this use of the plur. need not exclude the collective use of the sing. We can say ourselves, 'this Scripture,' 'the Scripture,' 'the Scriptures.' Ἡ γρ. is better fitted to imply unity than αἱ γρ.

2. The use of such expressions as 'another Scripture,' etc.

3. The use of γραφή in introducing particular quotations.

In the note on Gal 3^{8} (προϊδοῦσα ἡ γρ.), Lightfoot regards the personification as unique in N.T.; but surely συνέκλεισεν of 3^{22} is quite as pronounced; and there are, besides, the forms λέγει, εἶπεν, etc., used with γρ. May it not be argued that when the sing. term is used by way of personification, the idea of the unity of Scripture has taken fast hold; and the literal use of the sing., as a collective, is then quite possible?

Lightfoot's arguments will scarcely prove that γρ. can *never* refer to Scripture as a whole. He has not discussed some of the most pertinent passages; and indeed in his note on Ro 4^{5} he almost allows that John may use γρ. collectively, though still denying that Paul does.

In the following rough classification all the passages are included where γρ. occurs in sing.

I. References to a particular passage :—

(*a*) γρ. qualified in some way—

Mk 12[10] τὴν γ. ταύτην.

Lk 4[21] ἡ γ. αὕτη.

Ac 8[35] τῆς γ. ταύτης.

2 Ti 3[16] πᾶσα γ. θεόπνευστος. Here Alford says : '"Every Scripture," *i.e.* "every part of [=in the sense, all] Scripture."' Purves (quoted by Warfield, *l.c. infra*, from *Pres. and Ref. Review*, January 1893), 'the whole collection to which he had just referred as the "sacred writings," and all their parts.'

Jn 19[37] ἑτέρα γ. λέγει.[1]

Ac 1[16] τὴν γ. ἣν προεῖπε.[1]

Here cf. Clem. 1 Co 23, ἡ γ. αὕτη of an apocryphal quotation ; and (Clem.) 2 Co 2, ἑτέρα δὲ γρ. of Mk 2[17], in N.T.

(*b*) γρ. not qualified—

Jn 13[18] 17[12] (which refers to 13[18]) 19[24. 36] ἵνα ἡ γ. πληρωθῇ.

Ja 2[8] κατὰ τὴν γ.

(*c*)[2] Metaphorical use (ἡ λέγουσα)—

Mk 15[28] ἐπληρώθη ἡ γ. ἡ λέγουσα, omit whole verse ℵABCD.

Jn 19[24] ἵνα ἡ γ. πληρωθῇ ἡ λέγουσα (ℵB omit ἡ λεγοῦσα).

Ja 2[23]. The same phrase as Mk 15[28] ; but a double reference (α) to Gn 15[6], (β) to the purport of 2 Ch 20[7] or Is 41[8], which are not exactly quoted. This passage, therefore, is intermediate. It partakes both of the particular and of the general.

The use of Γραφαί in reference to distinct passages has an interesting example in Polycarp, Phil 12[1] 'his Scripturis,' where Ps 4[5] in O.T. and Eph 4[26] in N.T. are quoted, and equally regarded as Scripture.[3]

II. References to Holy Scripture :—

(*a*) Still metaphorical (λέγει or εἶπεν).

Ro 4[3] τί γὰρ ἡ γ. λέγει ; Gal 4[30] ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γ. ;

Ro 9[17] 10[11], 1 Ti 5[18] λέγει γὰρ ἡ γ.

Ro 11[2] ἐν Ἠλείᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γ. ; cf. Παραινεῖ μέντοι ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν Λευιτικῷ, Philo, *de Leg. All.* 2[26] ; Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἡ γρ. ἐν τῷ Ἰεζηκίηλ (Clem.), 2 Co 6.

Jn 7[42] οὐχ ἡ γ. εἶπεν. 'Cf. Is 11[1], Jer 23[5], Mic 5[2]' (Westcott). Vaughan (*l.c.*), 'Two predictions which are not combined in any one passage of the O.T.

Jn 7[38] καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γ., ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν. On this, Westcott, 'The reference is not to any one isolated passage, but to the general tenour of such passages as Is 58[11], Zec 14[8].'

Ja 4[5] ἡ γ. λέγει ; Πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα. Mayor, *in loc.*, 'The general sense of several passages.' He also refers to Westcott on Jn 7[38]. On these two passages the weight of the case may be held to rest. See also Cremer, *l.c.*

Gal 3[8] (προϊδοῦσα), [22] (συνέκλεισεν), dealt with above.

(*b*) Other passages where the reference to Scripture is highly probable.

Jn 2[22] ἐπίστευσαν τῇ γ.

In his note here, Westcott lays down the rule that γραφή always refers to a particular passage. In Jn 20[9], as in the present case, the reference is supposed to be to Ps 16[10] alone.

But the note on Jn 7[38] shows that Westcott allows an exception to his own rule. A further criticism would be, that to confine the reference in these two cases to Ps 16[10] is to narrow the field in a somewhat arbitrary fashion.

In the Acts, Ps 2, 110, and 118 are also used in this connexion. Cf. Ac 3[19-25], 1 Co 15[4], where the general tenour of Scripture is adduced. Vaughan, *l.c.*, 'No particular passage having been cited, and the reference being as general as in 1 Co 15[4].'

Jn 10[35] οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφή.

A general statement about Scripture would evidently be far more forcible than an assertion of the validity of this particular passage. Vaughan, 'evidently a general principle.'

Jn 19[28] ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γ.

(α) If the clause is connected with the former

[1] These also are metaphorical.

[2] Passages under I. (*b*) and (*c*) might be transferred to II. if we might supply ἡ λέγουσα in all cases.

[3] It should be said that where the reference is restricted to a particular passage, there is none the less *authority* implied, as in the form γέγραπται. This is almost universally allowed.

part of the verse, the reference would be to Scripture as a whole.

(β) In any case, the word τελειωθῇ suggests the wider reference. The last detail of foreordained trial is mentioned, as showing the perfect τελείωσις of the sufferer. Here Westcott's general interpretation is to be preferred, *e.g.*, to Alford's; but he appears himself conscious of the weakness of his explanation of γρ.

Jn 20^9 οὐδέπω γὰρ ᾔδειταν τὴν γ. This goes with Jn 2^{22} without question. For that reason I would add the passage to Cremer's list, mentioned above.

Ac 8^{32} ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσκεν. Here the renderings may be (α) 'the purport (or contents) of the passage of Scripture,' etc.; (β) 'the passage of Scripture' (so Rendall). Both meanings of περιοχή are illustrated by quotations in Blass and Wetstein, *in loc.*, and Hort on 1 P 2^6. Here the meaning 'purport' is evidently unsuited to an exact quotation. The meaning 'contents,' as apart from 'purport,' seems redundant. Hort renders 'the words of the passage of Scripture,' putting a distributive for a collective term, and avoiding the difficulty.

Vaughan, *l.c.*, 'ἡ δὲ π. (the particular *paragraph*) τῆς γ. (the volume of Scripture).'

1 P 2^6 διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ. γρ. anarthrous. 'Because it contains in Scripture' (Bigg). Several O.T. writers are then cited. Hort translates 'in writing,' surely a needless weakening of the sense. In 2 P 1^{20} we could not render 'every written prophecy.' In general, Hort does not deny the collective use of γρ. to John and Paul.

2 P 1^{20} πᾶσα προφητειά γραφῆς. γρ. again anarthrous. Surely this is not 'every prophecy embodied in a passage of Scripture,' but 'every prophecy of Scripture.' The unity of Authorship is to control all illegitimate usage of particular parts.

For γραφαί anarthrous, see Ro 1^2 16^{26}.

In LXX γραφή is mostly 'writing.' Passages somewhat nearer to N.T. usage would be 1 Ch 15^{15}, 2 Ch $30^{5.\ 18}$, 4 Mac 18^{14}. Here cf. Cremer's last edition.

The use of γρ. with λέγει suggests a reference to Scripture regarded as a unity. In Ep. Barnabas, *e.g.*, several phrases are interchangeable — λέγει, λέγει ὁ θεός, λέγει κύριος, λέγει ἡ γρ. This last occurs several times. These may be compared with Philonian phrases, such as ὁ εἱρὸς λογός, ὁ θεῖος λογός, ὁ προφητικὸς λογός,—in all which Divine revelation as a whole is in view.

On the use of λέγει (without an expressed subject) there is a very full and able discussion by Warfield in the *Pres. and Ref. Review*, July 1899, referred to by Hastings *B.D. s.v.* 'Scripture.'

He criticises the note by Abbott on Eph 4^8, where the impersonal use of λέγει is supported; and follows Winer, Blass, and most commentators in regarding θεός as the implied subject. Abbott says, 'If any substantive is to be supplied, it is ἡ γραφή; but the verb may well be taken impersonally.' Evidently he is determined to eliminate any implication of *authority* in the method of citation, and would only tolerate the subject ἡ γραφή as not implying authority. Warfield's criticism will be perfectly convincing to most who read it. At any rate, we may assume that the real question is as to whether ὁ θεός or ἡ γραφή is subj. of λέγει.

Certainly ὁ θεός will generally suit very well. Sometimes ἡ γραφή would seem preferable, *e.g.* in Ro 15^{10}, where λέγει follows καθὼς γέγραπται. It may be that there is no need to define with exactness. God as speaking through Scripture, or Scripture as God's voice, is the idea in the writer's mind, of which now one element, now the other, is more in view. Cf. Ac 1^{16} 13^{47} β-text.

For the purpose of this note, the point need not be decided. It is sufficient that there is a case for both sides. In general, for the writers of N.T., ἡ γρ. and ὁ θεός are in thought interchangeable terms. In support of this statement, the following points are taken from Warfield's paper:—

1. There are passages where the Scripture is spoken of as if it were God. Gal 3^8 (προϊδοῦσα ἡ γρ.), Ro 9^{17} (λέγει γὰρ ἡ γρ. τῷ Φαραώ). At the times referred to, the Scripture was not in existence.

2. God is spoken of as if He were the Scriptures. The words of others, spoken of or to God, are referred to God. Mt. 19^5, He 3^7, Ac $4^{24.\ 25}$ 13^{34}, He 1^6.

'The two sets of passages together thus show an absolute identification, in the minds of these writers, of "Scripture" with the speaking God.'

3. Cf. Ro 9^{15} τῷ Μωυσεῖ γὰρ λέγει (θεός); Ro 9^{17} λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή. 'Both modes of citation rest on the common consciousness of the Divine authority of the matter cited.'

Note also the string of Scripture references, Gal $3^{8\text{-}18}$. Ἡ γρ., γέγραπται, in the former part, are replaced by λέγει, ἐρρέθησαν in the latter; whilst such phrases as δικαιοῦται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (v.[11]) and κεχάρισται ὁ θεός (v.[18]) testify to the complete unity of idea. Such considerations make strongly for the collective use of γραφή wherever it will fairly suit the context.

The point might be illustrated by reference to Westcott on *Hebrews* (extended note, p. 474). He shows that practically all the citations in Hebrew from O.T. are in some way referred directly to God. Both in Hebrews, and elsewhere where ἡ γραφή, γέγραπται, etc., occur,[1] the details and particular passages are intended to illustrate the fulfilment, in due time, of a plan divinely ordered, and foreshadowed in all its main outlines, in the harmonious unity of O.T. Scripture.

To interpret ἡ γρ., in many of the cases discussed in this note, of separate passages, seems to me to be at a variance with the entire conception of Scripture held by the writers of the N.T. Their usage of O.T. is surprisingly free from any mechanical character. They had learned their lesson from one who taught 'not as the scribes.'

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Psalm cxlix. 5.

My remarks on כָּבוֹד in Ps 149^{5} (in the April number, p. 334 ff.) have, to my great satisfaction, called forth two fresh contributions: one of them favourable, the other unfavourable, to my proposals (see May number, p. 382 ff.). I may be allowed with all brevity to deal with these, and to say a word more on the subject.

1. In the first place, I have to thank Dr. C. Taylor for the manifold stimulus and help which his contribution supplies. For the most part I am in agreement with him, and shall of course not repeat here what he says. But on several points I am unfortunately compelled to differ from him. He does not mention the passage, Ps 112^{9}, cited by me, but he goes with some detail into Ps 85^{10}. But, apart from the fact that in the Massoretic text of Is 3^{8} כָּבוֹד does not stand *alone*, and that an emendation, with the reasons for which I am not first acquainted, necessarily appears to me arbitrary until I am acquainted with them, I am even of opinion that in Ps 85^{10}, in view of the whole context, כָּבוֹד as a Divine name is impossible.

> Surely near to them that fear Him (Jahweh) is His salvation, that כָּבוֹד may dwell in our land.

Whatever may be the meaning of כָּבוֹד here, whether it be a technical term for the 'Divine bright glory,' or stand for 'pomp,' 'splendour,' 'adornment' (*e.g.* the fertility of the soil, cf. Is 4^{2} and also Ps 85^{13})—the view to which I am more inclined—it appears to me impossible to say: 'Jahweh's salvation is near, that Jahweh (=כָּבוֹד) may dwell.' If not exactly illogical, this would amount at least to an unjustifiable pleonasm. Illogical in a certain sense I cannot help feeling it to be, because, while salvation may readily be regarded as a result produced by כָּבוֹד (=God), כָּבוֹד cannot conversely be viewed as the consequence of the salvation of Jahweh. If Dr. Taylor's view were correct, we should, I think, expect to read: 'כָּבוֹד (=God) is near . . . that His salvation may dwell,' etc. I admit, however, that here to a certain extent it is a matter of taste that is involved.

Finally, it appears to me that in Ps 149^{5} the change of מִשְׁכְּבוֹתָם into מִשְׁכְּנוֹתָם, natural and simple as it is, fails to yield satisfaction. Even the main idea that the dwellings are thought of as standing under the protection of God, is suggested by nothing in the text, but is manifestly dragged in. The attempt to bring Ps 85^{10} into parallelism appears to me forced. But the main reason why Dr. Taylor's proposal is untenable will come out in what follows.

2. I turn now to Dr. König's reply. The explanation put forward by this highly estimable scholar certainly suggests itself as the most natural. And it is well enough known that there are many passages where haplography (as elsewhere dittography) and the taking of י as an abbreviation of יהוה furnish the explanation of the text. But this resource appears to me to be inapplicable in this instance, even for metrical reasons. The con-

[1] Neither of these forms is found in Hebrews.

struction of the Psalm is as regular as possible. Duhm, for instance, says briefly that it consists of 'groups of six lines with three rises' (*dreihebigen Sechszeilern*). There are three of these groups, and the rhythm is as perfect as, according to our knowledge of things, can be the case in a Hebrew Psalm. It is quite unnecessary to indicate the particular 'rises,' for these show themselves readily to the reader. The only real difficulty from this point of view is occasioned again merely by v.[5]. Here the first half of the verse has three 'rises,' but the second only two. That is the case even if we adopt the proposal of Dr. Taylor (see above), and *this* is the final reason why the reading מִשְׁכְּנוֹתָם must be pronounced unsatisfactory. Something must have dropped out in the second half of the verse; there must be here, in short, some textual corruption causing the loss of a 'rise.' But this metrical difficulty would be even increased were we to follow Dr. König and read כבוד יהוה for the simple כבוד; for then we should obtain in the first half of the verse *four* 'rises,' and in the second only two—a new irregularity. We are thus in a worse strait than before.

Dr. König's second objection is equally ineffective against my proposal. It is quite true that we should expect בְּכָבוֹד; the article in a Divine name of this kind being indispensable. But Dr. König may here have overlooked the circumstance that I expressly admitted (*l.c.* p. 336b) that as early as the time of the Mishna and the Talmud (hence also the Massoretes) the knowledge of כָּבוֹד as a Divine name appears to have been lost.

I have expressed myself with all possible brevity, emphasizing only what is essential. But what I have said may suffice to strengthen the impression that on Ps 149[5] the last word has not yet been spoken.

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The Verse-Numbering in the Latin New Testament.

'REMOVE not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set' is a rule especially applicable to the verse-division in the Bible.

To-day I came across the fact that Wordsworth-White give to the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew fifty-two verses instead of fifty-one in our Bibles. And why? Because in some MSS of the Vulgate and in some editions of it after 41 the words are inserted, 'duo in lectu: unus assumetur et unus relinquetur.' As the official edition of the Vulgate, the Clementine of 1592, omits this insertion and counts fifty-one verses, as the other Bibles, it would have been better to stick to the common numbering, instead of reserving for this addition the figure 42 and going on in the text, 41, 43–52 for 41, 42–51. According to the remark on p. xxx W.–W. follow in this arrangement the edition of Robertus Stephanus, 1555, in 8° ('Biblia prima cum versibus hodiernis edita, quorum numeros in hac editione sequimur').

I have that edition before me; but certainly it was a mistake of Stephen to give up here his own division of 1551. He ought to have acted as the editor of the Vulgate printed in the same year 1555 at Lyons, '*Ex Officinina Typographica Michaelis Silvij*' (*Apud Antonium Vincentium*, on the title), which has not only verse-numbering as in the edition of Stephanus but also verse-division, and though it has this insertion, prints it thus—

41. Duæ molentes in mola: una assumetur, & una relinquetur. Duo in lectu: unus assumetur & unus relinquetur.

42. Vigilate ergo, etc.

This edition is remarkable, because it is an earlier impression than that mentioned by W.–W., p. xxx, under No. 17, '*apud Johannem Frellonium Lugduni*, 1556.' The preface contains the same statement about the verse-division, which is quoted by W.–W. Towards the end of the preface we read with clear reference to Robert Stephanus: '*At ne quem sua frustratum a nobis laude quispiam clamitet, aut peculatus arguat, & etiam ut institutum hoc nostrum plus ponderis obtineat, ultro fatemur nos imitatos Santem illum Pagninum Hebraice lingue peritissimum, qui & hoc ipsum ceu necessarium magnopere probans, eo modo sua imprimenda curavit.*

The Catalogue of Bibles in the British Museum mentions before Estienne's edition of 1555 an edition—

Biblia sacrosancta—Juxta vulgatam editionem ff. 477, Apud Joannem Frellonium: Lugduni, 1555.

As the copy just described has also 477 leaves, I suppose there are impressions with different names of publishers (Frellonius and Vincentius). In the copy before me there follow after the N.T. 26 leaves of indexes (quotations from the O.T., Hebrew names, etc., last of all, Church lessons according to the use of Paris and Rome). It needs a closer study than I can give it now, to ascertain whether it is independent from Stephanus or not. Here it is sufficient to express the wish that in the following parts of Wordsworth-White the Stephanus of 1551 may be preferred to that of 1555, that at last unity may result in the verse-numbering of the N.T.[1]

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

Blood on the Doorstep.

In two days the Chinese have their New Year. At the time a strange custom is observed. On the doorsteps of the houses blood is sprinkled, and burning sticks of incense stuck up beside it.

I have noticed also on boats the same thing. The blood is splashed on the prow, and feathers dipped in the blood are stuck on various parts of the boat. Speaking to the Chinese on the subject, I can get no reasonable explanation. They say it is a relic of their ancient sacrifices, but the root-idea they cannot explain.

Whenever I have seen the blood on the doorstep, I have been brought in mind of the passover sacrifice the night Israel left Egypt. The idea for Israel was not the passing of God over their houses and so sparing them, but (as was once pointed out in The Expository Times) the passing of God into their homes, and entering into fellowship with His people.

From what we know of present Chinese belief, there can be no such idea in their sprinkling of the blood. Their great dread is the entering into their homes of evil spirits, evil influences, bad luck. To the Chinese the gods are, in the majority, bent on evil. The great thing is to ward off this evil. Hence the sacrifice, not to enter into fellowship, but to keep as far away as possible the innumerable evils bent on their destruction.

This, with many other customs in China, brings us into such touch with the Bible that we can well use such in our preaching to illustrate Scripture narratives.

I see so many things in China similar to customs mentioned in the Bible, and also depicted on the ancient monuments, that the questions arise, Whence came the Chinese? Do not these customs point to some common origin?

W. Deans.

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Hittite Decipherment.

Before comparing Professor Jensen's system of Hittite decipherment with mine, Dr. Selbie should wait until the last instalment of my memoir on the subject is published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*. That will not be till December or January next. He will then find that there is little or nothing in common between the two systems, either in method or in results. Professor Jensen has, for instance, misinterpreted the ideograph of 'deity' and followed his predecessors in assigning a wrong signification to the determinative of 'district'—the real clue to the decipherment of the texts. He makes the vowel *a* a sibilant, gives a different value to the characters which represent *n*, etc., and thus fails to recognize and read names like Tyana, Kataonia, or Tuates. He has deliberately rejected the assistance of the bilingual Boss. And his translations of the inscriptions will be found to be very different indeed from those at which I have succeeded in arriving. It is true that in his identification of the sign of the nominative he is in agreement with me, but this is because he has adopted it from myself. I feel sure that he will be the first to protest against any identification of our respective methods.

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Oxford.

[1] In the official editions of the Vulgate Ja 4^{13} goes from Tu autem till lucrum faciemus, 14 only till crastino, against the Greek-Latin Stephen.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

THERE is a significance about the new volume of 'The International Critical Commentary' to which attention had better be drawn at once. The new volume is on *Numbers*. It is written by George Buchanan Gray, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford (T. & T. Clark, 12s.). It is a commentary that will enable the wide world to judge whether Dr. Buchanan Gray deserves the high reputation for scholarship which he has gained in Oxford. But it is not in its scholarship that the significance referred to lies.

We are on the edge of another great biblical controversy, and the significance of Professor Buchanan Gray's commentary on *Numbers* lies in the fact that it is the first book that compels us to realize how near that controversy is, and how warily we must walk if we are not to suffer from it.

There are those still living who remember the conflict that raged over the Six Days of Creation. That conflict arose when the student of geology turned his attention to the Bible. Fortunately for the Church, the geologist himself suggested various expedients by which Genesis and Science might be reconciled. And, keen as the issue was, the conflict did not last so long nor cut so deep as might have been expected.

Then came the Higher Criticism. The controversy regarding the criticism of the Old Testament is within the memory of us all, for it is with us still. Its course has been as unfortunate for the Church as the geological conflict was fortunate. Its most responsible advocates, that is to say, its best scholars, have been believers, and even Churchmen. But, on the other hand, there was an early impression that the Higher Criticism was 'made in Germany,' and that was enough to surround it with suspicion. More than all, it touched the sacred person of our Lord. The Higher Criticism is with us still. This generation, it seems probable, must pass away before it is finished.

But already the third great conflict of our day regarding the interpretation of the Bible is upon us. It is the conflict raised by Archæology. Its course thus far has been most curious and conflicting. There are those of us, trained in traditional methods of interpretation, who have suffered more from Archæology than from Criticism. It has staggered us more to be told, as Professor Sayce has told us, that the story of Joseph is an adaptation of an Egyptian fiction, than to be told, as Professor Smith has told us, that Joseph is probably not the name of a person but of a clan. And yet, until quite recently, the Archæologists have fought the Higher Critics and been hailed as the champions of traditional orthodoxy. Quite re-

cently, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch has rudely shattered that delusion, and we see the Critics defending, the Archæologists assailing, the very foundations of our faith. But Archæology got a good start in popular favour, and in its wildest gambols it will never terrify the people as the Higher Criticism has done.

We are on the eve of a new controversy. It will be raised by the Study of Comparative Religion. How radically it will affect our dearest beliefs may be seen at once in Dr. Buchanan Gray's commentary on *Numbers*. We have taught our children the story of Aaron's rod that budded. We have fancied it unique. Its uniqueness was to our minds one guarantee of its miraculousness. Dr. Gray calmly says: 'There are many somewhat similar stories of the miraculous vegetation of dried sticks,' and gives examples. A still closer and more constant companion of our teaching has been the Brazen Serpent. In the *Golden Bough* Dr. Frazer cites the story of the Brazen Serpent in connexion with the custom of getting rid of vermin by making images of them. Thus the Philistines, when their land was infested by mice, made golden images of the creatures, and sent them out of the country. Apollonius of Tyana is said to have freed Antioch of scorpions by making a bronze image of a scorpion, and burying it under a small pillar in the middle of the city. Gregory of Tours tells us that the city of Paris used to be free from dormice and serpents, but that in his lifetime, while they were cleaning a sewer, they found a bronze serpent and a bronze dormouse, and removed them,—after which they abounded there. Dr. Buchanan Gray does not say that he accepts Dr. Frazer's explanation of the Brazen Serpent, but he certainly does not say that he rejects it.

These are simple examples. Others touch us still more nearly. What are we to do with them? What are we to do with the whole subject of Comparative Religion in its relation to the interpretation of the Bible? Shall we speak of it ignorantly as an enemy of our religion? At least we cannot raise the *odium theologicum* by saying that it is made in Germany. Comparative Religion is the one study Germany seems to have neglected. Shall we say that common-sense—convenient synonym for ignorance—enables us to brush it aside? Or shall we study Comparative Religion a little, and if we find that it asks us to change our ideas of the interpretation of the Bible once more, agree to change them, and discover the Bible itself more divine than before?

The article by Dr. Oldfield, in the *Hibbert Journal*, on 'The Failure of Christian Missions in India,' has created an unaccountable degree of interest. We have ourselves, though only writing notes on it, received a number of letters on the subject from all parts of India. And besides the replies that have appeared elsewhere, to some of which we have already drawn attention, there is in the current number of the *Hibbert Journal* itself a notable article in reply, by Principal Miller of the Madras Christian College.

Dr. Miller, to put his point into a sentence, denies the failure. And as he makes good his point that Christian missions have not failed in India, he shows that Dr. Oldfield's article was an ill-informed piece of writing, both as regards Christian missions in general, and as regards Christian missions in India in particular. That was our own impression when we read the article, and that is why we call the interest it has aroused unaccountable.

Dr. Oldfield compares the progress of missions in India with their progress in the Early Church. And he says that, but for the faults of the missionaries, 'the missionary saint of the Gentiles would be as powerful to transform men's minds in the East, as he was to sway the thought of the Western world in his day.' Dr. Miller does not say the missionaries have no faults; but what is this that Dr. Oldfield expects of them? His sentence is worth looking at: 'as St. Paul swayed the thought of the Western world in his day'!

It was years after St. Paul's day, years after the missionary saint of the Gentiles had sealed his message by his blood, that Tacitus wrote of the new sect, and showed that his acquaintance with it was of the very slightest. A few years later, Pliny has more knowledge of the workings of Christianity in his own province of Bithynia. But even to Pliny it would have appeared a mere absurdity, that Western thought would ever be influenced by what any Christian might speak or write. 'Even after the day,' says Dr. Miller, 'when men like Tacitus and Pliny showed some acquaintance with the existence of Christianity, generation after generation passed during which the leaders of thought throughout the empire, as certainly as the aristocratic and conservative Hindus on whose opinions Dr. Oldfield relies, would have "all agreed that Christianity was quite an unimportant factor, so far as the conversion of the upper classes was concerned."'

Does Dr. Oldfield manifest more knowledge of missions in India? He does not. Let us give Principal Miller's very words again. 'No weight attaches to the views of one who has been but a few months in India, and has come in contact with those classes only who stand most aloof from Christian effort, and even with them only in those parts of the country where least has been done to bring East and West into any kind of sympathetic relation. For, in almost every place which Dr. Oldfield tells us that he visited, missions are comparatively new, and have made less way than elsewhere with the classes to which his observation was confined. I do not admit that even in those regions the outlook is so dark as he describes; but I can testify from long experience that in southern India—that is, in the Presidency of Madras and the native States surrounding it—things are entirely different.'

Dr. Miller does not deny the faults of the Indian missionaries. But as for that matter of the tennis racquet, of which so much has been made, we may leave Dr. Miller for a moment and refer to one of the letters which we have received. It would appear that Dr. Oldfield's Hindu host made his clever point by taking advantage of Dr. Oldfield's ignorance. 'There is practically,' says our writer, 'only one time at which a man can play tennis in India, and that is the hour before sunset. If the missionary was in the habit of taking the exercise, which is so necessary to health, in that form, any one would be able to form a good guess where he would be at that hour.'

But to return to Dr. Miller, and end the matter with one more quotation: 'I do not know any better illustration of the whole condition of Indian missions than may be found in one of the best-known warlike operations of the bygone century. When the British army was compelled to embark at Corunna, there was what might well be reckoned a total failure of the attempt to deliver the Peninsula from the grasp of Napoleon. The attempt, however, was renewed. There were gleams of success from the beginning of Wellington's command. Ere long he had secured a fairly safe basis of operations in Portugal. Still, for year after year, it seemed that no real advance beyond it could be made. Even after world-renowned victories he was once and again driven back, so that his task was pronounced impossible by those who judged only the immediate present. There were multitudes of those at ease in Britain, there were critics by the score who had paid flying visits to the field of operations, ready to declare that the whole undertaking was a failure, and that the army ought to be withdrawn. If their counsels had been listened to, the attempt would have been the failure they predicted. But Wellington remained undaunted. He received support which, though too often vacillating and half-hearted, proved to be sufficient. The time came, after much disappointment and delay, when the final advance could be wisely made. It is said that the great captain, as he crossed the frontier of Spain, yielded, as he rarely did, to the love

for theatrical effect, and, turning his horse and taking off his hat, exclaimed, "Farewell, Portugal! I shall never see you again." Whether the story be true or not, the issue showed it to be appropriate. Within one short year thereafter, though even yet not without desperate effort and temporary failure, the Peninsula was free.'

He is a bold Protestant who challenges the meaning which Luther found in his famous text: 'The just shall live by faith.' This bold Protestant writes in the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly* for July. The title of his article is 'The Faith of God,' which itself is bold enough; but we have observed ere now that the Rev. F. Warburton Lewis, B.A., has a singular gift of exegetical insight, and we have read his article.

Is there any proper sense in which we can speak of the faith of God? Our Revisers have said no. If 'the faith of God,' or 'the faith of Jesus Christ,' was found occasionally in the Authorized Version, they changed it into 'faith in God' or 'in Jesus Christ.' But that, in spite of the Revisers, the New Testament writers speak of the faith of God and the faith of Jesus Christ, Mr. Lewis makes sufficiently clear. For to say that the Greek preposition ἐκ, which means 'out of,' must sometimes be translated 'in'; or to say that 'faith' in such a text as 1 Tim 1^{14}, 'The grace of our Lord abounded exceedingly with faith and love which is in Christ Jesus,' means Paul's faith, is to say that exegesis is not a science.

Mr. Lewis finds much in the New Testament about the faith of God. It was in faith that God created the world. For the world is not made with hands. It is not a manufacture. It is a growth, and Evolution is a good enough name to call it by. If the world had been framed by the hand of God and finished, it would have been due to sight. But the world has to grow, and when God creates the world He has faith that it will grow to the full extent of His purpose concerning it. He does not manufacture the oak. He creates the acorn, and He has faith that the acorn will grow to be an oak. This is the faith of God the Creator, and Mr. Lewis's text is Heb 11^{3}: 'By faith the worlds have been framed by the word of God.'

The world includes man. Mr. Lewis thinks we make a mistake when we say that man was created with his character fully formed. In character he was created a babe, not manufactured a man. He was to grow up into the stature of the fulness of Christ. So God had faith in the character of the man He had made. For, if He had not had faith in man's character, but had made him with his character fully formed, man would not have been man. To be a man, he must be free. To reach a man's character, he must be left with the freedom of choice. Thus it was by the faith of God that man was 'foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son' (Rom 8^{29}).

But man fell. Did that make the faith of God of none effect? By no means. To the faith of God the Creator it added the faith of God the Redeemer. We say God believed in man still; let us say, more biblically, God had faith in man. God had faith in man as well as love for man, sufficient to send His only begotten Son into the world. For Mr. Lewis is not confounding faith with love here. When his younger son was in the far country, the father had love for him, we know; but he had also faith in him, even when he was feeding upon the husks. The love loved him in the far country, whether he returned or no; the faith believed that he would come home again.

And, when the wanderer has returned, the faith by which he lives in the Father's house is not his faith in the Father, but the Father's faith in him. As that prodigal St. Paul so sublimely puts it, 'The life that I now live, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave Himself for me.'

It is not many months since the remark was

made, that of all Bible lands the land of Palestine had yielded least, by digging, towards the elucidation of the Bible. That reproach is in the way of being rapidly removed. We have refrained from describing the wonderful discoveries which Mr. Stewart Macalister is making at Gezer till it should be possible to offer a brief survey of the whole. But the 'finds' are accumulating. Already much of the highest consequence to biblical and archæological science has been discovered. And we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity presented by an excellent article contributed to the *Biblical World* for June by Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, to give some description of the discoveries up to the date of his visit. Thereafter it will be in the power of all of us to follow the discoverers step by step ourselves. For Mr. Macalister can use the pen as well as the spade, and in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund gives, every quarter, a graphic and illustrated account of his work.

Dr. Masterman begins by describing the spot where the discoveries are made. It is the site of the ancient Gezer. Its modern name is Tell el-Jezary. These are but forms of the same name, yet between them lies a period of about four thousand years. And our fortunate discoverer is daily] laying bare monuments of a civilization older than the historical Gezer, as well as of races that succeeded one another and passed away before the Israelites arrived in Canaan.

The site is delightfully accessible to the modern traveller. The Tell may be reached from either Jaffa or Jerusalem by carriage, and it has a railway station within an hour's ride. The traveller to Jerusalem, indeed, whether by road or rail, finds the little hill a prominent object for many miles. And, even apart from the fame which it is acquiring to-day, the site of the ancient city of Gezer is worth a visit. 'Stand on the Tell,' says Dr. Masterman, 'and look around. You are not very high, but the view is magnificent. To the west all the plain between you and the Mediterranean lies as on a map; to the north-west Jaffa on the sea; Ramleh and Lydda in the middle distance. Winding along the valley of Aijalon, on your right, where in all ages the main road has passed, lies the carriage road to Jerusalem; while at your feet the railway goes round half the Tell's circumference, until it disappears up the valley of Sorek.'

Nor is the spot more attractive to the traveller than to the explorer. Too often in Palestine ancient sites are covered with modern buildings or cemeteries, or with Moslem shrines—most hopeless state of all. Here we have a hill nine-tenths bare, the modern village of Abu Shusheh being accommodatingly placed off the Tell. Only a 'wely,' or sacred tomb, surrounded by the village cemetery, and one small modern house shut off a little space from excavation. The Tell, or mound itself, is about half a mile long. It consists of an eastern and western hill with a valley between. And the whole land is in the possession of Europeans, whose agent is ever ready with his encouragement.

Mr. Macalister began with the eastern hill, which is entirely open to investigation. His method of operation, though he has not been able to carry it out persistently, is to dig trenches right across the hill from side to side, cutting them down to the primitive rock, so that no foot of earth should be left unexamined, or any object of interest left undiscovered. The workmen come from Abu Shusheh and the neighbouring villages. As they pick the earth and shovel it into little baskets, which the women and girls carry away on their heads to empty beyond the marked-out area, they are encouraged by small rewards to keep an eye on every fragment of flint or pottery or metal they come across. In this way each of them gradually accumulates beside him a pile of miscellaneous objects. If an object of special interest, such as an unbroken jar, begins to appear, the active foreman swoops down and carefully supervises its exhumation. If it is a part of a wall that is uncovered, it is left to be examined

by the explorer himself. Walls superimposed one above another, each marking the site of a new city and a new start in life, have been disclosed.

The earliest wall appears to have been simply a rampart of earth. Dr. Masterman calls it Amorite; but we must not at present lay stress upon these titles, for the explorers in Palestine are not agreed as to the names to be given to the pre-Israelite races discovered there. The wall, in any case, is more than four thousand years old. It apparently enclosed a large area of the eastern hill, and passed on through the central platform towards the west. Outside this earthen rampart is a rough stone wall, which seems to have enclosed the eastern hill alone. It is supposed to belong to the time of the Tel el-Amarna letters, and may have been standing when the Israelites entered the land. Outside this second wall is a third, a massive structure, 14 feet thick, and strengthened at the south-east and north-east corners by mighty towers. It has been traced around almost the whole Tell. This wall is supposed to be the work of that Pharaoh who conquered Gezer and gave it to Solomon along with his daughter. Lastly, there is a yet more powerful wall, but of much less circumference, which is attributed to the hands of the Maccabees.

Of more importance than even the walls are the caves and cisterns. Some of them were, without doubt, dwelling-places of the earliest inhabitants. Others are sepulchres. One at least was used by a non-Semitic people as a crematorium.

In one of these caves a discovery was made, which is as mysterious as it is gruesome. It was the discovery of the remains of fifteen bodies. They lay as if they had been buried; stones were placed around them; and in their midst were found a number of handsome bronze spearheads. In all this there was nothing as yet remarkable. The cave might be simply an ancient cemetery.

But it so happened that, just when this discovery was made, the explorer had with him, on a visit, his father, Dr. Alexander Macalister, the distinguished Professor of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge. Examining the bodies, Professor Macalister was startled to discover that, while fourteen were the skeletons of men of various ages, one was that of a young girl whose body had been sawed in two, the lower half having entirely disappeared. Clearly it was no ordinary sepulture. But what was it? None can yet tell. But almost all are agreed that we have here the evidence of some very early religious rite.

The greatest discovery of all, however, has been a megalithic temple. Dr. Masterman only touches this interesting 'find,' and we shall do no more. It is enough to say that a row of eight pillars or standingstones have been laid bare. The stones range in height from 5 ft. 5 in. to 10 ft. 9 in. The smaller are probably the earlier. The smallest of all has marks upon it, which show that it has been much anointed or rubbed or kissed. No doubt, it is a temple belonging to that Asherah-worship with which Israel had so much wrestling in the land. In the midst of the stones was found a great stone socket, probably intended to hold the asherah or wooden pole itself. Dr. Masterman has been to see the remains of this Canaanite worship on the spot, and he sees in it an instance in which the Israelites failed to obey the command: 'Ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and burn their Asherim with fire' (Dt 12^3 R.V.).

But to the student of religion a yet more interesting discovery remains to be mentioned. Near the foundations of these pillars a number of jars was found, each jar containing the skeleton remains of a newly-born infant. So this temple bears witness to the custom of the sacrifice of the first-born child. The Israelites did not adopt that custom from the native inhabitants. If they themselves ever practised it, it was in the pre-historic period. But the redemption of the first-born—one of the most significant of Israelite customs, and

most fraught with meaning to us—is evidence both of the existence of the rite and of the power which the worship of Jehovah had of turning a barbarous rite into one of deep religious and moral significance.

The most attractive book of the month has just reached us. It has reached us too late for any kind of review this month. Its title is *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*; its author, Professor Sanday of Oxford.

Professor Sanday is engaged upon a Life of Christ. There are many sources for a Life of Christ. There is the history of the Church and a man's own experience. But the chief sources are the Land and the Book. Dr. Sanday knows the Book. Last year he went to view the Land, and this volume is the result.

No. Dr. Sanday will not allow us to say that this book is the result of a single short visit to Palestine. He had other reasons for writing it, and other qualifications. He had, above all, the qualification of a close student of the text of the Gospels. And if others have written a geography of the land because they have been much travelled there, Professor Sanday has written upon the Sacred Sites of the Gospels to show us, once for all, what the text of the Gospels demands.

How many names spring at once to the memory—Capernaum, Bethsaida, Gerasa, Ænon near to Salim, Bethany, and, in these last days, even Bethlehem itself! But we must not stay to speak of it now. The volume is enriched with five-and-fifty of the most beautiful plates from photographs. In what Dr. Sanday calls the reconstruction of the Palestine of the past he has been assisted by Mr. Paul Waterhouse, M.A., F.R.I.B.A. The book is published at the Clarendon Press (13s. 6d. net).

In Memoriam: Robert Campbell Moberly.[1]

By the Rev. W. Sanday, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford.

'That I may gain Christ, and be found in Him.'—Phil. iii. 8, 9.

With what reluctance does one give up the word of the Old Version 'win'—'that I may win Christ'—for that of the New Version 'gain.' The old Translators were poets; they felt the finer associations of words. 'To win' at once calls up such associations: it makes one think of the prize of knightly tournament or battle, the prize of high courage and heroic effort and great deeds, the wreath of laurel or the chaplet of pine leaves, a prize noble in itself and noble in the way it is won.

'To gain' seems upon a lower level. It suggests the counter, and the calculating spirit of the counter—a spirit perfectly legitimate and useful in itself, but wanting just those high associations that the other word possesses.

And yet there can be no doubt that the Revisers were right in deliberately choosing the inferior word.

In the first place, it was the word—or the true equivalent of the word—that St. Paul really used. He really wrote 'gain' and not 'win.' There is no ambiguity about it.

And in the second place, if we take the whole context together, the apostle's meaning is quite clear and harmonious. And it is noble still, though the nobleness comes in by another door.

Let me read the rest of the passage. The apostle has been enumerating the privileges that he had in his old life, on his old footing when he was still 'a Hebrew of the Hebrews,' 'of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, . . . as touching the law, a Pharisee; as touching zeal, persecuting the Church; as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless.'

[1] A sermon preached in the Cathedral, Christ Church, Oxford.

So far he has got; and then he suddenly turns round and says, 'Howbeit what things were gain to me,'—the 'gain' here points forward to the other 'gain' that is coming,—'what things were gain to me, these have I counted loss for Christ. Yea verily,' he goes on, as his thought rises and becomes still more impassioned; 'Yea verily, and I count all things to be loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may gain Christ, and be found in Him, not having a righteousness of mine own, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God, through faith.'

There is much more in the same triumphant strain that I should like to quote because of the ring of triumph in it; but it would lead me too far from my subject. We see now what the figure is that the apostle really has in his mind. He is like a man with a great pile of treasure before him—gold and jewels and all that is costly,—and he not only refuses it and will have nothing to do with it, but he actually spurns it and tramples it under foot as too contemptible to be thought of, if only he may gain Christ and be found in Him. Here is the real treasure, the treasure which passeth knowledge.

I have singled out those words for my text, partly because it is in them that the passage culminates, but mainly for another reason, because they seem to me to sum up in briefest compass the life's message of him whom we so deeply mourn to-day—so deeply mourn, although we rejoice that he has found his quest and reached his goal.

What was the leading thought of that great book, *Atonement and Personality*? It is something of this kind.

Our friend was, as you know, one of the most loyal of men—intensely loyal above all to the Church in which he was born and which he served. Its deposit of truth he held with all his heart and soul. And yet he was also very modern. He knew the thoughts that were in men's minds; he sympathized keenly with much in them which seemed to lead towards fuller and deeper truth. In particular, he sympathized with them in the revolt against older and cruder forms of stating the doctrine of the Atonement—as though there were in it an imputation of merit that was not real, a simple transference from the innocent to the guilty. Utterly real and sincere as he was himself, he could not tolerate the thought of a process that might be described as containing anything of 'fiction,' anything that was not strictly and literally true. He could not tolerate this, and he looked for a substitute for it; he looked for some interpretation by which the process of Atonement should be no fiction but real, wrought out within the man, and not wholly without him. And he found this interpretation in the work of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the Crucified.

It was the subtle working out of this position that was the most distinctive feature of that remarkable work.

How the argument stands at this moment, rather more than two years after its publication, I would not venture to say. It has certainly not been refuted; it has hardly perhaps received adequate examination,—how extremely few there are among the English-speaking peoples who would be competent to examine it adequately! In any case, it remains a most impressive and weighty statement, classical in its presentation and in its conception, of a far-reaching solution of some of the profoundest problems.

And not only so, but beside the discussion of its principal theme, the book was rich in penetrating and illuminating thoughts touching upon many departments of Christian theology.

But, whatever may be the ultimate and accepted place of the theory as a theory, there cannot, I think, be a doubt of the broad success of the effort by which it was inspired to bring home to the thought and conscience of all of us the very deep significance of this language, which really permeates so many of the most important of the New Testament writings—the language which speaks of the union of the Christian with Christ, of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, of the passionate longing of saints like St. Paul and St. John as it were to lose themselves in Christ—to 'gain' or 'possess' Christ, and 'be found' in Him.

This intense longing, which so moved the saints of old, also moved their modern expounder. To him it was all unutterably real. And he has done more, probably, than any one man in this generation to make it real for others.

I ought to add that the great work *Atonement and Personality* is supplemented in a valuable way by the more recently published volume of sermons entitled *Christ our Life*, which turns upon the

same fundamental idea and illustrates it in various connexions; and also by a single sermon, originally preached before the University, and printed in the January number of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, which develops the central conception yet further and guards it against misapprehension.

There was yet another aspect of the religious life connected with this in regard to which the influence of our friend will long be felt. It may be said to strike the keynote of the earlier volume, *Ministerial Priesthood*, given to the world in 1897.

It followed from that view of the religious life which has just been described—or, if it did not exactly follow from it, it was at least in closest harmony with it—that the religious life was conceived of as a complete unity, a coherent whole. Dominated by that one great motive of which we have been speaking, centring in Christ and deriving all its force and vitality from Him, it was felt to be wrong to draw any line of strict demarcation, and still more of contrast, between the inward source of the religious life and its external expression or manifestation. Stated in this way, with the trenchant precision that was so characteristic of Dr. Moberly's writings, this proposition reads almost like a truism. And yet, truism as it really is, it is one that is being constantly violated. Which of us may not detect himself in setting the outward in contrast with the inward, when the two ought really to be not contrasted but harmonized? It is this mistake which too often leads to the undue disparagement of what is outward, simply because it is outward. We speak of forms and ceremonies, and then the next step is that we speak of '*mere forms*.'

All turns on that little word 'mere.' Of course it is possible enough for the form to become divorced from the inner reality. Then it is a *mere form*, lifeless and dead; and the cry is raised, 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?' It was this hasty cry that our friend set himself to resist. He showed—and I must needs think, convincingly showed—that this method of 'cutting down' is not the right method.

The right method is not, Destroy the form, but Restore the connexion between form and substance. Take the form, and fill it again with life; cause the sap to circulate through it once more; clear away hindrances; stimulate growth; and the tree that seemed lifeless will soon begin to bud and blossom.

As I state it now, this advice may perhaps appear somewhat obvious; and the fallacy to which it is opposed may also seem obvious. But, at the time when Dr. Moberly wrote, it was widely current; and not only widely current, but all the more dangerous because it was latent rather than expressed. Indeed its influence was subtly felt through books of deservedly high reputation.

There were other arguments in the volume on which I should have liked to dwell; and I should have liked to dwell especially on the elevated moral purpose running through it all, its lofty conception of the Christian ministry, the high demand which it made for reality and earnestness of pastoral care. But it is more relevant on this occasion to point out how all that has been hitherto said as to the leading ideas of both books was deeply expressive of the mind and character of their author.

He was not, like most of us, a compound of conflicting tendencies—a little good here and a little bad there, sometimes the one uppermost and sometimes the other. Alike in mind and in character he was 'at unity in' himself.

The mind was a very remarkable one. I have known no other quite like it. It was, if I may call it so, essentially a *deductive mind*. The way in which it worked was by penetrating straight to the principle underlying the subject that he wished to explore, and then, when once he had laid hold of this principle, following out the clue in all its detailed ramifications, tracking it into each remotest corner of its applications.

He used to deprecate the idea of being credited with learning. And I could understand what he meant. He was not one of those who amass great stores of knowledge. He was not a reader of many books, though the books that he did read he digested thoroughly and knew accurately. But he was a thinker rather than a reader. And he had, as I have said, a wonderful power of getting to the heart of a subject, and, when once he had got there, working his way outwards from it, with a logic sure and unerring,—and that although no one could be more alive to the defects and limitations of logic.

Until he had reached the principle of a thing, he was at a loss and had nothing to say. He did not seem to make experiments or try to approach it little by little. But, when once he had caught the principle for which he was in search, words and thoughts came freely. And it must be rare indeed

to find a mind which, when once it was furnished with a principle, could apply it with such precision, with such fine and delicate discrimination of what came under it and what did not.

Add to this an extraordinary power of sympathy, an extraordinary sensitiveness to the emotional atmosphere — if I may so describe it — of the questions and persons with which he was concerned—and you will, I think, understand the unique gift of judgment that he brought to bear on matters public as well as private.

In a single word, he had the gift of *insight*—intellectual insight, and, above all, spiritual insight —beyond any one that I have ever known.

And now I will ask you to go back with me and consider what all this means in the sphere of religion. Think of one absorbed and dominated by this central idea of finding Christ or being found in Him. Think of it as the heart-blood pulsating through every artery and vein. And then ask yourselves in what relation these things that we so often call rather disparagingly 'forms and ceremonies' would stand to such a mind? Would it be possible for it to disparage them? Would it be possible for it even to separate them—to think of them separately—from the life within? Rather they would take—as they did take—their true place as the expression of that life, the body of which it was the soul.

If we reflect upon this, I think we shall see that it explains some little traits in our friend that to some perhaps stood rather in the way of complete understanding and appreciation. He had a certain elaborateness of manner, a certain scrupulousness of utterance, which—refined as it was—to some might seem rather in excess. The reason of it was not what in another it might conceivably have been. It was all absolutely real and absolutely sincere, but it was just a product of the extreme care and the extreme accuracy which were essential qualities of his mind.

'He nothing common did or mean.'

It was impossible for him to do it. Behind each smallest act or accent there lay the whole weight of a mind and character devoted through and through to the highest ends.

Little things like this—the higher gifts standing in the way of the lower—and a naturally retiring disposition, tended for a time to limit the range of his effective activity. But he was gradually finding his audience. He was gradually stepping into the place that belonged of right to him. His voice was heard, and would, I feel sure, have been listened to more and more in the Councils of the Church. His published books cast their seed upon the waters. He was surrounded by the reverence and love of those who had learnt from him.

We must bow our heads to the dispensation that has taken him from us. We may be sure that it has a meaning, however hard it may be for us to see it. The Master needs him elsewhere, and elsewhere he will be doing the work that the Master has for him to do. We will cherish his memory, and strive to profit by his teaching and his example. None of us can fill that vacant place; but the fact that it is vacant should be at once a call for new workers and a spur to those who are already working.

'We bless Thy holy Name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear; beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly Kingdom: Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.'

The Religious Value of Faith.

By the Rev. J. M. Hodgson, D.Sc., D.D., Principal of the Scottish Congregational Theological Hall.

Luther's familiar *dictum* respecting the criterion of a standing or a falling Church may be taken as an indication of the high value and efficiency commonly ascribed, and legitimately ascribed, to the principle of Faith. To the individual soul, Faith is certainly not less important and vital than it is to the community. In fact, there is no real meaning in the supposed Faith of a Church except in so far as it is the faith of its members.

From a scriptural standpoint, moreover, it

would not be easy to overstate the significance and religious value of Faith. We live by faith. In a very real sense, the achievements and blessings of Religion are all the achievements and blessings of Faith. No one who accepts the teaching of the New Testament will be disposed to question the assertion that Faith is the vital element in Religion. 'Without faith it is impossible to please God.' Christ could do no mighty works in Nazareth because of the unbelief of the people there. In the system of thought expounded by the Apostle Paul, Faith is evidently the central point. To him it was pre-eminently the element of spiritual character by which the believer is made righteous. He affirmed that it was the only spring of true righteousness—the righteousness which is not a thing of legal coercion, but a free, spontaneous, love-inspired obedience. 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness.'

Now, clearly, the more vital the function of Faith is felt to be, the more important it becomes to determine what Faith really is.

In former days, an artificial and unreal value was often given to Faith. It was described as, more or less, a merely arbitrary requirement demanded by God as the condition upon which His favour would be extended to men, and deliverance from the power and penalty of sin would be granted unto them. But in recent years the conception of Faith has become almost universal, which regards it as essential and beneficent because of its own intrinsic ethical and spiritual value.

The aim of the present paper is to inquire how far this view of the nature and function of Faith can be justified and sustained.

With a view to this investigation, and to the appreciation of what may be described as the Religious Value of Faith, it will be desirable to determine, first of all, what we are to understand by the term Religion itself.

In his sermon on 'What is Religion?' the late Principal Caird has pointed out that, 'In our relations to God there are certain feelings, emotions, aspirations, which are awakened within the devout heart; and again, there are certain notions, ideas, doctrines concerning God, and divine things which we form or accept as true. In which of these two kinds of experience does the essence of religion lie?' And he adds: 'In our own country, it has been in other days, and to some extent is still in our own, the tendency to confound Religion and Theology, and to reduce Religion in its ultimate essence too much to a thing of knowledge.' 'The analysis and systematic development of the doctrines of religion may indeed furnish fit occupation for the highest intellects; but it is by no such process that the essence of religion wins its way into the soul.' 'The believer no more needs to wait for proof of the reality of God and spiritual things than the musical ear for proof of the sweetness of the song to which it listens, or the sensitive eye of the beauty of the scene on which it is gazing.'

If it may be accepted as a correct definition of Religion that it is the practical recognition of our relation to a supernatural authority and power, it would appear that Religion must, in large measure, rest upon, and have its origin in, the sentiments of Wonder, Veneration, Dependence, and Hope. These sentiments and emotions cannot, it is true, reach definite objects without some help from the intellectual powers; but they owe not only their origin, but also their efficiency, to principles inherent in the soul of men other than those of the intellect.

Similar religious emotions may be associated with very different intellectual conceptions. What the particular conceptions shall be, in any instance, depends, of course, upon the state of the intellectual training and culture of the individual. If the intellectual faculties are feeble or imperfectly developed, the emotions may invest almost anything with the qualities which make it seem worthy of reverence and worship. Fetichism and the lower forms of nature-worship are only possible as types of religious sentiment and worship in connexion with the lowest phases of mental activity and development. Cultivated thought demands, and can only be satisfied with, ideal conceptions of beauty, excellence, and nobility. The conscious recognition of the finiteness and imperfection of all external things, and of all actually known persons, robs them of power to call forth the emotions of reverence and supreme admiration and homage. Rest and satisfaction for the emotional nature of those whose mental faculties have been developed are possible only in an absolute and ideal beauty and sublimity. The highest and most commanding ideals for human beings come, in fact, to be those of personal character—moral beauty and excellence. 'Our

ideals of perfection rise,' as Dr. Harris has said, 'in an ascending series till the mind rests in the All-perfect and All-glorious God.' 'The Ideal!' exclaimed Cousin; 'Behold the mysterious ladder which enables the soul to mount from the finite to the Infinite.'

Further, in all except the very lowest stages of intellectual development, ethical sentiments and feelings have been very closely associated with those of Religion. Religious sentiment, even in its lowest manifestations, can seldom exist without at least an element of ethicality,—in this sense, and to this extent, at any rate, that it calls for and prompts to some kind of active response to the relation which is recognized between the individual and the Supernatural Being in whose existence and in whose power over himself he believes. Apart from at least some form of superstitious observance or ceremony, it would be merely a vague and empty sentimental enthusiasm, a purely otiose emotion, which is a thing hardly possible for any except those who are in an almost infantile condition.

In a fuller and truer sense of the term, religious emotion becomes ethical only when the activity to which it prompts is an effort to realize an ideal of conduct and character which is felt to be morally worthy, alike of the Being by whose authority it is imposed, and of him by whom the effort is made. In this, the highest development of the religious emotion, there is, accordingly, combined with the sense of dependence, the consciousness of our active power, and of freedom to adjust ourselves to the claims which the supernatural is felt to have upon our practical response and service.

In short, the passive and the active elements are inseparably united in the religious sentiment and impulse, and in the expression of religious feeling and homage. In the true religious life, Reverence and Submission are combined with Imitation and Obedience. Both elements are essential. If either is lacking or defective, the result will be a mutilated religious character and life.

The primitiveness of the passive element in the religious nature of man has been well described by Newman Smyth. He says: 'The perennial source of religion, opened afresh in every new-born soul, is the feeling of absolute dependence. We feel our dependence as we come to feel our existence. This sense of dependence, which we find to be an integral part of our existence, is not merely a feeling of our limitation by outward objects, or of their resistance to our wills; it is a consciousness of absolute dependence for our existence and our individuality, upon something not ourselves, and not the world, which, like ourselves, is finite, and of which we perceive ourselves to be a part. We bring into subjection and become at least partly masters of the outward world; our dependence upon *that* we feel to be but limited; often in fact, and always in thought, we may rise superior to it; but we feel our dependence upon something other than ourselves and the things that appear, over which we have no power even in thought, and with regard to whose orderings we have no will but to obey. This is the religious feeling in its simplest form, the Feeling of Absolute Dependence.'

The active element in the impulses of our nature by which we are constituted religious beings, is the conscious possession of Power, whereby we may, at least to some extent, realize the Ideal of which we are conscious. This also, equally with the Sense of Dependence, is an essential element of the nature of man, by which he is distinguished from the inferior creatures. There is an instinct in human nature which impels men to strive towards the Ideal of Perfection, before which they bow in reverent dependence. The two elements cannot be separated. That upon which we feel our absolute dependence is identified with the ideal which claims not merely our reverence, but also our aspiration and our effort to become practically conformed unto it in a life of appropriation and of living fellowship with it. God, in short, is at once the Power upon which we feel our dependence, and the Authority which demands our reverent service. One part of our religious nature impels to Prayer, and Praise, and Worship; the other to Service, and Loyalty, and Communion.

As Dr. Morell has said: 'The absolute sense of dependence, unaccompanied by any other element, would only give the *analogue* to religion as seen in man, but not, humanly speaking, religion itself. The faithful dog often exhibits perfect dependence on his master, and we say (in metaphorical terms) that his perfect confidence in man is the dog's religion.' But this is not equivalent to religion in man.

Similarly, Reville also contends that, whilst 'Schleiermacher was right in recognizing the sentiment of dependence as forming an integral part of the religious sentiment,' he was 'in error in not having seen, or at least in not taking into account, that, in the religious sentiment, the sentiment of dependence is intimately mingled with the sentiment of union, of reciprocity, and of mutuality, which is no less essential to religion than the former. The analysis of the religious sentiment is complete only when we put on the same line these two primary factors—the sense of dependence in relation to the religious object, and the sentiment of union, real or to become real, between this object and the subject.'

In his *Philosophy of Religion* Sabatier gives expression to the same view in the chapter on 'Religion as the Prayer of the Heart.' He defines the essence of Religion as 'a communion, a conscious and voluntary relation, in which the soul in its need unites with the mysterious Power upon which it feels that itself and its destinies depend. This intercourse is realized by Prayer. Prayer, *that* is Religion in action, that is to say, real Religion. It is Prayer which distinguishes religious phenomena from all those which resemble or approach them, such as the ethical or the æsthetic sentiments. If Religion is a practical want, the response to that want can be nothing less than a practical action. Religion is nothing if it is not a vital act by which the whole soul attempts to help itself, in attaching itself to its supreme principle. That act is Prayer.'

Assuming, then, that the essential elements of Religion have been correctly stated and described, and that Religion subjectively regarded is a spiritual state in which the ethical principle of Freedom and the Sense of Dependence are blended and balanced, it follows that Faith, being the radical and essential element of a religious life, must itself consist of these two principles in harmonious combination.

The fact of the matter is, however, that this word 'faith' has been one around which, as Matthew Arnold has said, the ceaseless stream of religious exposition and discussion has for ages circled. And, in many quarters, partial and inadequate conceptions of Faith have been propounded and maintained.

The tendency, for instance, referred to by Dr. Caird in the words already quoted,—the tendency to confound Religion and Theology,—has found practical manifestation in nothing more conspicuously than in the widely prevalent misconception of religious faith, which regards it as virtually identical with belief in creeds or in doctrinal propositions. The grosser forms of this fatal error, belonging to days gone by, are too notorious and too generally acknowledged to-day to require any specific reference. But the mischief still persists, though in more subtle and delicate forms. The excessive importance, for instance, attached in some quarters to orthodoxy of opinions and views is due, in large measure, to this mistake.

Then, again, there is a type of teaching, for which it is sometimes claimed that it is preeminently gospel preaching and teaching, which apparently rests upon the notion that all that is needed for the commencement and maintenance of religious life is the acceptance of certain historical facts, or of certain propositions founded upon those facts, or upon the interpretation of them. The exhortation to 'Believe the gospel' often covers and implies the affirmation that mental assent to the facts and truths proclaimed is the sole essential qualification for a religious life.

We find, moreover, one-sided and distorted conceptions of the principle of Faith arising from the illegitimate severance of the two elements in the life of Religion—the spirit of dependence and the personal effort towards conformity and fellowship. The Pietist and the Moslem freely surrender and submit themselves to the Divine will, but feel called upon to make no effort towards the realization of an ethical ideal. The Rationalist and the Humanitarian, on the other hand, sneer at the idea of trustful reliance on Divine help, and proclaim an *autosoteric* doctrine of strenuous self-reliance.

Then, in yet another direction, the influence of erroneous ideas as to the nature of Faith is very manifest: the popular Protestant conception of Justification by Faith hesitates or refuses to credit Faith with any real ethical or religious value, and treats it as merely an arbitrary condition imposed as the ground on which the Divine Judge will pronounce a sentence of Justification. In his sermon on 'Is Unbelief a Sin?' Dr. Caird says that 'in the judgment of many it is difficult to see how faith, whether it be simply assent to facts or the acceptance of certain doctrines contained in

inspired books, can be made the condition of salvation. The doctrines which men educe from the informal and unsystematic language of the Scriptures depend largely on the canons of interpretation which they adopt, and these on the measure of their general enlightenment and comprehensiveness of mind. If the religious inquirer falls into doctrinal error more or less grave, if plausible arguments should betray his judgment into Pelagian or Arminian or Socinian opinions, or if he have the misfortune to come to the conclusion that the Athanasian dogmas concerning the Trinity and the Person of Christ are only meaningless metaphysical subtleties,—does this result, however much you may deplore it, prove anything more than the intellectual difficulty of forming correct theological opinions and the liability of the human mind to mistakes and errors—mistakes and errors for which neither God nor man can justly condemn us?'

What, then, is the Faith for which it can be claimed that it does possess religious value in that it secures to the believer the essential content of Religion, namely, the synthesis of Dependence and Freedom?

In the first place, such Faith must include the sincere adoption of the spiritual attitude which is appropriate to a being who is truly conscious of his absolute dependence; and, in the second place, it must include true desire and earnest effort to become completely conformed to the character of the Being upon whom he depends, and who constitutes for him the embodiment of his noblest ideals. In other words, Faith is, on one side, humble, reverent, trustful surrender; and, on the other side, willing, faithful, practical loyalty. As the principle of personal Religion, Faith is trust in the Divine Ideal, and loyal aspiration and struggle towards the personal realization of that ideal.

No doubt, Faith assumes a special aspect in the case of sinful creatures—that, namely, of Faith in the Divine Mercy and Grace. It is only in virtue of a Faith which recognizes the loving and forgiving character of God that those who are consciously guilty can surrender themselves to Him, in the hope that He will receive them and help them in their efforts in the future to reach the standard and ideal of obedience and goodness set before them. But this Faith in the forgiving love of God is only one aspect of that which is the abiding and universal principle of humble, reverent dependence upon God. Forgiving mercy is part of the nature and character of a Being who embodies ideal excellence; and the spirit of unreserved dependence and trust towards such a Being implies Faith in His forgiveness of sin. Such Faith is therefore an essential element in the attitude and conduct towards God which Religion prescribes. Faith acknowledges our own insufficiency and need, and utterly relies upon God in every relation, and in every department of experience, and for grace and help according to all our need.

It is impossible to conceive of anything more flagrantly irreligious than a self-conceited, self-reliant spirit, even though it be shown in the attempt to live an upright and worthy life. It is the very antipodes of that Sense of Absolute Dependence, in which, as we have seen, Religion fundamentally consists. True progress in goodness and religious culture is only possible to those who are fully conscious of their weakness, and who realize their constant need of help and strength from above. Humility and reverence before God are the vital nerve of all true Religion.

It has, indeed, been asserted by the late Dr. Mackintosh, in his *Natural History of the Christian Religion*, that the doctrine which Jesus taught was the precise opposite of this. He says that Christ's conviction and teaching were that 'man, at the bidding of the Ideal, has a power within himself to lay the cross upon his strongest inclinations, to practise self-renunciation, to enter the strait gate, to make righteousness the first object of his pursuit, to subjugate the tendencies of his lower nature, and so to become a member of the kingdom of God.' 'All true help,' he adds, 'could in the last resort come only from within in the form of self-help; not from the God above us, but from the God within us.'

Now, apart from the proved practical worthlessness of this doctrine of self-help,—proved by the experience of uncounted numbers who have put it to the test,—such a spirit of proud self-sufficiency, if to any extent it did succeed in producing apparently satisfactory results in outward conduct, would, at the same time, encourage and develop an intolerably offensive self-conceit. The true ideal of human character must needs include, on the contrary, such qualities as modesty, meekness, humility, and grateful recognition of indebtedness

to others. In short, Faith is the appropriate manifestation of the Sense of Dependence, natural and becoming on the part of a finite creature, towards the All-mighty, All-perfect, and All-gracious Being to whom he feels himself related.

Then, on the other hand, the reverent recognition of an Ideal Being to whom we are constrained to render admiring homage cannot but be accompanied with a desire to become conformed to the Ideal we honour. If God is felt to be really worthy of our reverent trust, in that He embodies our highest ideal of moral excellence, then conformity to His likeness must become the supreme object of our ambition and practical effort.

Of the New Testament writers, the Apostle Paul, owing doubtless to his early training, as well as to his natural disposition, has most clearly and strongly emphasized this, the practical side of the value and result of Faith. As Sabatier has said, 'The prime necessity of Paul's conciousness was righteousness.' As a Pharisee, the dominant aim and ambition of his life had been to establish his own righteousness. He had thoroughly tested the value of the autosoteric doctrine, and had proved its insufficiency. And when, as a Christian, he had come to realize how utterly futile his efforts had been, the conviction that Christ was to him the end of the law for righteousness became the key-note of his life and of all his teaching.

For Paul, therefore, whatever other aspect and element Faith possessed, it was, first of all, a principle standing in most vital connexion with righteousness. 'Israel,' he says, 'following after a law of righteousness, did not arrive at that law. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by works.' 'We establish the law through faith.'

The law itself was unable to secure the righteousness which it demands. 'Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doeth those things shall live by them.' But there is no man that keepeth the law. Moreover, obedience to a mere law of duty, however complete, falls short of true righteousness. Those who make it simply their aim to obey conscience, and to live a life of integrity and virtue in compliance merely with law and duty, are striving, in the apostle's phrase, after justification by the deeds of the law. The law makes nothing perfect,—not even the obedience to its requirements to which it may constrain men. The true righteousness is the righteousness which is by Faith, not a product of legal coercion, but a free, spontaneous, love-inspired service and obedience. As Schiller has said, 'The grand distinction of Christianity is, that it secures the observance of outward law by the inspiration of an inward life.'

Such a notion of Faith, on the other hand, as that which regards it as 'the giving our consent to the covenant of grace, so as to receive the benefit of justification, whereby God accepts us as righteous for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us,' is, as Matthew Arnold has said, 'mere theurgy.'

The Faith which has religious value is an active principle. It is no idle æsthetic admiration of ideal excellence; but it is a reverent, admiring homage which constrains to eager and unfaltering imitation. Neither is it a selfish reliance upon Divine Mercy and Help, but a surrender of self in loyal devotion to One who is felt to be worthy of service as well as homage. In short, Faith as the essential principle of religious life is reverent dependence upon One who, as a Living Person, embodies our Ideal of Perfection; together with enthusiastic longing and effort to become completely conformed to that Ideal.

Such Faith obviously demands and implies the real existence of the Ideal admired, trusted, and imitated. It assumes an objective reality corresponding to the subjective Ideal. There cannot indeed be, in any true sense, dependence on a merely abstract Ideal. It is impossible for a person to rely upon anything less or lower than a Person. The existence, therefore, of a Personal God may be affirmed to be a postulate of the Faith which is normal and germane to us as human beings. The sense of Absolute Dependence, so generally acknowledged as a fundamental element of the Religion which is natural to man, presupposes—unless it be sheer illusion—a Being in whom the Ideal is real.

The full and perfect Ideal of moral excellence is for us the supremely worthy of loving admiration, loyal service, and reverent worship; and we cannot but believe in the existence of a Being in whom that Ideal is actually realized. By our very nature itself we are constrained to seek after, if haply we may find, such a Being; and we cannot but welcome the manifestations of the Divine Ideal

in whatever measure they may appear to us. 'We needs must love the Highest when we see it.' In the lives of true and noble men we catch some glimpses of a principle and a power which are, we are persuaded, of God and from God. In the person, character, and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth we recognize the fullest exhibition of the Divine Ideal; and in a life of daily imitation of Him we feel that we most nearly approach the Ideal that we are bound to set before ourselves, and most truly enter into real and living fellowship with the Divine.

Our initial confidence in these spiritual impulses of our nature is subsequently verified and confirmed by the many happy results of surrender and obedience to their guidance and control. For, although the blessedness of a life of Faith is not the primary ground upon which we recognize its title to our loyalty and devotion, yet it is an endorsement and a seal to that title, and supplies a strong confirmation of our persuasion of the supremacy, the divinity, and the real, living actuality of the Ideal which we have made the object of our homage and pursuit. 'He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself.'

Recent Foreign Theology.

The Future of Norwegian Theology.

THE present issue of *Norsk Theologisk Tidsskrift* is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Fredrik Petersen, Professor of Systematic Theology in the National University, whose recent death is a grievous blow to the Norwegian Church and theology. The number contains only three articles—namely, a eulogistic tribute to Dr. Petersen by his friend and colleague, Professor Lyder Brun; 'The Influence of the Nineteenth Century on the Doctrine of the Atonement,' the last pages of which had not received Petersen's revision for publication; and a brief article by the deceased Professor on 'The Future of our Theology,' written only a day or two before his death, and with this note accompanying it: 'I cannot go to my grave without letting my views on this subject be known. Necessity is laid upon me to speak out now.'

Professor Fredrik Petersen was one of the most influential men in the Norwegian Church. During the last twenty-five years no Norwegian professor possessed such a power as he of influencing his students, of awakening Christian life and religious interest among them, and of getting them to tackle the study of theology in a scientific spirit. His predecessor, Gisle Johnson, was a great personality in Norway, with magnificent powers, but he had riveted on his students a cast-iron orthodoxy, with the result that theological interest almost died out in the land, and for long years there was a painful poverty of Norse theological literature and a sad looseness of theological thought in the preaching of the ministers of the State Church. But Petersen was himself a fearless thinker, and he exercised a liberating influence on the men who sat at his feet; he awakened their scientific sense, and called them to independent Christian thought.

Petersen was a gift of God to Norway, in an age when free-thinkers were making Christianity synonymous with stupidity and narrow-mindedness, and, along with the late Dr. E. F. B. Horn, he managed to drive back the assaults of free-thought that were threatening the whole religious and moral life of the land. Petersen's book, *How the Church ought to meet the Unbelief of the Present Day* (1880), opened a new era in the Christian thought of Norway, and broke definitely away from the trammels of the Johnsonian system. It conceded that the unbelief of the age met something more than the evil inclinations of the human heart. It also met an ideal longing—the longing for knowledge and for progress. The book appealed with fervour and power to Christians, that they should not first and foremost complain of the errors of unbelief, but should immediately remedy their own shortcomings.

But his most important contribution to theological science is *On Creation, Providence, and the Government of God.* Here he not only maintains the Christian faith in God in the face of all the arguments of natural science and philosophy, but also widens the traditional conception of God, that had been ossified in the age of orthodoxy

and whittled down in the age of pietism. By raising the Christian idea of God much higher than it had been before, it was possible to meet with confidence all the arguments of free-thought and science.

But Petersen was not quite in sympathy with the Erastianism of the Norse Church. His ideas of the Church and of baptismal regeneration were distasteful to many. He strongly maintained the necessity of personal conviction and salvation through faith; and this view of Christian individualism is now heard from many of the pulpits of the Church, as a result of his influence, and to the advantage of true religion in the land.

The Future of Norwegian Theology is a warning to the Government and the Church by Professor Petersen; and, being his last word to his country, it may be effective. The new Educational Code abolishes the classical departments in schools in Norway in the interests of *modern* and *practical* subjects, thus cutting off for Norwegian intellectual life, on the whole, the connexion with the highest intellectual fruits of the life of antiquity. Students will therefore reach the university at an age when it will be too late to receive a thorough grounding in languages, especially in the brief course of an over-weighted curriculum. The Church in Norway is part of the State. The Church Department, afraid, it appears, of overloading the students, has applied to the Theological Faculty of the National University inquiring if Hebrew could not be made an optional subject for the exit-examination in theology. The Faculty has naturally pronounced against such an option, maintaining that, if the present curriculum is too severe, relief must be obtained in some other way; but declaring that Hebrew is absolutely necessary for theologians, and that it will be a dark day for the Church if the acquaintance of the clergy with the word of God is confined to translations.

Petersen shows the advantage of being able to read the original documents; and he indicates that if Hebrew is given up, as a compulsory subject, it will not be long before the demand is made to make Greek optional also. And when Hebrew and Greek are only voluntary, exegesis must be given up; for the students will not know the languages which are to be interpreted and expounded. The preacher will have to stick to the translation he has; for he will lack the means of independently testing its accuracy. Thus the foundation of instruction in systematic theology will be removed, and so university theological instruction will sink to the level of grammar-school religious lessons. The next claim will be to remove theology itself from the university.

Petersen traces the whole action of the Department to the influence of the materialism and free-thought of the modern culture movement, which looks down on theology and religion. Its position is, that if any one cares to hold by these, that is his own affair, but the State should not pay for things like these. The Professor points out, however, that religion is not merely a private affair, but a concern of very vital public interest—an important link in the education and the working power of the community. He holds that the State injures itself and the country by leaving the clergy to provide for themselves the necessary acquirements, and yet, by their laws, making this practically impossible.

If Greek and Hebrew are to be optional subjects, ministers in Norway will be tremendously handicapped in their whole theological career. For religion without systematized knowledge and accurate acquaintance with the rudiments and the documents, in a land where culture flourishes, will be impossible and will in time lead to anarchy. Petersen holds that it is absurd to fancy that only the clergy and the Church need the old languages. When the free-thinkers were flourishing twenty years ago, they asked only for connexion with contemporary Europe. If any one mentioned the days of old, he was told that there were translations and summaries ready to hand. Dr. Petersen shows that in the literature and art of Greece and Rome we have treasures that cost a thousand years to form; these treasures were complete, and have remained unsurpassed since then. And what about Norway's own unique saga-literature of a thousand years ago? It must also be logically neglected for modernism. If a land cuts itself off deliberately from the past, it must suffer inestimably. Translations are no living connexion with the past. He asks: How much is really read in Norway in translations? If Norway takes this step of rejecting Hebrew from the theological curriculum, her only companions will be Chile and Argentine.

JOHN BEVERIDGE.

Dundee.

Budde's 'Samuel.'[1]

Happily, there is no controversy as to the composite character of the Books of Samuel. Long years ago, in circles where there was no idea of criticism as we understand it, devout and thoughtful men explained to their Sunday-school classes that the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of the First Book must have been drawn from different sources. And those who are still suspicious of the theories which have won such wide acceptance cannot shut their eyes to the fact that we here have duplicate accounts of Saul's appointment as king, his subsequent rejection by God, his tragic death, and many other events. But there is room for wide differences of opinion on the precise character and date of the sources and the possibility of identifying them with documents which have been recognized elsewhere. Budde's judgment on these points has long been before the public, and he has seen no reason to alter it. 'The oldest editorial work which we can trace in the Book of Samuel has simply united two original writings, and these writings were the summary of all that pre-exilic tradition which has been preserved for us in the Books of Samuel. . . . We must now inquire whether these sources can be more closely defined, that is to say, whether we can point to the same sources elsewhere, either in a narrower or a wider sense.' And the conclusion is that the only formula which will set forth the character of the more recent source is, '*A late stratum of E, drawn up in Judah, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom.* . . . It is not possible to furnish an equally convincing proof that J forms the older stratum, just because this very source opens out in a freer and more spontaneous way. Yet the close relationship with E weighs heavily in the scale, and the constant oneness of spirit with J, the close connexion with the preceding narratives which belong to that source, and the intimate correspondence with its views and language, are enough to lend a high degree of probability to this identification.'[2]

On this matter critics of well-deserved reputation are at odds with our author. Professor H. P. Smith, in his invaluable commentary, remarks: 'Repeated examination of the points of resemblance has failed to convince me of the identity which is claimed.'[3] He thinks that Budde's E section shows quite as many resemblances to D, and that the J portion is nearer to the stories which form the basis of the Book of Judges. Stenning, also, holds that Budde goes too far 'in *identifying* the later narratives with E.'[4] But Stenning is probably not opposed to Budde's actual opinion, for the latter has expressly stated that 'J and E are not persons, but extensive schools of writers, working alongside each other, in which I distinguish many successive strata, the mutual relations of which I can occasionally indicate by E^1 E^2 E^3, etc.'[5] And it is only necessary to turn to the new commentary on the first chapter, to see some strong points made against Smith. One cannot, indeed, recognize any compelling force in such arguments as that on p. 2: 'As E is unacquainted with Samson, so is J with Samuel's wars and victories; as Samson in J is marvellously promised and given to a barren woman, so Samuel here. The history of Samuel the judge therefore takes the place which Samson occupies in J, and without further argument must be ascribed to E.' There is no *must* about it. But there is force in the contention that 1^1, according to the restored text, is pre-Deuteronomic: no exilic or post-exilic writer would have represented an Ephraimite as performing priestly functions. And Smith omits to notice that his own admission of the resemblance betwixt 1^{11} and Gn $28^{20\text{-}22}$ (E) looks in the direction of the identification which he deprecates.

Budde uses mild language when he says that, with the exception of Ezekiel and Hosea, there is scarcely any other book of the Old Testament in which the *Text* is in so bad a state as that of Samuel.[6] It is so corrupt that for many years to come each succeeding critic will find sufficient scope for ingenuity, and still the last word will remain unspoken. The volume before us contains many improvements on previous attempts. There is much to be said in favour of its adoption of Klostermann's emendation of 1^9, notwithstanding that absence of external evidence on which Smith animadverts: וַתִּנַּח אַחֲרֶיהָ אָכְלָה בַּלְּשָׁבָה is not very dissimilar in form to וְתָקָם חַנָּה אַחֲרֵי אָכְלָה בְשִׁלֹה, and it gives an excellent sense. With it would

[1] *Die Bücher Samuel.* Erklärt von Dr. Karl Budde. Tübingen u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr.

[2] Pp. xvii ff.

[3] *Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, p. xxii.

[4] *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv. p. 384.

[5] *Das Buch der Richter*, p. xiv.

[6] P. xxi.

also correspond the reading which underlies the LXX rendering of v.[18]: וַתָּבוֹא הַלַּשְׁכָּתָה וַתֹּאכַל עִם אִישָׁהּ וַתִּשְׁתְּ; for this there is documentary evidence, and by accepting it we avoid the alternative of striking out וַתֹּאכַל on the poor authority of Syriac and five Hebrew MSS. At 3[13] מְקַלְלִים אֱלֹהִים has been recognized by every one to be an immense improvement on מְקַלְלִים לָהֶם; but מְקֹלֵם אֱלֹהִים is still better. Eli's sons can hardly be said to have cursed or blasphemed God; they did treat Him with contempt. In the note on the same verse we find Klostermann's suggestion of הִכַּח and Perles' of מִהַּה for כִּהָּה; the former is the more plausible, being not very unlike in form to the M.T. and giving the meaning which is required. The majority of recent students have acquiesced in the substitution of הָאַלְיָה (='the fat tail') for the meaningless הָעֶלְיָה of 1 S 9[24]. But the tail is never spoken of in the Old Testament as human food; it is one of the parts which, under the general designation חֵלֶב (='fat'), are reserved for the deity. Budde therefore accepts Skinner's view that וַיַּעֲלֶהָ or הָעֶלְיָה was first written on the margin by way of gloss and subsequently crept into the text. Smith's emendation, הַשְּׁאֵר for הַנִּשְׁאָר, is likely to hold the field against Budde's view; the latter would retain הַנִּשְׁאָר, explaining it as a polite formula, depreciatory of the value of the food, resembling our invitation, 'Come and have a bit of bread and cheese.' But the formula is deficient in the requisite politeness. To invite one to eat what is left is not complimentary. The note on 1 S 12[3] shows careful examination of the passage. The LXX καὶ ὑπόδημα; ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ points to וְנַעֲלִים עָנוּ בִי in place of the M.T. וְאַעְלִים עֵנַי בוֹ, and is now generally regarded as correct. It is also considered certain that the reading represented by the LXX has influenced the Hebrew of Sir 46[19], and most recent commentators see in it the same idea as in Am 2[6] 8[6]. H. P. Smith is an exception. He takes the Hebrew to be correct so far as it goes, but believes that עָנוּ בִי has dropped out through its similarity to עֵנַי בוֹ. Now Budde goes a step further and explains the phenomena: 'Through the great similarity of the two pairs of words, one pair was overlooked in the LXX and the other in the Hebrew, and the text of the LXX having thus become unintelligible, it was completed in accordance with Am 2[6] 8[6].' 1 S 14 contains many textual difficulties. The חֲדְרוּ נַם־הַמָּה of v.[15] is obviously wrong, and Smith professes his inability to do anything with the LXX καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἤθελον ποιεῖν. Both seem to be fairly well accounted for by Klostermann's חָדְלוּ מִמִּלְחָמָה = 'the garrison and the raiders ceased fighting.' It is doubtless in deference to Smith's conclusive arguments that Budde now reads the closing words of 1 S 14[18] as לִפְנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, not לִפְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, but he is right in preferring the correction עַד הִבֵּר to Smith's צַד הַבֵּר.

We must leave this tempting field of textual criticism and glance at some features in the exposition.

In the introductory remarks on chap. 3 it is said: 'Smith rightly observes that the idea of a revelation received in a dream is not here consistently carried out. This does not so much result from the fact that Samuel rises each time and runs to Eli—for the dream is so vivid that his eagerness to be of service awakes him,—but rather from the fact that, when Yahweh calls the third time, he returns the answer which Eli had prompted. But Smith is in error when he concludes that there is here no incubation-oracle, received during sleep. Samuel certainly sleeps this night, and falls asleep over and over again, as is indicated in Eli's שׁוּב שְׁכָב. The power of carrying over the proper answer out of the waking into the sleeping state is presupposed, and is in fact possible, for the appearance and speech of Yahweh are not thought of as a "mere" dream. Sleep during an incubation-oracle is not of the purely natural kind.' Yet Smith is not wrong. Oracles obtained by a process of incubation were deliberately sought by the worshippers who resorted to a sanctuary for that express purpose, and used certain prescribed methods to attain their end. Of all this our narrative has no trace. The lad is represented as living and sleeping habitually in this sanctuary and not expecting on this night anything out of the ordinary.

It may interest some readers to see our author's account of the ark, somewhat abbreviated, and worth completing by the perusal of his article in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for June 1898: 'The

ark is the only sacred thing belonging to Yahweh which is recognized by all our sources as pre-Canaanite and legitimate. JE's account of its being made at Sinai was set aside by the editors and replaced by P's in Ex 25: but Dt $10^{1ff.}$ proves its existence, and quotes it. JE takes the ark for granted, at all events in Nu $10^{35f.}$ and in the Book of Joshua. In the sentences which were to be uttered when the ark set forward and came to a stand (Nu $10^{35f.}$) those characteristics appear with great distinctness which are found in the section before us (1 S 4^{1}–7^{1}). First and foremost it is a holy thing connected with warfare: when it advances, Israel's enemies flee. It is not a mere symbol of Yahweh, it is the embodiment of Him, it is regarded as equivalent to His personality and addressed by His Name. In no passage are these two characteristics contradicted, although they appear less sharply in some than in others. The word אֲרוֹן everywhere, in cognate languages as well, means "a box," "a chest." . . . A chest gets its character from its contents. The ark of Yahweh, or, as the ancient name was, the ark of God, can only have acquired those characteristics by virtue of what its possessors believed it to contain. And this, according to D and P, was the tables of stone on which Yahweh's own hand had written the fundamental law. D calls them לֻחוֹת הַבְּרִית or briefly הַבְּרִית: P לֻחוֹת עֵדֻת or briefly הָעֵדֻת. Hence the name in the Deuteronomist—אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה or אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית, and the Priestly name אֲרוֹן הָעֵדֻת. We can not only understand, we can see how inevitable it was that in a later age, when God's presence and action amongst His people was more and more limited to the revelation of His will once for all in the law, people explained away the ancient faith of Israel in the personality and might of the ark as referring to the stone tables of the law. The religion of ancient Israel was not a book religion or a religion of the law, but one that held firmly to the person of its God. The contents of the ark must therefore have been such as would embody the person of Yahweh. If we are to accept what Deuteronomy is the first to assert, those contents must have been of stone: if we must also account for the number of the tables—which is not free from suspicion, seeing that the traditional number two plays a peculiar part—there were two objects of stone. Considering the significance which the מַצֵּבָה, the divinely inhabited stone, possessed in Semitic religion generally, and the ancient Yahweh religion in particular, it is natural to suppose that this is meant. It is not necessary to think of meteoric (Stade) or of sling-stones (Couard). But we must assume that the contents of the ark came from Sinai, Yahweh's abode outside the Holy Land. The simplest answer to the question how Israel, in its wanderings and in a foreign land, could be assured of the personal presence and effectual help of its God, would be given by a sacred, divinely inhabited stone from Sinai, which, when the consent of its Divine owner had been obtained, might be carried about, and, when the necessary conditions were fulfilled, might be inscribed. All the expressions of faith which were afterwards connected with it would thus find their ready explanation.' Assuredly, this would explain the attitude both of Hebrews and of Philistines in 1 S 14.

David's lament over Saul (2 Sa $1^{17\text{-}27}$) has given occasion to an objection against Budde's theory of the structure of the dirge, which he still insists is of lines having alternately three and two accents. That structure is not observed here. He replies that when *men* sing a dirge they take care to avoid the measure which the professional *female* mourners are bound to, and that, when the prophets adhere to it, it is because they are taking the place of the mourning women. It is, however, doubtful whether this reply ascribes sufficient importance to the fact of which Budde is aware, that Dalman, in the work reviewed in these columns last year, has shown it to be the custom for men to sing dirges in the presence of the corpse and on the way to the grave. And one is inclined to doubt whether the line of distinction was sharply drawn between male and female mourners in ancient Israel when we read verses like Am 5^{16}.

The author of this commentary knows how to estimate men as well as things. Here is a happy appreciation of Joab: 'Violent, and at the same time crafty; unalterably faithful, yet jealous for his own power; devoted and arrogant; he stands beside king David like Hagen by king Gunther, as his man of destiny, only that David's superior greatness makes him master of it. On more than one occasion we cannot tell whether he is following the mere impulse of his savage disposition or a mere political reason, meaning to spare his master

the necessity of coming to grave resolutions, taking on himself the odium of stern measures to save David from being foolish.'[1] And David's relation to the destruction of Saul's descendants (2 S 21^{1-14}) is judged far more wisely than by writers like Renan, who used this incident to asperse the character of the king. Abiathar, it is pointed out, was more likely than David to wish for revenge, and could with much greater ease influence the oracle: 'At all events, it is the usual procedure of a short-sighted and pettifogging method of historical writing to deny that a happy concurrence of events may work to the advantage of a truly great man, and to ascribe to his own action everything that makes for his benefit. Compare Bismarck in our day.'[2]

Budde has made this period of Old Testament history so peculiarly his own province, that we should have been surprised if he had not given us an interesting and helpful book. He certainly has not fallen short of our expectations. To any one who cares for the subject, the commentary is delightfully easy reading. And every page repays perusal.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

Modern Preaching.[3]

WE have in this book a valuable and original contribution to practical theology. The question of questions for every minister with a heart in his breast is, How can I preach with greater directness and power, how shall I so declare the gospel as best to stimulate and console the mind of to-day? Pastor Niebergall attacks the problem in the serious and relentless fashion which we expect in a German. First, he examines the N.T. writings, with a view to elicit and enumerate clearly the incentives and consolations used in the preaching of apostolic men. Next, he studies with care the occupant of the pew, man as he is in every age, and specially as he is to-day. Finally, he draws some inferences from these preliminary inquiries, and offers some hints to the modern preacher who wishes to make his message effective.

[1] P. 205. [2] P. 305.

[3] *Wie predigen wir dem modernen Menschen?* Eine Untersuchung über Motive und Quietive. Von Lic. theol. F. Niebergall. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. Pp. 181. London: Williams & Norgate. Price 3s. net.

In the first part, then, are discussed the sources of impulse and solace on which the preaching of the N.T. relies, and it will be seen that a scientific investigation of this subject is a welcome novelty. A good many pages are given to the teaching and preaching of Jesus, and we have been struck with the way in which Niebergall handles the gradation of motives to religion exhibited in the words of our Lord. Paul's master-thought, we are told with dubious accuracy, was not the idea of atonement through Christ, but the victory of the spirit over the flesh. But, like all other N.T. writers, the motive to which he most frequently has recourse is an eschatological one. For the speculative elements in Paul's theology our author has no great love, and he seems to take a rather low view of the addresses recorded in the Book of Acts. But the Johannine conception of the gospel moves him to the highest admiration. He sums up by saying that N.T. motives may be classified thus: they appeal either (1) to intramundane gains and advantages, or (2) to supersensible gains and losses, or (3) to Divine possessions and powers; all regarded as flowing from religious trust, in obedience to God as revealed in Christ.

So much for the seed, now for the field. Man is announced as the next topic—man as the subject and object of sermons. In some respects this second division impresses one as the least successful part of the book; the psychology proper is somewhat dull, for it lacks the touch and colour of first-hand observation, and scientific psychology is like poetry,—either good or bad, but intolerant of mere mediocrity. But when Niebergall proceeds to ask why people go to church, what heaven and hell mean for modern men and women, and why they dislike and distrust the clergy, he becomes absorbingly full of interest and life. The section in which we are shown how the bereaved like to be comforted is very German, and has a deal of human nature in it, though there is not a semblance of satire or untimely humour. Every minister might read with profit his remarks on the problem of regaining vital and sympathetic relations with educated people who never go to church. We may single out, as striking, two observations. The hopeful people among the churchless, he says, are those who hate materialism. And the supernatural element in Christianity seems to possess more attraction for outsiders to-day than the ethical.

The third part—on preaching to our own day—is the best of all, and into its effective treatment Niebergall has thrown all his strength. In the early sections on the theological presuppositions of preaching at the present time there is nothing distinctively memorable, though the statement given is clear and positive. The attitude of the writer is that of a reasonable and evangelically-minded Ritschlian. But most readers will like the practical chapters better. We can note only one or two features of salient merit. We have a fine passage on the personality of the preacher, expressive of a wholesome and manly aversion to the 'Sentimental Tommy' of the pulpit. On nothing does Niebergall lay more stress than on the need for a sound *realism* in preaching, *i.e.* a wise and genuine apprehension of human life as it is actually lived by our contemporaries, in home and market-place, in counting-house and drawing-room. The *Frau-Pfarrer* must do her best to prevent her husband's discourses from circling round a few pet ideas. Modern æsthetics suggest truth and simplicity as the cardinal points in a good sermon. 'The Christianity of a sermon is to be found in this, that it seeks to satisfy the deepest cravings of the soul for the peace of forgiveness, for the new power to live in the Holy Spirit, for eternal life in God, by bearing witness to Jesus Christ, in whom these blessings are ours.'

We would particularly recommend to readers that section of the book in which Niebergall expounds the ideals and methods of some of the best preachers in modern Germany. The names selected are, Schrenk, Idel, Gerok, Dörries, Bitzius, Hilty, and Naumann, and they range from Methodist to Broad Church doctrine. We can testify that not one word too much is said in praise of Pastor Naumann, who, if any one, deserves the title of prophet to the men and women of to-day. His wonderful *Andachten*, by their simple elemental power, their lucid and piercing historical vision, their poetry, their tenderness, their living and plastic thought, and the spiritual flame of devotion to Christ which moves and burns in every line, have sent the gospel home to many a soul that had come near to despair. Few like him have both a mind for the dark riddles of the age, and a heart for its pangs. But Niebergall has much to say of all these modern masters, from which we can learn better what a sermon should be.

What we have chiefly to complain of in this volume is a certain lack of arrangement, especially in the third part. Cross-divisions are not wanting, and, as usual, they hamper the progress of the thought. We are not now concerned to signalize or to prove the inadequate character of certain doctrinal positions assumed in the course of the argument, for it is not as a work on systematic theology that the book comes before us. Enough to say with emphasis that it is an honest, eager, Christian book, full of ardour, insight, and good sense, loyal both to the highest traditions of the evangelical pulpit and to the intellectual demands of an age which is sometimes a little bewildered by its own enlightenment.

H. R. Mackintosh.

Aberdeen.

Recent Studies in Kant.

Professor Weis advances the claim that his work,[1] if not a complete critique of Kant's work on pure reason, is yet a critique of pure reason, and not an unseasonable one. It is made, he affirms, from the standpoint of the practical reason, that is, from the science of experience. Kant, he says, saw the source of positive knowledge in the practical use of reason and in experience. Weis hopes more justice will thus be done to Kant's merits than by those who, in their contempt of experience, keep before them only the pure reason rejected by Kant. He claims to be the first who has viewed the whole critique of Kant from this standpoint of the science of experience. It is slightly surprising that such a claim should be possible, for it seems to one no such unfamiliar thing that the *Critique* should be so viewed, even though this elaboration might be wanting. But at least it is well that so express a study should have been made. Only, here one cannot think it likely to make quite the same appeal to purely philosophical students as a work of more speculative character would have done. And when Dr. Weis makes so much of experience in connexion with the *practical* reason, it may be well to recall the words

[1] *Kant: Naturgesetze, Natur- und Gotteserkennen. Eine Kritik der reinen Vernunft.* Von Professor Dr. L. Weis. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1903. Pp. viii, 257.

of Reinhold: 'Experience is, properly speaking, the final ground, the foundation, upon which the glorious structure of the *Critique of Pure Reason* has been reared. The view of perception being connected in a regular and necessarily determined order, which is accepted as a *fact*, forms the basis of the Kantian system.' This has to be kept in mind no less than Kant's antipathy, as a rationalist, to sense and his distrust of experience, under the same influence. Weis has, however, given us a painstaking, independent, and valuable study of Kant.

We come to the first main division of the work. The author gives an interesting account of his reasons for leaving the pure reason behind—for the practical. We think, however, that stronger speculative instincts will always find the Königsberg philosopher's treatment of pure reason not so easy to leave behind. Weis begins with Kant's theory of the heavens, in his endeavour to show what Kant understood under laws of nature, and thereafter sets forth the contradictions between Kant's teaching there and that in the *Critique of Pure Reason.* He attributes the contradictions to the categories, and shows how necessary their adoption was to Kant. He sketches briefly the historic development of philosophical representations, showing how both Plato and Kant postulated, for the beginning of things, God as Source and Ground of all form and order—both, however, making Him only the Fashioner of already existent matter. With this is connected a discussion, from the standpoint of the newer science, on matter and the forces of nature. Coming to the categories, Weis declares the practical reason to be the reason of science, and shows what this imports. The remaining chapters of this section of the book deal with what Kant makes pure reason say on intuitions, appearances, and representations.

The second principal division of the work is occupied with the negative positions of the critique, that is, with the ideas of pure reason. Here our author deals with the cosmological conflict, the proofs of the Divine existence, the discipline of pure reason in dogmatical and polemical aspects, and other matters of like interest. Third, the last main division of the book. Here Weis shows how Kant, with the help of experience, comes to positive knowledge, within the sphere of religion and morality. One of Kant's chief merits is taken to be: his recognition of religion and morality as belonging to the world of experience.

The exposition is conducted by means of exact and pertinent quotations from Kant, and the style is clear and good. The work is conceived in a deeply religious spirit; in fact, the author tells us he has been blamed as an apologist of Christianity. For this he may be the more readily forgiven, since there are too many scientific men in Germany to-day for whom no such forgiveness is needed.

The welcome study[1] of Fritz Medicus is prompted by the circumstance that the oft-repeated cry of the last forty years, 'Back to Kant,' has yet produced no helpful monographic treatment of Kant's philosophy of history. References have been made to Kant's views on history in comprehensive treatises, but these have left many a thing unsaid. The task of the work before us is therefore one for which we are grateful, though every one knows that history was not the strong side of Kant. Nor were the great Idealists, to whom the philosophy of history owed so highly significant an advance in late times, Kantians in the narrow sense of the term. Our author's plea is put in for Kant, as having laid clear scientific beginnings of those thoughts on the philosophy of history which were afterwards so fruitfully developed.

Fritz Medicus takes the problem to be, What does Kant understand by the philosophy of history? What questions does he seek in this connexion to answer? By the aid of many a relevant quotation from Kant's writings, our author works out his interesting way, and we can but note some of his results. Negatively, Kant's inquiries into the philosophy of history are no discussions on historic method. Positively, the philosophy of history is to Kant moral teleology; it is to him the meaning of history for practical philosophy, not for history as theoretic science. History is to Kant the history of freedom—practical freedom, autonomy. The problem of freedom is originally, with Kant, a metaphysical—more strictly, a cosmological—one. Kant found the clue to a valuation of things historic in the new conception of the destination of mankind—

[1] *Kant's Philosophie der Geschichte.* Von Fritz Medicus. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard, 1902. Pp. 82.

not happiness, but conflict with hindrances. This supplied the thought-impulse in the Kantian philosophy of history; its epistemological roots lay in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. But it is soon joined by another tendency issuing from Kant's *Metaphysic of Morality*, namely, the idea of freedom. These two tendencies, united, furnish the leading motive of all idealistic philosophies of history; the realization of the idea of freedom is the task of the human race. In the *Critique of Judgment*, where Kant works this out, one may find the foundation for a critical philosophy of history. But I would point out that this Kantian conception of freedom calls for criticism. To insist on the moral value of freedom is well; but is the insistence backed by a satisfactory metaphysical grounding of freedom? Was Kant's a merely abstract freedom? Or was it a force determining the world through power of genuine choice? Such questions cannot be shirked. It should be added, that both the method of attacking the problem of the philosophy of history, and the various attempts at solution, are dealt with in this skilful and meritorious performance.

JAMES LINDSAY.

Kilmarnock.

The Sacraments in the New Testament.[1]

BY PRINCIPAL THE REV. ROBERT RAINY, D.D., EDINBURGH.

IN an address delivered to the Theological Society of New College, Edinburgh, Canon (now Bishop) Gore, contemplating the question how various schools and sects of Christians could be brought together, pleaded with impressive emphasis for a return, on the part of all alike, to fresh and candid study of the acknowledged sources. Effort in this direction is, in fact, characteristic of current Christian literature; but effort is not always sound in method, nor adequate in resource. Mr. Lambert's effort, on the other hand, is admirable on both grounds. The subject of the Sacraments has its own difficulties; these have been wonderfully magnified by 'the subtlety of men'; and a large recent literature has grown up about them. Mr. Lambert knows this literature, critical, exegetical, and theological; and he has furnished a welcome guide through the mazes of the modern discussion. In dealing with negative critics, with mystical High Churchmen, with exegetical problems, and with biblical theology, he is admirably sane and helpful; he is so, alike in the positions he maintains and in those which he recognizes as doubtful or untenable.

Mr. Lambert recognizes that the nature and meaning of Baptism and the Lord's Supper must be the subject of the inquiry, for the N.T. does not lay down a theory of sacraments in general. These two ordinances, therefore, must be separately studied; four lectures are devoted to Baptism, five to the Lord's Supper. In regard to each of them, the lecturer has to keep in view both ancient and modern developments—both the ancient exaggerations of sacramental mystery and sacramental efficacy, and the modern criticism which denies that Christ instituted Baptism, and that He designed the Supper to be a permanent observance in the Church. The two sets of Lectures (ii.–v. and vi.–x.)—for they are really two sets—are very fine historical studies; and they will have to be kept in view by future students. They are marked equally by candour and by firmness; while a certain ease and felicity in dealing with pretentious theories is very observable—perhaps most of all in the opening lecture. We may refer, for example, to the way in which the 'sacramental principle,' as pleaded in recent Anglican books, is explained and exposed, pp. 9–11.

The assertions of negative criticism have to be discussed, and in the end we shall be the better for having had to discuss them; yet they are often too paradoxical to lay any strong hold on the general Christian mind. The same cannot be said of the Roman theory, which may be described as that of salvation by sacraments. That has very powerfully impressed many minds, chiefly indeed for extra-biblical reasons; but it does also claim biblical support. Therefore, while some readers

[1] *The Sacraments in the New Testament:* Being the Kerr Lectures for 1903. By Rev. John C. Lambert, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Demy 8vo, price 10s. 6d.

may find a special interest in the portions of the Lectures dealing with the subversive critical theories, because these lead into fresh fields of argument, others will turn with more interest to Mr. Lambert's way of dealing with High Church theories of sacramental efficacy; and, of course, this subject has its own place in the Lectures. Mr. Lambert has a firm hold of the essential Protestant view and of the grounds on which it is maintained. The argument in favour of Roman Catholic and High Anglican teaching on this subject really comes back to the sacrament of Baptism; it depends wholly on what can be established with regard to that. It is supposed that certain New Testament utterances afford ground for High Church views of the efficacy of Baptism; and then, by equity of construction, as it were, the same general conception is extended by teachers of that school to the Lord's Supper, and also to other ordinances or ceremonies supposed to possess the same general character. No doubt, great importance is also attached by High Churchmen to the texts regarding the Lord's Supper, in interpreting which they differ so decidedly from the Reformed. But then, while those texts, so interpreted, are made to affirm a remarkable change in the substance of the elements, they do not say anything that can be claimed as teaching High Church doctrine about the influence exerted on the spiritual condition of men. For this, as has been said, controversialists must come back to Baptism. Language is used regarding Baptism in some passages of the N.T. Scriptures which is claimed as lending countenance to Romish doctrine with regard to that sacrament. To settle the real meaning of those statements is one part of the task undertaken by the lecturer. He deals with it, partly by close exegetical study of the context and of the precise terms of the passages in question; partly, also, by a full statement of the mind of the N.T. writers regarding the way of salvation, as set forth in their writings generally. The place and value of both methods have great justice done to them in the Lectures.

We should have little to add to what the lecturer has said on this branch of the subject; indeed we believe that his positions, rightly understood, cover all we should care to say. We may remark, however, that sometimes expressions are used which suggest to ordinary ears a needlessly bare conception of the sacraments (*e.g.* of Baptism), and so tend to weaken the argument. In dealing with the question, What is meant when it is said, 'Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord'; or, 'He saved us by the bath of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost'; or, 'As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ,' it is obvious that we should, no doubt, be on our guard against overstating what Baptism was ordained to do, but that also, on the other hand, we should have present to our minds the full biblical significance of the ordinance; for that must furnish the explanation of those and like texts, in so far as Baptism is referred to in them. We know how difficult it is on this subject to use language that shall not be liable to misconstruction on one score or other. But when, for instance, we find it said in the Lectures that Baptism 'in its inmost essence was no more than the sacrament of the public confession of faith in Christ, and so of union with the visible Church' (p. 140, and equivalent phrases elsewhere), we feel indeed that we can make room in those terms for the substance of what we ask for. But we miss something; and we doubt whether the apostle, whose teaching is there described, would have chosen words like these to express it.

There are two considerations which Mr. Lambert appeals to repeatedly, and most reasonably, in explanation of the way in which Baptism is sometimes referred to. One is the close connexion in time between Baptism on the one hand, and the earliest profession of faith by converts on the other, which obtained in early Christian days. The epoch of Confession and the epoch of Baptism all but coincided. The other is the 'tremendous psychological importance of Baptism to those converts,' as carrying home to their consciousness and their conscience the sense of forgiveness and the realization of their transition into a new sphere.[1] In explaining these, especially the latter, Mr. Lambert makes us feel that there is no real difference between him and us. But perhaps there is room for further considering the 'psychological importance' which Baptism was meant to have, not only in earlier but also in later days, and the grounds on which that must rest. Mr. Lambert has a firm hold of the principle that sacraments presuppose faith,—to faith they address themselves, and to faith they disclose their significance. But,

[1] See pp. 110, 152, 168, 190.

that being supposed, why not frankly say that Baptism is to faith the seal, not merely of union to the visible Church, but of regeneration, of forgiveness, of the beginning of the new life and all which that implies. It is so, certainly, after the manner of a sacrament; but in that character it surely embodies not merely our confession before men, and not merely our relation to the Church, but first and most our relation to the Lord Himself. We do not doubt that Mr. Lambert thinks so, but he seems to us sometimes to shrink from explicitly saying so.

We desiderate, in fact, an eleventh Lecture, to gather up and set forth what the New Testament suggests as to the doctrine of sacraments, *i.e.* as to their place and use and benefit. It is most true that we have no chapter of doctrine concerning sacraments, as such, in the New Testament. It speaks only, as occasion arises, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. But, not the less, it gives the material and the suggestions towards a doctrine that will cover them both; and surely the field of contemplation thus opened has its own interest and profit.

God deals with us by His word, not the less really that His word comes to us through men, and is by us too often ill dealt with when it comes. But it is most interesting that, about the very same things, He proceeds further to deal with us by institutions — outward administrations that are events in an experience. Why this should be so —the place, the use, the benefit of it—is a most rewarding topic. Then the nature of these institutions. In the word God speaks to us, — in prayer, or in the act of faith, we reply to Him. But in a sacrament He and we are acting both at once. He has appointed the washing, and we have come to be washed. He has appointed and gives the bread and wine, and we take and eat. His hand and our hand meet. We strike hands, confirming it that our hearts have met and are meeting in regard to benefits which are as definite as they are priceless.

We feel sure that Mr. Lambert has another Lecture in his head, which, when it appears, will let us see how the N.T. teaching reaches out to the sacramental doctrine of the Shorter Catechism.

We have no criticism and no suggestions to offer in regard to the Lectures on the Lord's Supper. The various questions seem to us to be very wisely and effectually dealt with. We should like to add that, without any parade of arrangement, Mr. Lambert has taken his topics (which recent discussion has made many and miscellaneous) in a happy, natural order—easy to read and to remember.

Why Jesus did not Answer.

By the Rev. John Reid, M.A., Dundee.

'We cannot tell. . . . Neither tell I you.'—Matt. xxi. 27.

Sometimes a feeling of perplexity comes over us at our Lord's refusal to answer certain questions. Here, for instance, is a question put to Him by the responsible rulers of the people. 'By what authority doest Thou these things, and who gave Thee this authority?' Why should He not answer? Surely it was an opportunity of letting them know the truth. Here at last, we might say, He is face to face with the men whose influence would be of the greatest value to Him, who even had a right from their position to put the question. Yet He practically refuses.

Then we see that this refusal exposed Him to grave misrepresentation. These rulers and all who were opposed to Him might now say, 'He is a pretender. He can make great assertions and claims before the people who are ignorant, but when the rulers ask Him to give an account of Himself He has nothing to say. He evades their questions. He cannot say before them what He says outside. Listen to Him no longer. He is discredited.'

Then, again, the reason for refusing to answer the question seems somewhat trivial. It looks as if He did not wish to answer. What had His question, as to whether John the Baptist come from God or not, to do with the question they had put to Him? John was dead. All questions

about him were ended, were buried in his grave. The rulers might have said, 'We do not want to talk about him. He does not concern us. We want you to give a plain answer to a plain question about yourself.'

We feel the force of these thoughts, and the need there is to meet them. Certain we are that the question about John was not an evasion. There must be some deep, true, significant reason for making their answer to that question a condition of their receiving any answer from Him. What was it?

We must remember that He was being questioned by men who had already refused to accept the testimony of His words and works. They could not deny the things which He did, but, instead of seeking out their significance, they came with a question as to the authority by which He did them. 'The things' which He did had no weight with them. They wanted something beyond 'the things.'

The authority which Jesus could give them was not formal but spiritual, and could be accepted only by men who had the faculty of recognizing spiritual things. He must test them as to this before He said anything more. He must not cast His pearls before swine. Were these rulers capable of recognizing God's messengers? Was it truth they were seeking, or merely an occasion of 'rending' Him? Would it do them any good to answer their question, or would it only lead them into deeper sin? 'Tell Me,' He said, 'what you think of John? Was *he* a prophet sent by God, or was he only a man with a message of his own?' Their ability or inability to recognize a spiritual authority would be evident by their reply. If ever a man gave proof of having the authority of God, it was John. Which of all the prophets of the past had more convincing attestations? His power of conviction, his righteous message, his dauntless courage, his unstained character, his martyr death,—were they not the witnesses to the fact that he derived his authority from God? None but the wilfully blind, none but he who had a purpose of his own to serve, could deny the conclusion to which they pointed. His was a test case. The rulers felt it to be so. They were on the horns of a dilemma. If they said he was of God, Jesus might say, 'Why did ye not believe him?' If they said, 'Of men,' the people might have something to say to them, for they had no doubts about John's authority. The rulers had no thought of the way of escape between the horns of the dilemma. It never occurred to them, as our Lord suggests in the Parable of the Two Sons, which immediately follows, that, though they had refused to believe in John at first, they might afterwards have repented and done so. To have done that, would have been a proof of possessing some spiritual faculty to which, though weak, Jesus could make appeal. When they said, 'We cannot tell,' they revealed their unwillingness to recognize any spiritual authority. It involved certain responsibilities which they did not wish to contemplate. It was not authority they were seeking, but an unguarded answer, which would enable them to make a charge against Him. They would not receive His witness, as they had not received the witness of John. Jesus refused to give an answer to such men. They would but add to their guilt in rejecting John, the greater guilt of rejecting Him. In judgment and in mercy the answer was refused.

In this refusal there is a great moral and spiritual principle which touches our lives still. Some there are who are crying for 'more light.' They ask great questions, demand enlightenment, information, authority. 'Tell us this, tell us that, that we may believe.' Before there is the slightest hope of a reply, one thing must be made clear. Is it truth which is sought, sincerely, with a readiness to accept all its consequences and responsibilities? How have you used the light you have? Have you walked by that, lived up to that? You say, Tell us plainly—How did Jesus being God become man? How did He die for our sins? Explain our difficulties. Yes; but what has been your attitude to the right and wrong which you know, to the truth and falsehood which are plain, to the voice of conscience which speaks of duty? Our relation to these minor questions determines our ability to receive any illumination on higher matters. Even a confession of failure to use aright the light we have had is an indication of fitness for instruction. Not a ray of further light comes to the man who is not sincere. The light we have must be used if we would gain more. If men will not yield an honest allegiance to the truths they know, they are not capable of receiving other truths, even though they profess to seek them. It is they who do the will of God

who are convinced of the doctrine, but it comes from God. The right as we see it must be obeyed, if we would catch the higher vision of its august and divine beauty. We must follow Christ as we believe in Him, if we would secure the higher faith that makes us one with Him.

This law of life works in every sphere of human activity. The student of nature need not hope to know any of its higher secrets until he has mastered its simpler problems. The artist cannot succeed in portraying the loveliness of the human form until he has exercised his faculties in the simplicities of line and curve, of light and shade. The child cannot read a simple story unless it has learned the A B C, and has acquired the ability to recognize the significance of the grouping of the letters. The pianist may wish to play a nocturne or a ballade of Chopin, but the master continues to insist on scales and exercises. The mastery of the simple is the indispensable condition of progress. Many in the practical work of life complain that they are not promoted—that others are advanced over them. They are emphatic in their accusations of favouritism and influence. But, after all, though favouritism and influence are often at work, the broad general rule is that nothing promotes like merit—nothing succeeds like deserving it. Even in the life of holiness, the great law of which we are speaking, rules. Men ask for spiritual grace or power, and have not because they ask amiss. Men often pray, not because they feel their need and that they may get grace for higher service or harder struggles, but that their life as they live it may be easier. Let not such think that they will obtain anything from the Lord. It is by using the grace we have that we acquire the capacity to receive more. It is by doing earnestly the duty which lies nearest, that we obtain the knowledge of the duty which comes next, and the grace whereby it, too, is to be done. Somewhere Browning has put the matter plainly when he makes one of his characters say, 'I see a duty and do it not; therefore I see no higher.'

Like all the laws of God, this law works in judgment and in mercy. In judgment, because a man who is untrue to the light he has is condemned to the penalty of darkness. Therefore Jesus says, 'For judgment came I into the world, that . . . they which see might be made blind.' But in mercy also. It is enough that men should be condemned by the little light they have neglected. In mercy the greater light is hidden, lest it should be misused and bring men into yet greater condemnation.

The Testimony of the Tomb.

By the Right Rev. C. J. Ellicott, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester.

'He beholdeth the linen cloths lying, and the napkin, that was upon His head, not lying with the linen cloths, but rolled up in a place by itself.'—John xx. 7 (R.V.).

These words will indicate the nature and character of the sermon which I am now about to preach to you on the morning of this most blessed day.[1] My sermon will be short, and will simply dwell upon the deeply interesting considerations connected with the visit of St. Peter and St. John to the tomb of our Lord, and especially with the impression produced on the mind of St. Peter, and subsequently of St. John, by the appearance of the linen cloths, and their separation from the napkin which had been folded round the Lord's head, and was seen to be in a place by itself.

[1] Preached in Gloucester Cathedral on Easter Day.

Such simple details, it might be thought, could never form the basis for an evidential sermon, and could never justify a preacher in claiming for them, as I shall presume to do, the elements for a deeper and clearer understanding of the actual circumstances of our Lord's resurrection, and be cited as witnesses of its truth and reality.

Let us, then, enter for a short time into a somewhat close consideration of the details which an apostle, we cannot doubt, was moved by the Holy Ghost to record for our learning and for the confirmation of the fundamental truth which Easter

Day sets forth, and will set forth and commemorate till time shall be no more.

We begin, then, with the guiding and salutary thought that the details into which we are now about to enter were not merely the lingering remembrances of the aged apostle, but were facts which were felt by him to have the fullest significance. We necessarily commence with the facts connected with the Lord's burial.

Our dear Lord was, as we well know, on the evening of His crucifixion, placed in a new tomb, 'hewn in stone,' as St. Luke describes it, and wherein was never man yet laid. They whose hands placed Him therein were two disciples—the righteous Joseph of Arimathea, and the faithful and generous-hearted Nicodemus, who brought with him, as St. John especially tells us, his truly princely offering of a hundred pounds weight of myrrh and aloes. These two disciples—for they were disciples—bound up the sacred body, St. John tells us, with linen cloths, the mixture of myrrh and aloes being placed freely between every fold; and thus, not probably without effort, they bore the body to its resting-place in the tomb, wound the napkin round the holy head, rolled into its place the large circular stone that closed the entrance, and straightway departed; for the great festival Sabbath was very nigh at hand.

And here a profoundly solemn question presents itself to our thoughts. While the holy body was thus resting in its honoured tomb, where was the soul and spirit that had dwelt in it? Here we might be content with the simple and certain answer, 'in Paradise,' were it not that two passages in that Epistle of hope, the First Epistle of St. Peter, do, in my judgment, fully warrant our giving the more inclusive answer, 'the realm of the departed,' and do also permit us to realize the holy purpose, namely, that all humanity, the dead as well as the living, might hear, yea even from the Lord Himself, His own everlasting gospel.

But on this difficult question our present subject forbids us to linger. We are now solely occupied with the return of the Lord's soul and spirit to the body that He had left; and on that return and on the circumstances of that return, so far as revealed to us, we must now exclusively dwell.

We return, then, to the tomb. The first Easter morning was just and only just beginning to dawn. An earthquake shakes all things around the tomb; the affrighted guard flee into the city; an angel of the Lord, St. Matthew tells us, descended from heaven, rolled away the sealed stone and sat thereon, proclaiming, as it were, to angels and to men, by the sublime character of his presence, that the spirit of the Lord had returned to His body; that the tomb was open and empty, save of tokens that it had been the resting-place of the body, to which the soul and spirit had now in all fulness returned. All mankind, as it were, in the person of the affrighted women, who were now drawing near to the tomb, were invited to come and see the place where the Lord lay. And in the course of that day, beyond all doubt, very large numbers did come to see the place, and the mysterious tokens of its occupancy.

It is to those mysterious tokens, especially as seen by the two apostles, St. Peter and St. John, that we must now very carefully turn our attention.

As the Gospel for this holy day very circumstantially tells us, the two apostles went in great haste to the tomb, on the startling report of Mary Magdalene (who had gone thither very early) that the stone had been rolled away from the tomb, and, as her fears at once suggested to her, that the holy body had been borne away, whither she knew not. The apostles run with anxious speed to the tomb. The younger man arrives there first, finds the stone removed, and, as the carefully chosen Greek word seems to imply, merely looks in, and sees that the linen cloths were plainly lying unremoved. St. Peter soon comes up, and with characteristic impetuosity enters the tomb, and—as we are reminded by the change in the Greek verb and in the order of the words—beholds, or gazes on, the linen cloths as they were lying before him. He arrives, it would seem, at once at the conviction that the holy body had not been borne away, but, in some inexplicable manner, had left the linen cloths, and also left the napkin that had been placed on the sacred head still folded, but lying apart—it may be, on the ledge whereon the head may have rested during the hours of interment.

St. John now entered the tomb, and not only arrived at the same conviction as St. Peter, but believed, namely, that what they beheld (the linen cloths and the enfolded napkin) bore silent testimony to that of which their Lord had spoken to them, but which they had never rightly understood or realized—the rising again from the dead.

We now come to a point of very deep and, it may rightly be said, instructive interest. What

was the exact appearance of the grave-clothes on which the gaze of the apostles had anxiously rested? Two opinions there are, one of which may perhaps be regarded as the general opinion entertained by those who have dwelt reverently upon the details which St. John has been moved to record of the tomb and of what it contained. And the opinion is this, that the two holy angels whom Mary Magdalene had been permitted to behold, sitting one at the head and one at the feet where the body of the Lord had lain, that these two holy watchers had the blessed privilege of ministering to their Lord when His spirit re-entered His crucified body, and that it is to their ministry that we must attribute the carefully ordered position of the things within the tomb, as they were seen and noted by the two apostles. Such, very distinctly, was the opinion of the thoughtful and spiritual expositor Bengel, one of the very few interpreters who have noticed the matter at all. Such also was my own opinion till quite recently. But the publication, a year or two ago, of a singularly persuasive and carefully thought-out volume, entitled *The Risen Master*, written by Dr. Latham, then Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge—now, alas! no longer with us—has led me to reconsider the whole profoundly interesting question. This reconsideration has led me to give up my former opinion, always felt by me to involve difficulty in its prosaic homeliness, and to accept the more lofty and in many respects more suggestive view entertained by Dr. Latham, viz. that all things remained in the tomb just as they had been placed in it by the pious hands of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, until the mysterious moment of the return of the Lord's spirit to the body from which it had been parted on the cross. When that return took place, it seemed clear to me that the holy body would at once be endued with new powers and properties, and that the opinion that the holy body passed of itself out of its surroundings could be fully justified. Under such a conception, the linen cloths and swathing bands would remain unremoved and unchanged, save that their form would indicate that a body had been within them, which now had been withdrawn, and had left only the trace of its former presence—the napkin, which before had been with them, being now separated from them and put apart in a place by itself. It was on this strange but self-revealing appearance that the gaze of St. Peter rested so earnestly. It was seen (another verb here is used) by the other apostle, and at a glance all became clear; memories of what their dear Lord had said to them on the mount of the Transfiguration came back to his mind, and he realized that what he was looking on was the silent outward witness to the Lord's Resurrection from the dead.

Whither He had gone they knew not, but they felt that He was near, and so they went homeward 'wondering,' as St. Luke tells us, 'at that which was come to pass.' Confirmatory tidings of the Resurrection were brought by the holy women; and when, at even, the Lord vouchsafed to come to them, they were in some measure prepared, and, though at first affrighted, were, as St. John is careful to mention, 'glad when they saw the Lord.'

But this suggestive mystery,—the mystery that the linen cloths that had been wound round the holy body remained apparently untouched though the holy body was no longer within them,—this mystery was not designed simply to reassure the apostles or those to whom the declarations of the holy women had seemed to be but idle tales; it was designed for all who, when the strange tidings had spread through Jerusalem and its passover multitudes, doubtless went up to see with their own eyes the spot of which such wonders were told. And that the story had spread we have the testimony of the two that were journeying to Emmaus, who marvelled that one apparently coming from Jerusalem should not have heard of these things.

Joseph of Arimathea's tomb, I cannot doubt, was visited by many, and I cannot also doubt that this silent witness of the Resurrection created in many and many a heart a kind of persuasion, which, when the great address of St. Peter at Pentecost was heard by them, deepened into belief and conviction.

We may here close our meditations on what we may rightly term the testimony of the opened tomb to the reality of the Lord's Resurrection.

Whether it had all the effect we have supposed it to have on the minds of those to whom it became known, may reasonably be considered as open to question; but, at any rate, it supplied a conclusive answer to the story which the chief priests put into the mouth of the guard, viz. that while they were sleeping the disciples came by night and stole away the body. Such a story every fair-

judging man who had either seen the tomb or heard of its appearance from an eye-witness, would at once have dismissed as false and incredible.

Our survey of all the circumstances connected with the Lord's opened tomb has now been completed, and nothing remains save my earnest prayer that we may part with the settled conviction that all the details we have been considering were deliberately specified for our learning. They were written, not simply, as I have said earlier in this sermon, as the reminiscences of an aged eye-witness, but as deliberately designed, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, to help us to feel more fully and more deeply the realities of the Lord's Resurrection. The Church has been built on the Lord's Resurrection, and on a true and unwavering belief in that Resurrection everything to each one of us depends—everything, whether here or hereafter.

At the Literary Table.

THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA.

Funk & Wagnalls.

With the fourth volume one third part of *The Jewish Encyclopedia* is published. The volumes are following one another with great rapidity. And yet there is no careless handling. The fourth volume has more of the marks of scholarship as well as more matter of general and Christian interest than any of its predecessors. It is true that a trifling misprint may be detected here and there—just the little annoying thing which is more difficult to prevent than great blunders. Thus on p. xiv of the Introduction Professor W. H. Bennett is described as 'Professor of Hebrew at Norfolk, England'; on p. 21, the K. in Professor Cheyne's name is made to stand for 'Kelley'; and (not to go farther) on p. 48 F. C. Baur is called F. C. Baer.

The volume contains its curiosities. There is an article on Joseph Choynski. This is the article: 'Choynski, Joseph — American heavy-weight pugilist; born at San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 8, 1868. His first appearance in the prize-ring was in 1884, when he met and was defeated by J. J. Corbett in one round. He has encountered most of the prominent pugilists; and among those whom he has defeated, or with whom he has fought drawn battles, have been Dan Credon, "Kid" McCoy, James Jeffries, T. Sharkey, and Steve O'Donnell. Choynski has fought more than fifty battles, of which he has lost but seven.—F. H. V.'

The most useful article in this volume is on Costume. It is so well illustrated. Besides the cuts in the text, which include the caricature of an English Jew of the Stock Exchange, there is a coloured and gilded double-page engraving. This, however, is not the article that is most prominent. In the end of the volume is found a most elaborate and sensational account of the great 'Dreyfus Case.' It is anonymous, the only anonymous article in the volume; for the writer, who had access to the best sources of information, made his anonymity a condition of writing it. Until the great work of Joseph Reinach is finished in its four volumes, this will be the best account of the Dreyfus business. The writer advises us not to rely upon Mr. Conybeare's or Mr. Barlow's narratives, which seems a little ungracious and over-sensitive.

But the article in which we have found most to think about is that on Christianity. In later volumes articles are promised on Messiah and Jesus of Nazareth. Meantime this is the article which most clearly reveals the attitude of the book to Christ and the Gospel.

It is certainly not an unfriendly attitude. It is as certainly uncompromising. Jesus is not the Messiah. He never supposed He was, at least not of His own accord, and not before the entry into Jerusalem. 'As a matter of fact, a spirit of great anxiety and unrest permeates the sayings of Jesus and the entire New Testament epoch, as is indicated by such utterances as "Watch, therefore; for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come."' And 'the teachings and doings of Jesus betray, on close analysis, rather an intense longing after the Messianic time than joy and satisfaction over its arrival.' Much is made of the dependence of Jesus on Jewish Rabbis and their sayings. But, 'on the other hand, there are utterances of striking

originality and wondrous power which denote great genius.' In this kindly and considerate way the writer accounts for Christ. He finds it more difficult to account for Christianity. Why did the movement not die with its Founder? He says it was the belief in the risen Christ that brought the scattered adherents together and founded Christianity, and that belief was due to two psychic forces which never before had come so strongly into play. The one was the great personality of Jesus, which had so impressed itself on the simple people of Galilee as to become a living power to them even after His death. The other was the other-worldliness in which those penance-doing, saintly men and women of the common classes, in their longing for godliness, lived.

NORTH-SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

Oxford: *At the Clarendon Press*, 16s. net.

The Rev. G. A. Cooke, M.A., became known to students of the Bible when he published an edition of the Song of Deborah. He was then a tutor in Oxford and Fellow of Magdalen College. It was at that time also that the plan of this book took shape in his mind. Semitic Epigraphy was one of the subjects offered by students in the Honour School of Oriental Studies at Oxford, but there was no convenient text-book. There was nothing nearer or less expensive than files of German periodicals and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. Mr. Cooke determined to supply the want. But he was then called away from Oxford. Other work fell to be done. And it is only now, after several years, that he is able to see his great task accomplished.

It is a task which a man could scarcely accomplish alone. Mr. Cooke has had Lidzbarski's *Handbuch* to guide him, and the immediate assistance of Mr. Benecke and Professor Driver. To Dr. Driver the book is dedicated—

SAMUELI · ROLLES · DRIVER
MAGISTRO · DISCIPULUS
D.D.
G. A. C.

It is not the vast extent of the inscriptions, it is the difficulty of their decipherment, that makes the task so severe, and especially the numerous points that they raise and give little help in solving—points not in Language merely, but also in Government and Theology. Mr. Cooke has given himself to the work with the utmost patience. His text-book will do something to make Semitic Epigraphy a popular study among young and ambitious scholars. It is such a book as encourages scholarship at home and makes it respected abroad.

By 'North-Semitic' Mr. Cooke means that group of languages or dialects which are known by the names of Moabite, Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Nabatæan, Palmyrene, and Jewish. In other words, he deals with the inscriptions that have been found between the north of Syria and the north of Arabia. And at the very outset he points out that the value of these inscriptions lies, not in the great light they throw upon the administration or ideas of the nations concerned, but upon the fact that, with the exception of the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of the Old Testament, they contain all that has been preserved of these dialects. But their interest would have been much less, and much less extensive, if the Old Testament had not been in Hebrew and Aramaic. Their chief value and their chief interest lie in the help they give to the interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures. And the plain man will thank Mr. Cooke that he has not considered it beneath him to furnish a full index of the Old and New Testament passages that are illustrated in his book. The commentator, even the careful preacher, will find the book necessary and a constant delight.

ROBERT BROWNING.

Macmillan, 2s. net.

The author of *Robert Browning* in the new series of 'English Men of Letters' is Mr. G. K. Chesterton. If Mr. Chesterton has not already made his name famous, he will make it so by this book. Famous for what? For what Mozley calls 'the Reversal of Human Judgments.' Browning has been the subject of a good deal of table-talk, the subject also of many literary essays. We have nearly all said or written something about him. There are also many books and innumerable magazine articles in existence, in which the great men and women of the literary life have expressed themselves hopefully. But they are all wrong. The Browning Societies are farthest astray, but it is scarcely worth measuring distances,—all who ever wrote or spoke about Browning have written and spoken in vain. At last Mr. Chesterton has come to tell us who Browning was, and what he did.

He tells us in proverbs. In proverbs he speaks like the wise men of every age. He cannot speak except in proverbs. Why did we not mark them as we read? We were too dazzled. It was only, we find, on reaching the 64th page that we gathered ourselves and made a mark: 'Thus it was that Dante made a new heaven and a new hell out of a girl's nod in the streets of Florence. Thus it was that Paul founded a civilization by keeping an ethical diary.' Another mark is on page 70: 'He is thoroughly to be congratulated on the fact that he had grasped the great but now neglected truth, that a man may actually be great, yet not in the least able.' Another on page 74: 'For the worst tyrant is not the man who rules by fear; the worst tyrant is he who rules by love and plays on it as on a harp.'

Then what is this whole paragraph but a cluster of proverbs?—'Poetry deals with primal and conventional things—the hunger for bread, the love of woman, the love of children, the desire for immortal life. If men really had new sentiments, poetry could not deal with them. If, let us say, a man did not feel a bitter craving to eat bread, but did, by way of substitute, feel a fresh, original craving to eat brass fenders or mahogany tables, poetry could not express him. If a man, instead of falling in love with a woman, fell in love with a fossil or a sea anemone, poetry could not express him. Poetry can only express what is original in one sense—the sense in which we speak of original sin. It is original, not in the paltry sense of being new, but in the deeper sense of being old; it is original in the sense that it deals with origins.'

But if Mr. Chesterton does not believe in Browning students, he believes in Browning. He believes in him when he is most obscure. He says, 'Even if a digression, or a simile, or a whole scene in a play, seems to have no point or value, let us wait a little and give it a chance. He very seldom wrote anything that did not mean a great deal.'

He sees why Browning is sometimes obscure,—just as he sees everything else. It is his swiftness, his 'insane' swiftness. Suppose Browning wants to tell us that a man was kicked downstairs. He does not, like Meredith, stay to examine the man's mental state, analyze his feelings, and speak queerly because he is describing queer mental experiences. He is in a hurry, and he simply leaves out part of the story. He might have told it this way—

> What then? 'You lie' and doormat below stairs
> Takes bump from back.

It is a clever book, it is clever beyond everything. But it is not every clever book that can be read. Mr. Chesterton's can. Begin it, and, in spite of its aphorisms, you will not lay it down till the end has come.

Books of the Month.

The refuge of the believer in verbal inspiration is the 'original autograph.' Out of that refuge it sometimes seems hopeless to drive him. We say, what *use* was there in verbally inspiring a book that was not preserved verbally inspired? It is not use, he says, but fact, and though the fact is in his own imagination you cannot drive him out. But Mr. Rotherham, the editor of that remarkably able work, 'The Emphasized Bible,' has written a small book for the purpose of showing the vital connexion between Inspiration, Transmission, and Translation. It revives our hopes again. It is so temperate and so conclusive. The title is, *Our Sacred Books* (Allenson, 1s. 6d. net).

THE UNWRITTEN SAYINGS OF CHRIST. By C. G. Griffinhoofe, M.A. (*Arnold*, 3s. net.)—Since the discovery of the Oxyrynchus Logia, the unwritten sayings of Christ, or Agrapha as they have come to be called for short, have taken a large place in our thinking. Many learned papers have been written about them, and some learned books. This is a learned book also, but it is the kind of learning which every one can appreciate. Its foreign tongues are found in footnotes; the text is open to every honest Englishman. The list is full and the exposition is helpful, while the scholarship may be implicitly relied on.

THE BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS. By F. J. Foakes-Jackson, B.D. (*Edward Arnold*).—Now that the first fright is over, there will be much writing of the Old Testament narrative after the methods of Criticism. Mr. Ottley recently gave us what may be called the Oxford History of the Hebrews (though it was published in Cambridge), Canon Foakes-Jackson

has here given us the Cambridge History. With both, the methods of critical study are unreservedly admitted; yet both are anxious to introduce as little disturbance as possible, either into the Old Testament or into our minds. And it must be admitted that, if this will do for a critical history, our anxious fears had very little foundation. This book may be taken by any preacher and made the basis of a course of sermons on the Old Testament, and, if the offending word Criticism is not mentioned, nothing will be noticed but a certain unwonted freshness and reality in the sermons. Especially may this book be used in the teaching of the young. There even the word Criticism will not offend, and there it can be shown with great unreserve that the word of God standeth sure even though men may have misunderstood it for two thousand years. It may be that Canon Foakes-Jackson has a peculiar gift for the writing of history, but certainly this is a history which can be depended upon for the most recent scholarship, and yet may be read with unruffled conscience.

A cheap but precious little book on *The Conduct of Public Worship* has been written by the Rev. J. G. Greenhough, M.A., and published by the Baptist Union.

Messrs. A. & C. Black have fallen in with the craze for sixpenny editions. But they have passed their competitors in the beauty and convenience of their sixpennyworth. The first two volumes are Dr. George Keith's *Plea for a Simpler Life*—a delightful book—and Professor Haeckel's *Confession of Faith of a Man of Science*, as curious a combination of 'Faith' and 'Science' as ever has been made.

A MANUAL OF THEOLOGY. By Thomas B. Strong, D.D. (*A. & C. Black*, 7s. 6d. net).—Dr. Strong has revised his manual for this new edition. It is a larger book, but the difference is not so much in the size. One has to work through the book to find that the difference lies in omissions here and additions there, slight improvements of the expression on one page, slight qualifications of the statement on another. At the very end a paragraph is introduced on the Invocation of Saints, not very encouraging to that pious practice. In the section dealing with the anointing of the sick, the reference to Mr. Grubb's strange book, *What God hath Wrought*, is dropped out. Altogether, the new edition may be described as more scientific, for science is found in suspended judgment as often as in dogmatic assertion.

The University Presses have issued a thin paper edition of the Revised Version with the Revisers' Marginal Readings. The volume has the University stamp upon it, in the beauty and finish of its workmanship. And as an edition of the Revised Version—let us say at once of the Bible—there is none to compete with it.

THE CATECHETICAL ORATION OF GREGORY OF NYSSA. Edited by J. H. Srawley, M.A. (Cambridge: *At the University Press*, 5s. net).—The Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Dr. A. J. Mason, is the General Editor of a series of Patristic texts with English notes, published at the University Press. Such a series has been felt as a want by theological tutors. The bare texts are insufficient, so new to the student is the phraseology, and even the thought of the Fathers. This series furnishes all that is required. In Mr. Srawley's volume there is a full Introduction to the ideas as well as the grammar, and the Notes are then confined to the translation. It is a ripe scholar's finest work.

CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN CIVILIZATION. By W. S. Lilly (*Chapman & Hall*, 12s. 6d. net). The title 'Christianity and Modern Civilization' is definite enough, perhaps, for a volume of essays which are meant to furnish an hour's pleasant reading. But none of the essays has anything to do with Modern Civilization, nor with anything more modern than the Inquisition, unless it be the essay on Holy Matrimony, and, if that is modern, it has no connexion with civilization. The book is in fact a history of Christianity—a history of Christianity in chapters on its great epochs. And, as such, it will satisfy the desires of those who wish to get information about Christianity, and wish to get it easily. What the book may have cost the author we cannot tell; it costs the reader nothing. This is the use of style and simplicity of purpose.

Most of the essays have already appeared. Some are taken from an earlier book, called *Chapters in European History*, now out of print and not to be republished. Three are reprinted

from the *Nineteenth Century and After*. But they seem to be all recast; some of them seem to be rewritten. And that which caught the eye among the contents of a magazine will now be welcomed to a permanent place in the bookcase. For, with all his ease of manner, Mr. Lilly has a way of fixing his judgment of a thing in the mind, and subsequent reading has a way of confirming Mr. Lilly's judgment.

PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS FOR THE SUNDAY SCHOOL. By E. de Witt Burton and Shailer Mathews (*University of Chicago Press*).—There are many books on the work of the Sunday School, but this is now the best. Professor Burton and Professor Mathews have given more than study to the Sunday School problem, they have given themselves. They have considered what the Sunday School ought to be, they have tried to make one Sunday School what it ought to be, and out of all their thoughts and experiences they have written this book. It comes to us in this country to make us ashamed. We do not take the Sunday School seriously. We do not believe in it. We build few buildings for it, we train few teachers, we even send but a few of our children to be taught in it. And especially do we calmly acquiesce when our children leave the Sunday School for ever, though they are but children still. This book is to be the manual for the advanced Sunday School, when we have made progress enough for that. Even now it tells us how our advanced school can be formed, and how to fit the teachers for its work.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN MODERN SPEECH. By the late R. F. Weymouth, M.A., D.Lit. (*Clarke*).—Another translation of the New Testament into modern English! Are there so many persons who wish to understand it? When the Revised Version came out, there was a great cry. It made the Bible easier to understand, but nobody seemed to want to understand then; everybody wanted to hear the familiar rhythm of the Old Version, however unintelligible. Surely it is the Revised Version that has done this. And surely now many will rejoice.

Dr. Weymouth was well fitted for the work. His translation is self-effacing, and, since we know it must be accurate, no higher praise could be offered it. We read and forget, in the interest of the meaning, that it is a new translation. For this end the New Testament was written.

Three volumes more of the 'Century' Apocrypha have been published (*Dent*).—They are 1 and 2 Esdras, edited by Professor Duff of Bradford; 1 and 2 Maccabees, edited by Mr. Fairweather of Kirkcaldy; and New Testament Apocryphal Writings, edited by Professor Orr of Glasgow. The last is the most useful. A handy edition of the recently discovered apocryphal books was a real necessity.

Dr. A. T. Pierson has written an account of *The Keswick Movement* (Funk & Wagnalls, 2s.), and Mr. Evan H. Hopkins has commended the little book. It is partly a history of the movement; more a statement of what the movement stands for. What *is* the 'Blessing' you get at Keswick? This is the official answer.

Mr. C. H. Kelly was resolved to publish another edition of *The Journal of John Wesley* in two volumes, under the editorship of the Rev. W. L. Watkinson. The first volume is already issued (3s. 6d.). It is a wonder of cheapness and worth.

MY JEWELS. By the Rev. Richard Roberts (*C. H. Kelly*, 3s. 6d.).—Mr. Roberts is recognized in Wesleyanism as one of the great preachers. He is one of the great preachers of the world. An old-fashioned perfume takes nothing away from preaching like this. We make our discoveries, and are so delighted, about things like the love of the Holy Spirit: Mr. Roberts has already moved his hearers' hearts to love the Spirit back again.

THE USE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE IN PUBLIC WORSHIP. By the Right Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D. (*Longmans*, 4s. 6d.).—The purpose of this book—the Bishop Paddock Lectures for 1903—is to recommend and encourage a more general practice of Scripture exposition in the services of the Church. Is there a more urgent necessity in all our worship? There is not. Nor could it be urged with more wisdom than it is here urged by the Bishop of Vermont. He is immediately concerned, we suppose, with the Episcopal Church in America; but he knows all our Churches, and he has put his finger on the weakest spot in them all.

SACRIFICIAL WORSHIP. By W. J. Gold, S.T.D. (*Longmans*, 3s. 6d. net).—It is a small book on a great subject. Yet it touches what is most essential in the subject, what is of most consequence to us. It touches (1) Sacrifice in Genesis and Exodus; (2) Sacrifice in the Temple; and (3) Sacrifice in the New Testament and the Christian Church. Its central thought is that sacrifice is self-sacrifice. So, when the body of Christ is offered on the Christian altar, it is to make up for the defect of the worshipper's sacrifice of self, that it may be perfect and acceptable in the sight of God.

THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT. (*Maclehose*, 3s. 6d. net).—This simple title introduces the third series of the Scottish Church Society Conferences. The volume—more convenient and much more attractive to look upon than the volumes of the first and second series—does not contain all the addresses that were made at the third Conference, it contains those only which dealt with the Gift of the Holy Spirit to the Church. It is thus no mere gathering of miscellaneous papers, but an orderly treatise on a great subject; not less orderly that many hands have contributed to it, but more truthful and more authoritative. It is in a sense the manifesto of a party in the Church of Scotland. But we do not mean that the volume possesses authority for that party alone; on the contrary, there is in it so little, if we are able to judge, of the party spirit; the addresses, while agreeing together, agree so well with the doctrine of the Church of Christ, that it carries the authority of the truth to every believer.

Why has the Scottish Church Society received so little attention in England? There is no movement 'across the border' of more significance to the Church of England. Nor is it to be pushed aside as unrepresentative. Except for just that slight excess of emphasis on the Church, that unconscious disparagement of personal experience, which ought to recommend it the more immediately to the Anglican Church, it represents the actual historical position of the Church of Scotland, and, as a movement, could not be repudiated by any educated Churchman there. Why has its significance not been seen in England yet?

MODERN SCIENCE AND CHRISTIANITY. By F. Bettex (*Marshall Brothers*).—This is a translation, made by Mr. Edmund K. Simpson, M.A., of a book that has had great success in Germany under the title of *Naturstudium und Christentum*. It is a rhetorical book. Its effect depends upon its humour and other rhetorical qualities. And German humour often gives the impression of an elephant at play when it is turned into English. So that a more difficult or thankless task than Mr. Simpson's could not have been given a man. Even the indiscriminate grouping of names, and the rejection of all good in a man who calls himself a Darwinian, is un-English, and carries no sense of fairness or conviction to the English mind. Professor Bettex has the best of the argument before the book begins, but after a while we feel that there is something to be said for the other side also. The truth is, that physical science with all its blunders has accomplished something, and the heartiest laughter will not restore to us the happy time when electricity was not known.

Mr. Frank Ballard seeks to meet a grave national peril in a manly and yet merciful way by his book on *Sports from the Christian Standpoint* (Melrose, 1s. net).

THE GEM RECITER. By Walter Grafton (*Melrose*, 2s.).—'To all who have an inclination for elocution, we should say by all means cultivate it. No one can take it up without greatly gaining in mental culture, and general knowledge of the best sort.' So says Mr. Grafton in his preface, recommending this kind of mental culture by precept rather than example. But his selection is excellent, just because it is not too select. There are many new 'pieces.'

THE FAILURE OF THE CHURCHES. By a Churchman (*Nash*, 2s. 6d.).—This is the nearest approach to the public park orator's catchpenny infidelity that we have seen published for a long time. 'By a Churchman' reminds us of the signatures to certain letters in the newspapers—'Truth,' 'Antihumbug,' 'Historical Student,' and the like.

Every theologian is to be judged by his doctrine of Faith. If he has none, he is no theologian. Mr. Spurgeon's doctrine of Faith was expressed in a book entitled *Faith: What it is, and What it leads to.* Whether it is the true and final doctrine

or not, it made Spurgeon the theologian he was. The book is republished by Messrs. Passmore & Alabaster in a very cheap form, for wide circulation.

Messrs. Sands have published (at 1s. 6d.) a useful epitome of the Statute Law which fixed the form of the Reformation in England. It is compiled by Frederick M'Millan and Guy Ellis.

THE FRIARS. By Father Cuthbert (*Sands*, 5s.).—The whole title is, 'The Friars, and How they came to England; being a Translation of Thomas of Eccleston's *De Adventu F. F. Minorum in Angliam*, done into English, with an Introductory Essay on the Spirit and Genius of the Franciscan Friars.' But the book is by Father Cuthbert, for all that. We can easily enjoy his translation of Thomas, for he has faithfully preserved the archaic simplicity of the original, but we find most benefit in his own Introductory Essay. That makes the book. It might with great advantage have been longer and alone.

Mr. Washington Moon has written another volume against the English of the Revised Version. It is like a book of the dead. For it is forty years since Mr. Moon made his name known through *The Dean's English*, a clever attack on Dean Alford's *The Queen's English*. But Mr. Moon is not dead. Judging by the vigour of his language here, though eighty his natural force is little abated. He calls his new book *The Bishop's English*, for it is a chastisement of Bishop Thornton, Suffragan of Manchester, for daring to recommend the use of the Revised Version in public worship. The publishers are Messrs. Sonnenschein.

ST. PAUL. By the Rev. Rowland W. Corbet (*Stock*, 3s. 6d.).—It may not seem likely to those who know the facts of St. Paul's life, who have read the criticism of his writings and studied his theology, that this book, however pleasant to handle, will contain anything of serious originality or new spiritual impulse; and it will not be possible for any reviewer to convey to others his own astonished delight. But the book is small and inexpensive: might you not run the risk of it?

SOME OLD STORIES RETOLD. By Frank W. J. Daniels, M.A. (*Stock*, 3s. net).—The stories are mostly taken from the Gospels. They are not only retold, but interpreted. And the interpretation is original enough and good enough to make us cry for more. Once, however, the originality goes so far as to suggest that the 'Scribe' of St. Matthew's Gospel found a lacuna in the MS. before him, and filled it in as best he could with the explanation of the Parable of the Tares (13^{38-43}).

THE GOAL OF THE UNIVERSE. By S. W. Koelle, Ph.D. (*Stock*, 7s. 6d.).—It is an exposition of what Scripture has to say about the Kingdom of God. Its centre is the King, and, when the King is known, the Kingdom has come. Thus much space is given to the description of the King. He is the Saviour of the World. Not of this one or that one in the world, to take them out of the world and make them happy in heaven,—but of the world. He comes into the world to save the world; and if He gives Himself to the publicans and sinners most, it is not that He is a socialist democrat and has no interest in the Pharisees,—it is because, like the dull boy at school, the sinner needs the most attention. The teacher must get the whole class up to the passing standard; Christ must get the world up to the standard of acceptance with the Father.

We should like Dr. Koelle to consider again if he has understood the baptism of Jesus aright. There is much risk of placing the cross upon the shoulders of the Saviour as He leaves the river. He was not really 'lifted up' till Calvary came.

THE GENIUS OF GOD, AND OTHER SERMONS. By the Rev. John W. Clayton (*Stockwell*, 2s. net).—'The Genius of God' is a daring title, but there is no flippancy in the book. On the contrary, there is an earnest insistence on the fear of God, and it is carried to the conscience with literary grace.

THE CHILDREN'S PORTION. By the Rev. J. E. Shephard, F.G.S. (*Stockwell*, 1s. 6d. net).—Mr. Shephard's title has already been appropriated, and that by one of the best books of children's sermons ever published. Mr. Shephard's book is not good. To preach to children is not to preach to infants, and to preach infantile science to children who have science taught scientifically in the day school is suicidal. The very choice of

text makes one tremble: 'There is a lad here!' Who but the one genius in a thousand could preach from that?

Mr. Stockwell has also published *Fettered Lives*, addresses to men by the Rev. G. E. Weeks, M.A., B.D. (2s. net); and *Christ's Foreview of this Age*, an exposition of Mt 13, by W. Y. Fullerton (1s. 6d. net).

Cotter Morison's *Service of Man* is the latest of Messrs. Watts' sixpenny reprints.

The Death of Christ.[1]

The Death of Christ, by Dr. Denney, is a most important and timeous contribution to our theological and religious literature. The subject discussed is of vital and far-reaching importance, both in a doctrinal and practical sense; and it is in view of this fact that Dr. Denney has set himself to ascertain and exhibit the place which it holds in Scripture. It is quite refreshing to come across a book inspired by an intensely religious aim, and with ample learning grappling with a subject which involves, and in some sense constitutes, the very essence of gospel truth. Some books are painfully suggestive of the writer's anxiety to exhibit his learning and ingenuity, but it is not so here. Dr. Denney makes the reader feel that he is moved by the conviction that he has an important message to his time, and, moreover, that in his opinion it is much needed. Those who hold by what may fairly be termed the Catholic doctrine of Christ's death can hardly fail to recognize the tolerably manifest fact that there is a tendency in much of the preaching and religious literature of our time to assign a place and significance to Christ crucified quite out of harmony with Scripture representation. In point of fact, a good deal of the theological literature which happens to be both fashionable and influential for the time being, like Harnack's *What is Christianity?* reduces Christ's death to the level of a heroic example, and Himself to the position of an inspired human teacher. According to this school of thought, there is, as Dr. Denney rightly insists, no gospel for sinners. Christianity, in its essence, is simply a cordial acceptance of certain beliefs bearing on the fatherly and gracious attributes of God, and an honest attempt to realize the ethical ideals set forth and exemplified in the teaching and example of Jesus of Nazareth. True religion, in the strict sense of the word, stands in no vital relation either to the person or work of Christ, but consists wholly in a right ethical relation to God the Father. This, I believe, is the conclusion to which all exclusively ethical interpretations of the death of Christ logically and practically lead.

The question which Dr. Denney sets himself to answer is simply this: What, according to the teaching of the New Testament writers, is the significance of Christ's death? Of course he does not pose as one of those wonderful critics to whom everything outside the sphere of scientifically verified facts is an open question. He has come, as the result of honest investigation, to very definite conclusions as to the substantial historicity of our Gospels, the genuineness of Paul's Epistles, and so forth. Like every writer who attempts a possible task, he frankly sets out with a whole mass of assumptions and presuppositions. Those, however, who know either Dr. Denney or his writings will feel abundantly assured that he writes with far more than an ordinary acquaintance with the published opinions of the ablest theologians and critics. When he does set aside or ignore their theories, it is not in ignorance, but deliberately. A special feature and merit of Dr. Denney's book is the all too uncommon combination of marked religious earnestness with great intellectual power and comprehensive learning. Hence the accent of certainty with which he expresses his convictions—an accent which will be resented by those who take up an agnostic attitude as to the significance of Christ's death, as also by those who find in it only an ethical value. But surely certainty of some sort is a quality which we ought both to expect and demand in every author. What every lover of truth craves for is something which will help him to definite conclusions, and not a collection of unsolved problems. Dr. Denney feels assured that his view of the significance of Christ's death as set forth in Scripture is the true one, and with rare lucidity and persuasiveness he justifies his assurance by an appeal to the New Testament writings.

His interpretation of those passages of Scripture

[1] *The Death of Christ: Its Place and Interpretation in the New Testament.* By James Denney, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. Price 6s.

which bear most directly on the object and result of Christ's death is richly suggestive in many ways. Taking his interpretations of the portions of Scripture dealt with, we can hardly fail to be impressed by their fairness, sanity, insight, and learning. Another praiseworthy quality revealed in this book is the strength and courage of its author. Dr. Denney is by no means disposed to accept the latest novelty in the realms of criticism and speculation. Once and again he treats with something like severity modes of thought and expression which have had more or less currency with those who cannot resist the latest fashion.

A case of this kind may be noticed here. By way of discrediting all theories of the Atonement, it is often said that it is the fact of Christ's death, and not our conception of it, which saves. That realities or objective powers may influence us physically, apart even from our knowledge of their existence, goes without saying; but that a bare fact, apart from any notion of its significance, can influence us rationally, is absurd. The mere fact that Jesus of Nazareth was crucified, abstracted from any idea which we may have formed of His person and work, has no more moral and spiritual value for us than the crucifixion of any human being. The significance of a fact for mind and heart depends on our interpretation of it. So it is with the death of Christ. Christ crucified was 'set forth' as a revelation of the righteousness of God, that God might both be, and appear to be, just, when He justifies the sinner who believes in Jesus. A revelation which reveals nothing either to mind or conscience is an absurdity. Even if the death of Christ is to convey to the awakened soul the assurance that God as holy can freely forgive the sins of the believer, there must be something in the death of Christ which justifies that assurance; or, to put it otherwise, the death of Christ must have a meaning and value for the believer. As matter of fact, every intelligent Christian has some conception of the meaning and aim of Christ's death.

It is practically impossible to summarize Dr. Denney's exposition of those passages of Scripture which bear most directly on the aim and value of Christ's death. To attempt to do so, would be to convey an unworthy idea of the work under consideration. Suffice it to say that Dr. Denney, as regards the doctrine of the Cross, finds a profound unity running through all the books of the New Testament, and that unity of representation amounts to this: that the death of Christ has a propitiatory or expiatory value, in virtue of which God, in perfect harmony with His holiness, can forgive sinners on condition of faith. This, as Dr. Denney frankly allows, is the real spirit of what is known as the forensic or juridical theory of the Atonement. It is not, however, to be understood that Dr. Denney could accept in its entirety any known theological elaboration of this theory. In point of fact, it is not his purpose to elaborate a complete theory of the Atonement: his object is the less ambitious but, I believe, more important one of exhibiting the nature and significance of Christ's death as set forth in Scripture. This, of course, implies that Scripture explicitly or by implication does contain in germ or outline the essential truth as to the meaning of Christ's death —that truth which must form the core in any theory of the Atonement which is at once Scriptural and rational.

One other point in Dr. Denney's interpretation of the teaching of the Pauline Epistles is worthy of special notice. No candid and competent exegete can deny that Paul attributes a propitiatory or expiatory value to the death of Christ in such well-known passages as Ro 3^{24-26} and 2 Co 5^{14-21}. Those who reject all juridical theories of the Atonement adopt various expedients for discounting the value of Paul's teaching. Sometimes it is said that the propitiatory value attributed by Paul to Christ's death is simply an apologetic device meant to meet the objection of those who contended that the Messiah could not conceivably suffer as a malefactor. Since the publication of Pfleiderer's *Paulinism*, it is often said that in Paul's writings, and specially in Romans, there are two distinct, if not mutually exclusive, conceptions of the salvation wrought by Christ. The first of these is presented in Ro 1 to 6, and is fitly termed the forensic view of Christ's death. The second is given in Ro 6 to 8, and is called the ethico-mythical. Dr. Denney has courage enough to set aside this paradoxical view of Paul's doctrine of Salvation. It does not, I think, need much insight to perceive that genuine faith in Christ crucified necessarily involves for the believer a moral death to sin. Or, to put it otherwise, Justification and Sanctification are inseparable elements or moments in the life of him who sincerely believes

that the sufferings and death of Christ are a real and adequate expression of the Divine wrath evoked by human sin. To believe in Christ crucified, surely necessitates the renunciation of sin. So far from Paul's theory of salvation being incoherent or wavering, I believe that it is both coherent and profoundly accordant with Christian experience. An adequate sense of sin necessitates, as I believe, the conviction that the pre-condition of the forgiveness which is worthy of God and satisfying to an awakened conscience, is just such a real condemnation of sin as is constituted and exhibited in the sufferings and death of the sinless Son of God. Moreover, the constraining power of God's love manifested in Christ owes its peace-giving and sanctifying power to the fact that the death of Christ has in it no taint of theatricality, but is first of all the expression of a holy necessity grounded in the demands of the Divine nature, and then a something which answers to the need of an awakened conscience.

I only add, by way of conclusion, that I do not hesitate to say that Dr. Denney's book is the sanest and most convincing treatise on the biblical doctrine of Christ's death that is known to me.

JOHN DUNLOP.

Dunedin.

Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts.[1]

DR. STEVENSON, who is Professor of Semitic Languages in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., has made several journeys across the Atlantic, in the interests of Assyriology. A student with Professor R. F. Harper of Chicago University, he has further prosecuted his special study under Professor Delitzsch of Berlin, and privately in the British Museum. Dr. Stevenson's academic qualifications for undertaking such a work as this are therefore high; and those who know him personally are well aware that he possesses intellectual qualities which admirably fit him for research in the laborious and highly specialized field of Assyriological study. In conjunction with the co-editor of the Vanderbilt Oriental Series, Professor H. C. Tolman, Ph.D., Dr. Stevenson has previously issued a work entitled *Herodotus and the Empires of the East*, in which he has shown the service that a knowledge of Assyrian renders towards elucidation of the great historian; a subject on which, it is worthy of note, Professor Delitzsch gave a recent deliverance in the hearing of the Emperor and Empress of Germany.

The work under review was, in the first instance, undertaken with a view to the doctorate of Chicago University. Dr. Stevenson has, however, largely supplemented his work as candidate for honours by careful revision of the original portions, and by the addition of 'Aramaic Reference Notes.' The volume contains five main sections: (1) Introduction, giving a careful and highly interesting account of the literature of the Contract Tablets; (2) Assyrian Texts Transliterated and Translated; (3) Babylonian Texts Transliterated and Translated; (4) Aramaic Reference Notes; and (5) Cuneiform and Aramaic Texts.

The texts (Cuneiform and Aramaic) are forty-seven in number. From comparison of Dr. Stevenson's work with the Assyrian texts published in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (by Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge), as well as from personal collation of the tablets, we are able to state that the transcription has been made with the utmost care, and that Dr. Stevenson has started from a thoroughly reliable cuneiform text. We may assume that the decipherment of the Aramaic, where to a considerable extent Dr. Stevenson has done pioneer work, has been executed with equal fidelity.

It is to the 'Aramaic dockets' and notes that main attention has been devoted. The Assyrian and Babylonian texts are given in view of the Aramaic additions. The purpose of the volume, the author tells us, is to bring together in one collection, for comparison and study, all 'contracts' having Aramaic readings. He further states: 'The work was undertaken principally on behalf of the Aramaic, and I regret that it does not better justify its purpose. The Aramaic legends are so fragmentary, and the material for comparison so often wanting at the critical place, that a number of problems are still waiting solution' (p. 17).

From this it will be seen that it is in the Aramaic dockets that the main interest of the volume centres. At one time it was thought that these

[1] *The Vanderbilt Oriental Series. Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts:* with Aramaic Reference Notes. By James Henry Stevenson, Ph.D., Professor in Vanderbilt University. New York; Cincinnati; Chicago: American Book Company. Pp. 208.

Aramaic additions would throw light on the main Assyrian text; but that day is now past, and the Aramaic remains the great puzzle (cf. the Canaanite glosses on the Tel el-Amarna tablets). Why the dockets should appear on only some fifty of the hundreds of Contract tablets stored in the British Museum—tablets dealing with every variety of contract; why the dockets should in some cases be contemporaneous with the Assyrian writing, in other cases be scratched on the hard tablet, probably 'by the record keeper, for the mere convenience of reference'; why the range should be over such a prolonged period as two hundred and fifty years (from Sennacherib to Artaxerxes), are questions which are not yet ripe for answer. They indicate, however, that Dr. Stevenson's volume and his special study will yet have great value in the department of palæography, when the day comes for the correlating and adjusting of the many languages and systems of writing current in the East prior to the days of Christ. Meanwhile it can only be said that, 'in view of the fact that most of the tablets on which Aramaic is found are of a popular character, and circulated among a population in which were many Aramæans—or people who were more likely to understand Aramaic than cuneiform,—it is very probable that we have here a concession to the prevalence of the Aramaic language in the marts of trade' (pp. 25, 26).

The Aramaic dockets have in every case a direct bearing on the main text of the tablet. In some cases, only one proper name is noted (*e.g.* Nos. 29 and 33), but in a majority of instances the nature of the transaction recorded is also indicated; *e.g.*—

'The bond for interest which is against Nabu-duri.' (No. 6.)
'The document concerning land.' (No. 14.)
'Concerning Manag-Arbel, who shall bring to the temple (house) the silver.' (No. 16.)
'The contract concerning 40 shekels against Iḳši-(aplu).' (No. 34.)
'Concerning the weaver.' (No. 39.)

In eleven of the tablets the opening word of the Aramaic is דנת, now identified with the Assyrian *dannitu*, and rendered 'document.' Considerable liberty is taken with proper names in the process of transliterating, *e.g.* Iḳi-ša-aplu is given by Aramaic אקשי (No. 34); Eriba-a, by יריבי (No. 38).

Another feature is contraction by means of assimilation; *e.g.* Hambusu appears in the Aramaic as Habbusu, Handuate as Hadduate. On the other hand, Luku of the cuneiform is lengthened into Lukuḫ. Nos. 32, 36, and 37 go to prove that the Babylonians pronounced *m* as *w*; *e.g.*—

אולת = amelutu (No. 32).
שוכן = Šum-ukîn (No. 36).
שוש = Šamaš (No. 37).

A form of special interest is ארק, 'land' (No. 22), which is found in the Aramaic verse Jer 10^{11}.

זי (זֶה) appears eight times as a relative, and nine times as a sign of the genitive relation.

The numerical signs in the Aramaic are as follows:—

I = 1; II = 2; III = 3; II III = 5, ϒ = 5; III III = 6, Iϒ = 6; I III III = 7, IIϒ = 7; ⊃, ⋎ = 40.

No. 32 (elsewhere as well) seems to show that 'the Assyrians and Babylonians made use of the decimal system alongside of the sexagesimal' (p. 139); *e.g.*—

20 + 20 + 3 + 3 + 1 = 47 (the twenties are each two tens).

As occurring in O.T., the following proper names are worthy of mention: Hosea (No. 4), Sargon (?) (No. 19), Menahem (No. 20), and Ilu-malaku (No. 22); cf. Elimelech of Ru 1^{1}. To students of O.T. Introduction this passage is of exceptional interest: 'The alphabet will be found to vary somewhat with the age of the tablet, and in some instances it seems to approximate to the "square" character. It is sometimes urged against the theory of the gradual canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures, that Ezra brought the "square" character with him from Babylon (see Ryle's *Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 95 f.). This claim receives no support from the alphabet of these inscriptions' (pp. 27, 28).

Errata are few, and are for the most part in the Hebrew characters; cf.—

[ז]דינכרב, p. 30, l. 27, and [ז]דינכדב, p. 115, l. 4.
[ז]אללה, p. 60, l. 9, and [ז]אללה, p. 126, l. 18.
ביסחו, p. 106, l. 23, and בימחו, p. 145, l. 5.

On p. 138, l. 16, the א in כספא does not appear in the original (cf. p. 94, l. 27). P. 133, l. 5, gives ערעא for ארעא, and p. 111, l. 10, Darak for Daraḫ.

WILLIAM CRUICKSHANK.

Aberdeen.

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BOOKS INDEXED.

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Contributions and Comments.

Psalm cxlix 5.

DR. BOEHMER himself remarks at the close of his note, last month, 'that on Ps 149[5] the last word has not yet been spoken.' It may be that I have been so fortunate as to discover the best solution of the difficulty.

The reading, 'Let the pious exult in the glory *of Jahweh*,' which I proposed, is pronounced by Dr. Boehmer a very natural one, and he admits that it is favoured by many examples of the abbreviation 'י (=יהוה) and of haplography. He considers it, however, to be excluded 'even for metrical reasons,' holding as he does with Duhm that each *stichos* in Ps 149 has three 'rises.' But (*a*) I consider that I have proved elsewhere that the number of 'rises' in corresponding lines of Hebrew poems is not absolutely equal. This may be seen, for instance in Ps 2, where in v.[11a,b.] three alternate with two 'rises,' while in v.[12a,b,c,d.] we have successively three, two, three, and three (cf. further my *Stilistik*, etc., p. 334). Rothstein has given his assent to this in *Z.D.M.G.* 1902, p. 176. (*b*) If now we count the 'rises' which occur in the different *stichoi* of Ps 149, it will be found that the very first *stichos* contains four (*shíru bejahwéh shír ḥaddásh*). Further, v.[7] consists of 3 + 2, and v.[9] contains 4 + 3 'rises.' Such a number of 'rises' as four would thus be possible even in v.[5a] were it not that v.[5b] contains only two. But (*c*) it may perhaps be possible to reduce the number in v.[5a] to three. May we not read *kebod-Jah*? I have compared the instances where the shorter form יָהּ occurs, and the result favours the answering of this question in the affirmative. We have 'the works of Jah' in Ps 77[12], and, apart from the formula 'Hallelu-jah,' we find יָהּ again in 115[18] and 118[17-19]. The shorter form of the name also occurs repeatedly—and this is the main point—in parallelism with the longer: *e.g.* Ps 122[4] יהוה ||

שבטי־יה, 135[4] יה answering to יהוה in vv.[1a.b. 2a. 3a. 5a. 13a.], etc. Hence there is no difficulty in assuming the form יה in 149[5a], and then there is nothing metrically abnormal about this *stichos*.

ED. KÖNIG.

Bonn.

1 Thessalonians ii. 6.

THE words in 1 Th 2[6], δυνάμενοι ἐν βάρει εἶναι ὡς Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολοι, are confessedly difficult.

1. If ἐν βάρει is taken to refer to the claim of St. Paul to have the right to live of the gospel, then there appears to be no real antithesis between the clause in which these words occur and that which immediately precedes it (οὔτε ζητοῦντες κ.τ.λ.).

And yet the use of ἐπιβαρῆσαι just below (v.[9]), taken in conjunction with the reference to authority (ἐξουσία) in the closely parallel passage in 2 Th 3[8. 9], suggests that this is the true meaning of the words (cf. ἀβαρῆ, 2 Co 11[9]).

2. If ἐν βάρει is taken to be equivalent to ἐν τιμῇ, we are obliged to weaken the meaning of ζητοῦντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δόξαν so as to make it possible for St. Paul to say (as he practically does say, according to this interpretation) that, in virtue of being an apostle of Christ, he might have sought the glory of men. And, having regard to the context (especially the οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες of v.[4]), we find it difficult to see how such a weakening can be justified. Further, there does not seem to be any really *convincing* parallel for this use of ἐν βάρει.

It has seemed to the present writer that the solution of the question lies in a change of punctuation. He would therefore put a full stop at ἄλλων and make δυνάμενοι begin a fresh sentence. In this case δυνάμενοι will have a concessive sense as before, and ἀλλὰ will be equivalent to ὅμως. This use of ἀλλὰ after a concessive clause is not uncommon in St. Paul's Epistles. For example, we find it in 2 Co 4[16] (Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω κ.τ.λ.), 2 Co 5[16] (Εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι κ.τ.λ.); cf. also 2 Co 11[6], Col 2[5]. So here the ἀλλὰ introduces the principal clause after δυνάμενοι, and helps out the meaning. For the concessive meaning of the participle without καίπερ, cf. Philemon 8 (Διὸ πολλὴν ἐν Χριστῷ παῤῥησίαν ἔχων ἐπιτάσσειν σοι τὸ ἀνῆκον, διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην μᾶλλον παρακαλῶ).[1]

Exegetically, the advantages of making the new paragraph begin with δυνάμενοι are twofold:—

1. A natural meaning is given to ζητοῦντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δόξαν, which the context certainly suggests should be taken in a bad sense (cf. Jn 5[41. 44]).

2. The words δυνάμενοι κ.τ.λ. will then form an introduction to what is the second topic of the chapter, viz. the *personal life* of St. Paul at Thessalonica as distinguished from his preaching, and the γὰρ of v.[9] (μνημονεύετε γὰρ) is seen to follow naturally. The meaning of ὡς ἀπόστολοι Χριστοῦ will then be illustrated by the parallel passage in 2 Th 3[8. 9], where it is clear that St. Paul felt that he might justly have claimed to be supported on the ground of his 'authority' (. . . πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν· οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν). A further illustration is afforded by the 9th chapter of 1 Co (see especially the opening words, 'Am I not an apostle?' compared with vv.[12] and [18], in which—in connexion with this same matter of livelihood—St. Paul speaks of his 'authority').

We should paraphrase, therefore, somewhat as follows:—'Though we had the right as apostles to become a charge upon you, yet (ἀλλὰ) we did not make use of our right. Our feeling was rather that of a nurse for those over whom she is put in charge. We took upon ourselves all responsibility, and we worked with our hands day and night so as not to be a burden to you.'

It is worthy of note that the Vulgate punctuates in the way suggested. Here v.[6] ends at 'alliis,' and v.[7] reads, 'Cum possemus vobis oneri esse,' etc.

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[1] It is noteworthy that ὅμως is only used three times in the N.T., and never after a concessive clause.

Matthew xxvii. 51–53.

IN the interesting summary of Professor Chase's paper on the Supernatural elements in the Gospels, given, with comments, in the editorial columns of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for March (pp. 243–248), a slight but curious inaccuracy has been allowed to pass in citing the third example of what Professor Chase calls the 'editing' of the Gospels—the statement, namely, that, upon the death of

Jesus, many bodies of the saints arose and made their appearance to many persons (Mt $27^{51ff.}$), p. 245.

The precise statement in that passage is that at the death of Jesus 'the earth did quake; and the rocks were rent; and the tombs were opened; and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and coming forth out of the tombs *after his resurrection* they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many' (Mt 27^{51b-53} R.V.). The important words 'after His resurrection' are apt to be overlooked in reading the passage, which ostensibly describes what took place immediately our Lord yielded up His Spirit. These words 'after His resurrection' complicate, if anything, the difficulties of a passage difficult enough without them. Critically, the words in question undoubtedly suggest such 'editing' as Professor Chase speaks of. Coming in the middle of a passage describing the marvels that accompanied our Lord's death, they seem quite irrelevant, but there are excellent doctrinal reasons for their insertion. The suggestion 'interpolation' at once leaps into one's mind, but apparently all the best, if not all, available MSS. and sources have them, so that there is no textual authority for questioning them. Of course it may be said they were inserted very early; but what I wish specially to point out is that, whether they are rejected or allowed to remain, grave exegetical difficulties have to be faced.

Let the words remain, and the question arises whether it is the meaning of the writer that at the *death* of Jesus there was a resurrection of many of the saints, who, however, did not emerge from the tombs and appear in Jerusalem until after His *resurrection*. It is rather a gruesome idea, yet it is the one which in strict grammar the words suggest. Further, if this is the writer's meaning, then our Lord was *not* the first-fruits of them that slept.

Let the words be rejected, as the natural sequence of the passage seems to demand, and the same difficulty remains, accentuated somewhat by the statement that the risen saints appeared in Jerusalem before He Himself had arisen. Again, let the words remain, and do not press the point of grammar, but admit 'after His resurrection' was intended to cover the opening of the tombs and the raising of the saints, as well as the coming forth and the appearing in Jerusalem, it may be asked why are marvels that took place at the *resurrection* of our Lord referred to in the heart of a passage describing in detail what took place just at His *death*?

I think the various points raised are worth discussing. May it be that the 'editing' of which Professor Chase speaks is the solution? If so, what precisely does 'editing' in this case mean? Have we the work of one or of more than one 'editor' before us? JOHN SIMPSON.

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The Stone which the Builders Rejected.

Is it not painful to learn that already the very oldest account of a pilgrimage to Palestine mentions, among the wondrous things shown to the pilgrims at Jerusalem, the stone which the builders rejected? The Pilgrim of Bordeaux, who was in Jerusalem in the year 333, says, after he has mentioned the pinnacle of the temple on which the tempter placed Jesus: '*Ibi est et lapis angularis magnus de quo dictum est: Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est ad caput anguli.*'

And about the year 570 Antonius of Piacenza writes: 'Then we came to the Church of Holy Sion. There are many wondrous things, among them the corner stone which was rejected by the builders. When Jesus entered that church, which was the house of St. James, he found a shapeless stone lying in the midst, took it and placed it in the corner. You may take and lift it, and, when you bring your ear to the corner, it sounds in your ear like the murmurings of many people. *Ingresso Domino Jesu in ipsa ecclesia, quæ fuit domus sancti Jacobi, invenit lapidem istum deformem in medio jacentem, tenuit eum et posuit in angulum. Quem tenes et levas in manibus tuis, et ponis aurem in ipso angulo, et sonat in auribus tuis quasi multorum hominum murmuratio.*'

Comp. 'Itinera Hierosolymitana,' ed. P. Geyer, in vol. xxxviii. of the *Vienna Corpus of the Latin Fathers*, pp. 23, 173. EB. NESTLE.

Maulbronn.

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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

When we have the opportunity of looking back upon a hot controversy of years gone by, we are often struck with the smallness of the issue upon which it turned. In the year 1890 a grand duel took place in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* between Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley. The subject was supposed to be the Supernatural in the Gospels. With his unexampled adroitness, however, Professor Huxley persuaded us to stake the existence of the Supernatural in the Gospels upon a single miracle. He chose the miracle, and nicknamed it the 'Gadarene Pig Affair.' The idea in Professor Huxley's mind seemed to be that the miracles of the New Testament were like links of a chain. Break the smallest link and the chain is useless. The 'Gadarene Pig Affair' was not only the smallest link but the easiest link to hammer at.

But as the controversy proceeded the issue became still narrower. It turned finally and for a long time upon the question whether the people of Gadara were Jews or not. If they were Jews, then, said Mr. Gladstone, they had no business to be keeping swine. But, said Professor Huxley, they were not Jews; in destroying the swine Jesus destroyed their lawful property, and 'everything that I know of law and justice convinces me that the wanton destruction of other people's property is a misdemeanour of evil example.' So he held up Mr. Gladstone triumphantly on the horns of a dilemma. Either the 'Gadarene Pig Affair' never occurred, or, if it did, the example of Jesus was an evil example.

It was a hot controversy. On one side at least it was fought with utmost earnestness. But it was all in the air. Whether the Gadarenes were Jews or Gentiles is not of the slightest consequence, since it is certain that wherever the miracle occurred it did not take place at Gadara.

How could they think it took place at Gadara? Gadara is six or seven miles from the Sea of Galilee. Did the pigs run all these miles before they made their final plunge down the 'steep place' into the sea? To Professor Huxley a miracle was a marvel; an additional wonder like that only made it more miraculous. But how could Mr. Gladstone agree to it?

The miracle did not occur at Gadara. It occurred at a place right above the sea. Its ruins are there still. They go by the name of *Kersa*. The evidence is of various kinds. It is textual, topographical, historical. It is gathered together and 'weighed with the strictest objectivity' by Professor Sanday in his new book, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*.

Professor Sanday says: 'As one looks across the lake from Tiberias, the eastern side appears to be formed by a single mountain wall, averaging some 1500 feet in height, with a few clefts in it, where ravines come down to the sea. Of these ravines the most considerable is the Wâdy Semak, a little north of midway up the side. At the mouth of this ravine I had pointed out to me a tiny patch darker in colour than its surroundings. These are the ruins of *Khersa* or *Kersa*. I have practically no doubt that these ruins mark the place which gave its name to the miracle.'

The evidence is short and convincing. There are three readings in the MSS. The best attested reading in St. Matthew is Gadarenes. But the true reading in St. Mark (5^{1}) is Gerasenes. Gerasenes is also the best reading in St. Luke ($8^{26.\ 37}$), though an important group of MSS has Gergesenes. Thus the oldest and only reliable name is either Gerasenes or Gergesenes. These words are both attempts to represent the adjective corresponding to *Kersa*. Gadarenes arose from some gloss. Very likely an early scribe, knowing only the Gerasa away in the Decapolis, and seeing that that city, some thirty miles from the sea, was impossible, inserted Gadara as at least nearer.

With the textual evidence agrees the historical and the topographical. Origen knew the place Gerasa in his day, though he thought it should be written Gergesa. And when Thomson of the *Land and the Book* rediscovered it, the name had never been forgotten. '*Kerza* or *Gersa*,' he says, 'my Bedawin guide shouted it in my ear the first time I visited it.' It is the only place that is possible. Not only are there tombs near at hand, but here alone is there a cliff that falls sheer almost into the lake.

The subject of the keenest controversy at the present moment is the Virgin-birth of our Lord. The weekly papers are full of it. The monthly magazines have nearly all an article on it. This month five books have come into our hands wholly occupied with it.

The first book is Canon Hensley Henson's *Sincerity and Subscription* (Macmillan; 1s. net). The question is, What are men to do who wish to take Orders but cannot say 'I believe in . . . born of a virgin'? When this question, with others like it, came urgently before the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, a few years ago, a Declaratory Act was passed. The Declaratory Act permitted men who had difficulties to say they believed these things *in a certain sense*. The Church of England has not, we suppose, the power to pass a Declaratory Act. But Canon Hensley Henson says to the men who have difficulties, Pass a Declaratory Act for yourself: say to yourself 'I believe in . . . born of a virgin *in a certain sense*.'

These are not Canon Hensley Henson's very words. But that is their meaning. His very words are: 'I may observe generally that it is now admitted by all fair-minded persons that the language of the Anglican formularies cannot in all cases be pressed in an exact or literal sense. The "general assent" to the Thirty-nine Articles is admittedly compatible with a particular repudiation of a good many of them.'

As to the Virgin-birth itself, Canon Hensley Henson plainly does not believe in it. He says that the evidence in the New Testament in favour of it is 'far less conclusive than is ordinarily assumed to be the case.' The two birth-narratives disagree formidably. One of them says that the angels appeared in a dream; it is 'no very violent procedure to assume' that all the angelic approaches were in dreams. And he thinks that if they were in dreams the situation is greatly altered.

The evangelists themselves understood that our Lord was born of a Virgin. Canon Hensley Henson does not deny that. But 'it is now very generally admitted by divines of unquestioned orthodoxy that we may understand the evangelical narratives

otherwise than the evangelists themselves understood them.' He quotes the example of Christ's Temptation. The author of St. Matthew's Gospel clearly thinks of three distinct visible scenes; but 'that admirable expositor, the late Dr. Latham, held the narrative to have been a representation of our Lord's inward conflicts, clothed by Him in a garb of outward imagery, that they might be the better understood.'

Dr. Sanday thinks the narrative is ultimately traceable to the Virgin herself, in all probability through the little circle of women who were for some time in her company. Canon Hensley Henson says that 'dreams or intuitions or mental conflicts related at second hand by devout women, the best informed in the world, are no very secure basis for an immense affirmation.'

Finally, Canon Hensley Henson states that the whole case for the Virgin-birth rests on St Luke. Critics 'seem agreed in attaching comparatively little weight' to the narrative in St. Matthew, and 'there is nothing in the rest of the New Testament to suggest anything abnormal in Christ's birth, and much to suggest the opposite.'

There are therefore four things which it seems very astonishing to Canon Hensley Henson that any one should deny: (1) the legitimacy of doubt as to the Virgin-birth; (2) the compatibility of such doubt with a genuine belief in the Incarnation; (3) the proper separableness of the Incarnation from any specific theory as to its mode, however ancient and attractive; and (4) the obligation of honest men not to affirm as fact more than the evidences adduced seem to them to allow. And when the honest man asks what his own private Declaratory Act is to make the clause in the Creed, 'born of the Virgin Mary,' mean, Canon Hensley Henson answers, Make it mean neither more nor less than St. Paul's phrases, 'born of the seed of David according to the flesh'; 'born of a woman.'

Let the second book be American. It is the first of a series of 'Historical and Linguistic Studies in literature related to the New Testament' which the Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek of the University of Chicago purposes to issue. The title is *The Virgin-Birth* (University of Chicago Press; 50 c.). The author is Dr. Allan Hoben.

It is well to take Dr. Hoben second, because Canon Hensley Henson is a trifle unsettling. Not that Dr. Hoben is orthodox and apologetic. It is impossible to say what he is or believes. His business, he says, is to tell us what we have to go upon in believing or disbelieving the Virgin-birth of our Lord, not what he himself believes or disbelieves. What we have to go upon—after Canon Hensley Henson, that is what we need to know. Dr. Hoben takes us first to the New Testament, next to the Ante-Nicene Fathers, and then to the New Testament Apocrypha.

He takes us to the New Testament first. In the New Testament the only references to the Virgin-birth are in the beginning of St. Matthew's and of St. Luke's Gospels. Dr. Hoben does not believe that any other writer of the New Testament had ever heard of the Virgin-birth. On that he is so clear and exhaustive that we had better quote his words: 'There is no trace of it in Peter's preaching, as preserved to us; and Paul, though it would seem that he could have made occasional good use of the teaching (the reference is to 1 Co $15^{45ff.}$, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ro $5^{12ff.}$ 8^{3}, Phil $2^{6ff.}$ *et al.*), preserves a significant silence; Matthew's Gospel, from 3^{1} onward, depending upon Mark, is also silent; and that portion of the Gospel of Luke, which, as we judge from 1^{2} and Ac $1^{21.22}$, constituted for him the Gospel proper, viz. that which began, like Mark, with the public ministry of Jesus as inaugurated by John the Baptist, is likewise destitute of any trace of the Virgin-birth story. The Gospel of John is also silent.

We are thrown back, then, upon the first two chapters in St. Matthew, and the first two chapters in St. Luke. How are they related to one another?

Canon Henson says, a trifle airily, that the whole burden of proof depends upon St. Luke. He means that we are not so sure about the authorship and date of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. But St. Matthew's Gospel is there, and it has its birth-narrative as well as St. Luke. Is it derived from St. Luke? Or are both taken from some common source? Or are they independent?

Dr. Hoben believes that they are independent. And certainly he has little difficulty in exhibiting the general independence of the first two chapters in St. Matthew from the first two chapters in St. Luke. The genealogies, which come first, are glaringly independent. St. Luke alone has the generations from Adam to Abraham. But between Abraham and David they will surely agree, for both have the same Old Testament material to work upon. They do not agree. Only one name in each can be identified, and that doubtfully. While to explain and say that St. Luke gives the genealogy of Mary does not help the matter, and is probably not true.

As for the rest of the narratives, their utter independence is seen at a glance by a parallel arrangement—

MATTHEW.	LUKE.
	Birth of John the Baptist, 1^{5-25}.
	Annunciation to Mary, 1^{20-38}.
Annunciation to Joseph, 1^{18-25}.	
	Mary's visit to Elisabeth, 1^{39-56}.
	Birth of John the Baptist, 1^{57-80}.
	Birth of Jesus, 2^{1-7}.
	The Angels and the Shepherds, 2^{8-20}.
	The Circumcision, 2^{21}.
	Presentation in the Temple, 2^{22-39}.
The Magi, 2^{1-12}.	
Flight into Egypt and Return to Nazareth, 2^{13-23}.	
Childhood at Nazareth, 2^{23}.	
	Childhood at Nazareth, 2^{39-40}.
	Incident in the Temple, 2^{41-50}.
	Eighteen years at Nazareth, 2^{51-52}.

When the portions in each Gospel that specially deal with the Virgin-birth are compared, their independence is not so striking. Still Dr. Hoben believes that they are independent. Both state that Mary was Joseph's betrothed, and that before they came together Mary conceived by the Spirit of God. And that is the all-important matter. But in St. Luke the angel of the annunciation comes to Mary in Nazareth, in St. Matthew to Joseph, presumably in Bethlehem. In St. Luke the promised Son is to rule on the throne of David forever; in St. Matthew He is to save His people from their sins. In St. Luke He is described as 'God's Son,' in St. Matthew He is called 'Immanuel.'

Now, the first question is, Where did these narratives come from? Dr. Hoben does not answer that question. But he does the next thing possible, he shows where they did not come from. Resch holds that they are both taken from a pre-canonical history of the childhood of Jesus. That history, he holds, had been written in Hebrew and translated into Greek. If we had it, he thinks we should be able to harmonize the infancy stories of the first and third Gospels. Resch's theory breaks down over the comparison which Dr. Hoben makes between St. Matthew and St. Luke. The only other suggestion worth considering is Conrady's.

Conrady believes that the infancy stories in our Gospels have come from the apocryphal Gospel of James. St. Matthew and St. Luke both used the Gospel of James, he believes, and then St. Luke used St. Matthew. Well, the Gospel of James is in existence. We can see. Dr. Hoben quotes the whole passage that is relevant. His conclusion is that the Gospel of James is itself nothing but a fanciful and rather prurient working up of the canonical narrative.

There is no other apocryphal source worth suggesting. Even the Ante-Nicene Fathers have nothing to work upon outside the narratives in the New Testament, until we come to Clement of

Alexandria. Clement looks favourably upon some extra-canonical material, which the Fathers who were before him knew of but had no faith in. Origen looks still more favourably upon it. Hippolytus at last accepts it out and out. But what is this material? It is nothing but the already discredited Gospel of James. For the account of the birth of Christ by a Virgin we are absolutely confined to the first two chapters of St. Matthew and the first two chapters of St. Luke.

But in the New Testament and in the Fathers there is another account of the birth of Christ. It is the account, apparently the only account, with which St. Peter and St. Paul were acquainted. It is the account that is known to the author of the Fourth Gospel. It is found in the Prologue to that Gospel.

Dr. Hoben seems to believe that these two accounts of the birth of Christ are independent and irreconcilable. The one account represents Jesus as born of a Virgin through the overshadowing power of the Holy Spirit, whereby His sinlessness, and probably also His divinity, are secured. It says nothing of pre-existence, and does not seem to know it. The other knows nothing of a Virgin. The birth is apparently an ordinary birth—'made flesh,' 'born of a woman.' The divinity and the sinlessness are secured by His pre-existence. He who was 'made flesh' was the Word, was with God, was God; He who was 'born of a woman' was before that 'in the form of God.'

Outside the first two chapters of St. Matthew and the first two chapters of St. Luke, the only way known to the New Testament of Christ's coming into the world was by Incarnation from pre-existent Godhead. Even the early Fathers know no other way. Ignatius of Antioch (martyred between 107 and 117 A.D.) is the only *Apostolic* Father who mentions the Virgin-birth. And when at last the Ante-Nicene Fathers take it into account, and endeavour to reconcile it with the other, their reasoning and their theology seem to suffer. Tertullian seeks to harmonize the Pre-existence and the Virgin-birth by representing the Spirit of God as bringing to Mary at the time of her conception the already existent Word, who then dwelt within her, and from her received His human flesh. Archelaus goes so far as to hold that in entering the womb of the Virgin the eternal Word dropped His divinity, and was thenceforth merely human until the Spirit descended upon Him at His baptism.

Well, then, what we find in Dr. Hoben is that the birth from a Virgin and the incarnation from Pre-existence are independent and apparently irreconcilable ways of explaining the coming of Jesus Christ into the world. Both preserve, and may have been written to preserve, His sinlessness and His divinity. The Virgin-birth is unknown in the New Testament outside the beginning of the First and Third Gospels. It is unknown also to the Apostolic Fathers, with the single exception of Ignatius. Of its source and origin Dr. Hoben has nothing to say.

The third book has been written by the Dean of Westminster.

Last Advent the Dean of Westminster delivered three lectures in Westminster Abbey on the Incarnation. He did not mean to publish them. For, though he had considered the subject not a little in the past, the lectures themselves were rapidly written, and he thought they did not deserve the dignity of a book. But meantime the disturbance of men's minds about the Virgin-birth of our Lord was increasing. The clergy of the Church of England were getting anxious. And now, what were they doing? They were urging the bishops to make an authoritative pronouncement on the subject. One of their own number, the Dean of Ripon, had started the inquiry. He himself seemed to be in doubt, if not about the Virgin-birth, then about the necessity for believing it. Let the bishops, they demanded, say publicly and

authoritatively that the Virgin-birth is a cardinal doctrine of the Christian Faith.

Then the Dean of Westminster determined to publish his three lectures. They might not be the best defence of the doctrine he could make, but the occasion was urgent. They would perhaps allay the uneasiness in some men's minds; and they would give him an opportunity of addressing an open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and urging him not to listen to the demand for an episcopal pronouncement. He calls his book *Some Thoughts on the Incarnation* (Macmillan; 1s. 6d. net).

The Dean of Westminster feels that the occasion is urgent. 'No one will dispute,' he says, 'that in the minds of thoughtful men there is a very serious disquietude in regard to the doctrine of the Virgin-birth. It is only necessary to ask any doctor, any student of natural science, or any man who interests himself in scientific inquiries and their apparent conclusions, and endeavours to frame for himself a reasonable interpretation of the problems of life—to ask him not only what he himself thinks and feels, but what other men of his profession or class are saying to him, in order to discover that there is a real unsettlement of their minds in regard to a matter which hardly occurred to their fathers as a subject of inquiry.'

Dr. Armitage Robinson thinks that there are two causes of this disquietude. The first cause is the spread of the scientific temper. To men trained in the processes of physical science, miracle is always difficult to take into account. But the miracle of the Virgin-birth has a difficulty that is peculiar to itself. It is not that Parthenogenesis, or birth from virgins, does not occur in humanity. No more does resurrection from the dead. In the case of our Lord's resurrection from the dead, however, one can see some moral fitness or even necessity for it. But there is not the same moral necessity for the Virgin-birth. One can at least conceive that the union between God and man, or whatever the Virgin-birth was intended to effect, might have been effected in some other way.

The other cause is the Lower Criticism. It has become generally known that the Virgin-birth is not taken account of by either St. Paul or St. John, the two writers from whom above all we receive the doctrine of the Incarnation; that it is not mentioned in the earliest Gospel; that its record is confined to the beginning of the First and Third Gospels; that the First Gospel has less historical weight attached to it than the Third; that finally, in the words of Canon Hensley Henson, 'the burden of proof depends upon St. Luke'; and they begin to wonder whether, after all, the tradition may not be an aftergrowth.

That is the situation. It will not be denied that the Dean of Westminster realizes the nature and the gravity of it. How does he deal with it? Not by an ecclesiastical pronouncement. The day for that seems to be past. Nor yet by a page of prejudging apologetics. The audience is unfit for that. He simply states the case. He examines the evidence for and against. For 'it is a *fundamental principle*,' he says, 'that criticism must be met by criticism, and not by counter-assertion.' In sympathy with the scientific mind, and in a temper that is itself scientific, he inquires whether it is easier to disbelieve the Virgin-birth of our Lord or to believe it.

He concludes that for himself at least, with his scientific training and his scientific sympathies, it is easier to believe it. For one thing, the Church has believed it from the beginning. That fact does not carry weight with everybody. But there is something in it for everybody. Dr. Armitage Robinson believes that the Church is the Body of Christ, and that the Holy Spirit is promised to guide the Church into the truth about Christ. But even those who believe only in a general providence, offering men the opportunity of getting at the truth if they desire, must find it hard to conceive that throughout all its generations, and on all its most sacred occasions, the Church of Christ has

been allowed to believe and repeat what is only a figment of superstitious imagination, or, as Dr. Robinson bluntly puts it, a lie.

Then there is the historical fact that the early Church did actually accept the narratives of the Virgin-birth which we have in our Gospels as true. How was she led to this mistake at the beginning? If they were no part of the original Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, how were they prefixed to these Gospels, and by whom; and who was it that conceived the story and wrote it out so wonderfully well? Or, if it was in existence before these Gospels were written, how was the painstaking St. Luke, who traced all things accurately from the beginning, deceived with this narrative? 'Can a myth,' asks Dr. Armitage Robinson—'can a myth have grown up and have gained such currency as to deceive St. Luke within forty years of the death of Christ? You must give the story time to develop into the two striking narratives which we possess; you must put it back to a date at which probably the Virgin was still living; and you must further find a ground for its origination.'

A ground for its origination—the unbeliever in the Virgin-birth finds that easily. The purpose was to prove or preserve the sinlessness of Jesus. And there is no doubt that the early Church did use the Virgin-birth for that purpose. But the question is not what was done with the story after it came into existence, the question is why did it come into existence? And it is incredible that it was invented to support the sinlessness of Christ. The sinlessness of Christ was sufficiently preserved by the belief in His pre-existence and His divinity. That was enough for St. Paul. It was enough for the author of the Fourth Gospel. It does not follow that these men had never heard of the Virgin-birth. We cannot tell whether they had heard of it or not, for silence is never conclusive. We know that St. John did not need it to prove Christ's sinlessness, but he may have known it and accepted it simply as part of His miraculous personality and history.

And the Dean of Westminster believes that that is the way to regard the Virgin-birth. It is not a mere wonder. It is not an isolated unrelated marvel. If it is a miracle, it is a miracle in keeping with the miraculous person of Jesus of Nazareth. If it is a miracle, it is part of a greater miracle than itself. To accept the Incarnation and deny the Virgin-birth seems to the Dean of Westminster unscientific.

For Dr. Armitage Robinson, who agrees with Dr. Hoben in everything else, sees no contradiction between the Incarnation and the Virgin-birth. To him the Virgin-birth is simply the way in which the Incarnation was effected. It may be that the early Fathers, in seeking to explain how the pre-existent Son of God passed through the womb of the Virgin to become flesh and dwell among us, were attempting more than they could accomplish. We are not responsible for their mistakes. And if their mistakes are crude and glaring, we only wonder the more that he who invented the story at the first, if it is an invention, was preserved in his harder task from similar mistakes. For us it is enough that He became man, and in becoming man did not disdain the Virgin's womb.

The two books that remain may be taken together. The one is *The Birth of Jesus Christ*, by Dr. Wilhelm Soltau (A. & C. Black; 1s. 6d. net). The other is *The Virgin-Birth of Christ*, by Dr. Paul Lobstein (Williams & Norgate; 3s.). Both authors disbelieve the Virgin-birth. Both books are written to prove it unhistorical.

The more persuasive of the two is Dr. Soltau. Professor Lobstein seeks to preserve the theological value of the Virgin-birth while denying that it has any historical value. And the effort misses fire. Dr. Soltau is the more persuasive, because he simply attempts to prove that the narratives containing it are unhistorical, and then seeks to show how it came into existence. But we ought to say plausible rather than persuasive.

For, in the first place, the case against the narratives is not so strong as Dr. Soltau seems to make it. He is too hardy in his assertions. And, in the second place, his explanation of the origin of the myth, as he calls it, is both self-contradictory and incredible.

It is self-contradictory. He says that the first two chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke were made up partly out of the Old Testament and partly out of heathen mythology. But they could not have come from both. If suggested by the Old Testament, they were written by Jewish Christians; but where were the Jewish Christians who copied the myths of the Greeks and Romans?

And it is incredible. Dr. Soltau has the hardihood to say that the Virgin-birth itself was suggested by the stories that were current about the supernatural birth of the Emperor Augustus. The Christians (he says now that they must have been Gentile Christians) wished to outdo the claims that the Romans made for their emperor, and prove that Christ was more divine.

But the best answer to Dr. Soltau is Dr. Lobstein's book. Dr. Lobstein believes that there are 'striking analogies' between the biblical myth (as he calls the narrative of the Virgin-birth) and certain Greek or Eastern legends. But he does not believe that they had anything to do with its origin. 'The aversion which primitive Christianity felt for polytheistic paganism was so deep-seated that before supposing the new religion to have been influenced by pagan mythologies, we must examine with the utmost possible care the points of resemblance which are sometimes found to exist between beliefs and institutions.' Dr. Lobstein does not believe in the race for supernatural supremacy between our Lord and Augustus.

If there is one passage in the Old Testament more than another that has made the common man a critic, it is the passage which reads, 'And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Jehovah: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as El Shaddai, but by my name Jehovah I was not known to them' (Ex 6^{3}). Has he not already read in Genesis, 'And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh' (22^{14})? Has he not read, 'See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Jehovah hath blessed' (27^{27}, words of Isaac)? And has he not read, 'And behold Jehovah stood above it (above Jacob's ladder), and said, I am Jehovah, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac' (28^{13})?

The Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, B.D., has written an article on this apparent contradiction in *Church and Synagogue* for July. Mr. Oesterley is a critic. He believes that the contradiction is only on the surface. A just measure of criticism will put it right, and the plain man will understand.

Now there is one thing that to Mr. Oesterley is clear. The Israelites who were in Egypt did not know God by the name of Jehovah. This is clear from Ex 3^{13} where 'Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say unto me, What is his name? What shall I say unto them?' Mr. Oesterley's conclusion is that the names 'Abraham,' 'Isaac,' and 'Jacob' do not represent individuals but tribes; that of these tribes some portion knew their God by the name of Jehovah, and some did not; and that the Israelites who went down into Egypt were of the portion who did not.

Who were the tribes that knew God by the name of Jehovah? The Kenites, says Mr. Oesterley. He believes that it was from the Kenites that Moses learned to call God by the name of Jehovah, and under the influence of the Kenites he succeeded in inducing the Israelites in Egypt to accept this new name and worship.

When Moses fled from Egypt he went to Midian.

Why did he go so far? Not because he could not have found shelter nearer, for Oriental hospitality is notorious, but because the Midianites were his kinsfolk. The kinship is expressed in the way that is usual to these early narratives, by saying that Midian was a son of Abraham by his wife Keturah. He went and resided in Midian with Jethro, a priest of Midian, and married Jethro's daughter. Now Jethro belonged to that tribe of the Midianites who went by the name of Kenite.

Mr. Oesterley believes that Moses learned to worship Jehovah in Midian. He was taught both the name and the worship by Jethro, a priest of Midian. But he does not mean that Moses had no revelation. He has no love for the modern spirit that, far from finding every common bush afire with God, removes the fire even from the Burning Bush of history and makes it common. He does not think that his explanation touches the question of divine revelation. For as the nation of Israel was prepared for the revelation in Christ by long previous teaching concerning the Messiah on the part of its prophets, so also Moses may have been trained by Jethro the Kenite for the Burning Bush and the great commission.

But what is the proof that Moses and the Israelites received the knowledge of Jehovah from the Kenites?

There is first the great respect which Moses had for Jethro and his family in the wilderness: 'And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, and did obeisance, and kissed him' (Ex 18^{7}). There is the fact that in the worship of Jehovah, Jethro the priest of Midian took precedence of Moses and of Aaron: 'And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God' (18^{12}). And there is the fact that 'Moses hearkened unto the voice of his father-in-law, and did all that he had said.'

Jethro's son, Hobab, succeeded to his father's place and reverence. He entered Canaan with the Israelites, and settled down 'with the people' (Jg 1^{16}). Pass on. In the Song of Deborah, Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, is blessed above women for championing the cause of Jehovah (Jg $5^{23.24}$). When Jehu began to put down the worship of Baal and restore the worship of Jehovah, Jehonadab, the son of Rechab the Kenite, joined heartily with him; and the prophecy was often repeated in after days, 'Therefore thus saith Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me for ever' (Jer 35^{19}).

It is circumstantial evidence, but Mr. Oesterley believes in it. The last item is the most circumstantial. The God of the Kenites was a god of the hills. Midian was a mountainous district; and so, in Nu 24^{21}, it is said of Balaam, 'And he looked on the Kenite, and took up his parable, and said, Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thy nest is set in the rock.' The God of Israel was also regarded as a god of the hills. Did He not 'come forth' from Mt. Sinai (which was in the heart of the Midianite country)? Did not the servants of the defeated king of Syria say to him (1 K 20^{23}), the Israelites' God 'is a god of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we'? And did not the pious Israelite, through all the years of his discipline, sing, 'I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help'?

Problems in the Gospels.

By Professor the Rev. C. A. Briggs, D.D., Litt.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York.

During recent years I have been called upon to lecture repeatedly upon the life of Jesus and the teachings of Jesus. After many years of special work upon the Old Testament I returned to my early studies in the New Testament with renewed zeal. The rigorous methods of criticism which I had been accustomed to use for many years in the study of the Old Testament, I could not withhold from the New Testament also. As I approached the New Testament from the Hebrew and Aramaic side, many things appeared to me in a different light from that in which they are usually understood. Many new problems emerged, and old ones have found new solutions. I propose to give three papers on these problems in successive numbers to the readers of The Expository Times, and to follow them up as soon as practicable in the new year by a volume giving a discussion of many more.

I.

When did Jesus begin His Ministry?

One of the most difficult questions connected with the early ministry of Jesus is: when Jesus began His ministry. The four Gospels differ in their statements. According to the Gospel of Mark '*after that John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel*' (1^{14-15}). It is a sure result of the modern criticism of the Gospels, that the Gospels of Matthew and Luke used Mark as a source, but with freedom, usually condensing, but sometimes enlarging and explaining. In Matthew we find: '*Now when he heard that John was delivered up, he withdrew into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is by the sea, in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah. . . . From that time began Jesus to preach, and to say, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand*' (4^{12-17}). It is evident that vv.$^{13-16}$ are an addition to the source. The other verses give essentially the same as Mark, but with important modifications, which we shall consider later on. Luke tells us: '*And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: and a fame went out concerning him through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all*' (4^{14-15}). It is evident that vv.$^{14b-15}$ are an addition to the source, and that the phrase '*in the power of the Spirit*' is characteristically Lukan and original with this Gospel. There remains therefore, as derived from the Markan source, only '*and Jesus returned into Galilee*'; the reference to the arrest of John the Baptist being omitted altogether. Luke is commonly recognized to be the best historian in the New Testament, the writer from whom we would expect historical data more than from any other. It is contrary to this characteristic that he should omit such a definite statement as that given in Mark with reference to John the Baptist, if he regarded it as a correct historical statement. We are compelled to suppose, therefore, that he did not think the ministry of Jesus in Galilee began subsequent to the arrest of John the Baptist. In this he is sustained by the Gospel of John (2–3), which gives a ministry of Jesus in Galilee and Judæa prior to the arrest of John, and gives another motive for departing into Galilee a second time. This is the statement: '*When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John, . . . he left Judæa, and departed again into Galilee*' (4^{1-3}).

On the surface of the statements of the Gospels there are grave discrepancies in which Mark and Matthew, on the one side, seem to date the beginning of the Galilean ministry subsequent to the arrest of the Baptist, while Luke and John do not; the latter asserting a ministry in Galilee prior to that event. Those harmonists who regard the Gospel of John as unhistorical, build on the statement of Mark and make the Galilean ministry begin in fact after the arrest of the Baptist, without giving the silence of Luke its due value. Those who accept the historicity of the Gospel of John, endeavour to arrange an earlier Galilean ministry, so far as the statements of that Gospel are concerned; but put all the Synoptic material subsequent to the arrest of the Baptist. This does

not, however, escape the difficulty, but only makes the discrepancy more glaring. If we build on the statement of Luke, there is no reason why we should not put a considerable amount of the Synoptic material before the arrest of the Baptist. If the statement of Mark is invalid as to the ministry reported by the Gospel of John, it is no less invalid as to the Galilean ministry of Luke's report, and should be no barrier to the consideration of any evidence that may lead to a larger Galilean ministry before the arrest of the Baptist, even to the inclusion of a considerable amount of material given by Mark himself subsequent to his statement. It has been a serious mistake to make this statement of Mark the key to the early ministry of our Lord. It is impossible to make any satisfactory harmony of the Gospels on that basis. It is much safer to build on the statement of Luke.

There are three possible explanations of the relation of Luke's statement to that of Mark. The statement of Mark was before Luke in its present form, and he either (1) rejected it as unhistorical, or (2) interpreted it as not referring to the real beginning of the Galilean ministry. (3) The statement of Mark in its present form is not that of the original Mark which Luke used, but the reference to the Baptist is one of the additions made to the primitive Gospel. We shall consider these in the inverse order.

It is recognized by all critics that the Greek canonical Mark has some material which was not in the original Mark at the basis of the Gospels. How much this material may be, and what in particular may be regarded as additional, depends upon careful criticism. Certainly there is no evidence that Luke had this statement as to John the Baptist before him, or that the author of the Gospel of John knew of it. Did Matthew's Gospel build on the present text of Mark? This is possible, but by no means certain. It is difficult to see why Matthew should change the statement of the fact in Mark to the *hearing* about it. The structure of the sentence is quite different in Matthew from Mark, although, apart from the addition of *hearing*, both might be regarded as translations of a common Hebrew original. It is altogether probable that '*the gospel of God*' and '*and believe in the gospel*' of Mark are additions to the original Mark. They are not in Matthew. The original Gospel gave only '*preaching and saying, The kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye.*' Resch thinks that the previous clause, '*the time is fulfilled*,' was there also. That is quite possible. In any case, the Greek Mark has at least two clauses of additions to the original Hebrew Gospel, and if so in vv.$^{14b-15}$, why not also in the reference to John's arrest in v.^{14a}? The most that can be said therefore is that it is not certain whether the clause, '*after that John was delivered up*,' was in the original Mark or not.

If it were in the original Mark, was it designed to state the actual beginning of the Galilean ministry, and if so, was it so understood by Luke? The statement is in the protasis of a temporal clause, whose apodosis is a general statement as to the substance of the preaching of Jesus in Galilee, namely, the proclamation of the advent of the kingdom of God and the call to repentance, which was also essentially the message of the Baptist. This is as much as to say that after the arrest of John the Baptist, Jesus went into Galilee to preach the same message that the Baptist had preached. It does not necessarily imply that Jesus did not teach or work miracles before the arrest of John, unless we suppose that this was designed as a comprehensive statement of His entire work. But that opinion cannot be sustained. The statement might be interpreted as a general introductory statement with reference to His ministry in Galilee as a whole, without the necessary implication that all the events mentioned subsequently, even in Mark, actually followed the arrest of the Baptist; unless we insist upon strict chronological order for all the material of this Gospel. But the modern view, that the order of Mark is the norm for the life of Jesus, has been so shattered by recent criticism, that it can no longer be regarded as a decisive test in any question. In fact, none of the Gospels can be relied upon for chronological order. They are all dominated by didactic considerations, which make the topical order prevail over the chronological. The ambiguity of the sentence in Mark involving the possibility that it might be interpreted as making the ministry of Jesus in Galilee begin with the arrest of the Baptist, would be a sufficient motive for Luke to omit it.

Matthew's statement is: '*From that time* (defined not only by the arrest of the Baptist and Jesus' withdrawal to Galilee, but also by the leaving Nazareth to dwell in Capernaum) *began Jesus to preach, and to say, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*' This represents that

there was a real beginning, not simply with the arrest of the Baptist, but in connexion with this removal to Capernaum after the arrest of the Baptist. If we could distinguish between the ministry of preaching the kingdom and an earlier ministry of teaching and miracle-working, then this would be a second stage in the Galilean ministry of Jesus, which would by no means exclude an earlier ministry of a simpler kind. There are reasons for regarding this distinction as in a measure correct, although it is not clear in fact to any of the evangelists. Prior to the death of the Baptist, Jesus in fact was in his shadow. The Baptist was in the public eye the principal; Jesus appeared rather as his most prominent disciple. It might well be, therefore, that Mark, and even his authority Peter, conceived of the earlier ministry of Jesus as introductory and relatively unimportant, and that His own real independent ministry began after the death of the Baptist. At all events, there is a dilemma, so far as I can see, for those who regard the statements of John 2–3 as historical. They must either give these statements of Mark some such explanation as those suggested above, or else regard the reference to the arrest of John in this connexion as unhistorical. I would not shrink from this alternative, if the other could not be sustained.

It is noteworthy that Tatian, the earliest harmonist of the Gospels, does not hesitate to ignore this statement of Mark. This fact had escaped my attention until after I had made up my mind on the subject. I was gratified to be sustained by so early and so great an authority.

The story of Luke is intrinsically most probable. The baptism by the Divine Spirit was immediately followed by an ecstatic condition of fasting in the wilderness, at the conclusion of which Jesus endures the great temptation. Returning from the wilderness, He goes under the power of the Spirit to undertake His ministry in Galilee.

The statements of the Gospel of John are entirely harmonious with this. It was natural that on His way to Galilee He should stop at the Jordan side to revisit the one who had baptized Him and given Him the anointing for His ministry.

The recognition of His Messiahship by the Baptist, and the transfer of two of his disciples, Andrew and probably John, to Jesus, and the call of Philip the next day, are altogether in place. With these three disciples He attends a marriage feast at Cana of Galilee on the third day afterwards, and then goes down to Capernaum (1^{29}–2^{12}). The naming of Peter (1^{41-42}) and the call of Nathanael (1^{45-51}) were evidently inserted for topical reasons. They belong to a much later date, as I have shown elsewhere.

We have now to consider the material of the Galilean ministry given by the Synoptists subsequent to the statements considered above. So far as Luke is concerned, there is no reason why all of this should be subsequent to the arrest of the Baptist. We have seen that the statements of Mark and Matthew should not compel us to that opinion. Luke gives first of all in the Galilean ministry Jesus' rejection at Nazareth (4^{16-30}). But this is only a variation of the story of His rejection given in Mt 13^{54-58}, Mk 6^{1-6a}, at a much later date. Jesus could not have challenged His townsmen to accept Him as Messiah so early in His ministry. Luke placed this rejection at Nazareth at the beginning of the Galilean ministry for topical reasons. We should not hesitate to place it later, as do Mark and Matthew.

The call of the four fishermen comes first in Mark (Mk 1^{16-20}, Mt 4^{18-22}, Lk 5^{1-11}), and it fits on appropriately to the calls mentioned in John. This is followed by the Sabbath day in Capernaum (Mk 1^{21-34}, Mt 8^{14-17}, Lk 4^{31-41}), and a tour of teaching and miracle-working in Galilee (Mk 1^{35-45}, Mt 4^{23} 8^{1-4}, Lk 4^{42}–5^{16}). The Synoptists differ slightly in the order of these events. But all give them at this time. Then comes a second Sabbath in Capernaum (Mk 2^{1-12}, Mt 9^{1-8}, Lk 5^{17-26}). This is followed by the call of Matthew, making the sixth disciple (Mk 2^{13-17}, Mt 9^{9-13}, Lk 5^{27-32}). All this material seems to belong to the earlier Galilean ministry, before the arrest of the Baptist. The next item in the Synoptists (Mk 2^{18-22}, Mt 9^{14-17}, Lk 5^{33-39}) is of some importance, because it is related in some way to Jn 3^{22-30}. The words of Jesus addressed to the disciples of the Baptist with reference to fasting are: '*Can the sons of the bride-chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them? as long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast. But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then will they fast in that day*' (Mk 2^{19-20}). These words seem to imply Jn 3^{29-30}: '*He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which*

standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease.'

Jesus justifies Himself and His disciples over against the disciples of the Baptist by using the very figure of speech with reference to Himself that the Baptist had used. The discussion between the disciples of Jesus and the disciples of the Baptist about fasting implies the same essential situation as the discussion about purifying. Both imply that Jesus was followed by disciples. The disciples of Jn 3^{22} can hardly be explained, unless we suppose that at least several had been previously called. It seems altogether probable, therefore, that Jesus soon after the call of Matthew departed from Galilee to Judæa, and came into connexion with the Baptist again according to Jn 3^{22-36}, and that in the same region the discussion about fasting took place, as well as that about purification.

The next incident given by Mark (2^{23-28}) and by Luke (6^{1-5}), although given by Matthew at a later date (12^{1-8}), is doubtless in its place in Mark. It gives additional evidence of great importance. The disciples on a Sabbath day, passing through the fields of ripe grain, pluck some of the ears and rub out the grains and eat them. The ripe grain was still uncut. Leviticus (23^{5-15}) gives the law that the first-fruits of the barley harvest must be presented as an Omer offering on the morrow after the first great Sabbath, that is, on the second day of unleavened bread. Prior to this it was unlawful to cut the grain or to eat of it. '*And ye shall eat neither bread nor parched corn, nor fresh ears, until this self-same day*' (Lv 23^{14}). The disciples of Jesus would certainly obey this law, however far they may have been from the Pharisaic excesses in holding that rubbing grain in the hands was labour, and so a violation of the Sabbath. The wheat harvest was two or three weeks later. We must therefore conclude that this incident was subsequent to the Passover, and not distant from it. In the text of Luke, ἐν σαββάτῳ is followed in most early codices (as A C D E H K, etc.) by δευτεροπρώτῳ, and this is accepted by Tischendorf and most critical authorities, although rejected by Westcott and Hort and Weiss, who follow too closely B ℵ, and by others. It is a difficult reading, whose omission is easier to explain than its insertion. Whether it was original or a later explanatory addition, it is still important because it defines that Sabbath. It seems to be the Sabbath after the Omer offering, and therefore Jesus and His disciples were on their way from Jerusalem to Galilee, having just left Jerusalem immediately after the conclusion of Passover. If this be so, then all the events thus far considered except the last, were prior to the first Passover which Jesus spent with His disciples in Jerusalem. This second return to Galilee would then correspond with that mentioned in John (4^{1-3}), the motive of which was the opposition of the Pharisees of Judæa, due to the wonderful success of Jesus in winning disciples even beyond that of the Baptist. Jesus, for prudential reasons, would avoid a premature conflict with the Pharisees of Jerusalem. There is no sufficient reason to doubt this statement, although it is prefixed to the story of the journey through Samaria, which must be assigned to a much later time in the life of Jesus.

The Gospel of John does not mention the arrest of the Baptist at this stage, and it is probable that it had not yet happened when Jesus departed for Galilee, but that it occurred so soon afterwards that it might be assigned by Matthew and Mark as a motive for the beginning of the preaching of repentance and the near advent of the kingdom of God.

If now we look back over the incidents thus far considered as prior to this, the first Passover of Jesus' ministry, we may conclude that the first meeting of Jesus with the Baptist was due to His journey from Galilee to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles, and that it was on His return from this feast that He went alone to the Baptist to be baptized by him in the Jordan. The first stage of the ministry of Jesus, therefore, was between Tabernacles and Passover, and this first Passover spent by Jesus and His disciples in Jerusalem marks essentially the boundary between the preparatory work of the Baptist and the ministry of Jesus. The work of Jesus up to this time was a preparatory work under the shadow of the Baptist, and therefore not considered by Mark and his authority Peter as the real beginning of the ministry of Jesus.

For the Study of Comparative Religion.

Some Recent Literature.

If the next great controversy in which the Church of Christ has to engage is to be raised by the study of Comparative Religion, the Church should prepare for it. And there is only one way of preparing for it—to study Comparative Religion. Neither Comparative Religion nor any other science can do aught against the Truth, but for the Truth. The only weapon by which it can hurt us is Ignorance, and that weapon we hold in our own hands and turn against ourselves.

But the study of Comparative Religion should not be entered upon at once. It should be approached by the study, first of all, of certain separate religions. For it is not possible to compare things without the things that are to be compared. And it is best to begin with a primitive religion—the more primitive the better, if the knowledge that has been gathered of it is sufficiently full and reliable. A better religion to begin with could not be found than the religion of the Australian aborigines.

The Native Tribes of Central Australia.

The religion of all the aborigines of Australia is not equally primitive. In the south-east it is considerably more advanced than in the centre. This may be due to the greater ease with which life is supported there, or it may even be due in some degree to the influence of white men. In the central regions, where the soil is parched and barren, and where certainly no white man has had much influence in modifying the native superstitions, the religion is so primitive that scholars like Dr. J. G. Frazer doubt if it should be called religion at all. This is the region that has been explored by Professor Baldwin Spencer and Mr. F. J. Gillen. Their volume on *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, published in 1899 by Macmillan, is probably the best account of a truly savage religion that exists in the English language, and the best introduction to the study of Religion. There are other great books on Australia. Mr. A. W. Howitt, the Rev. Lorimer Fison, and Mr. W. E. Roth are the best accredited authors. But for our present purpose they do not come into competition with Spencer and Gillen.

As has already been hinted, the book has more to do with Magic than with Religion. And to get the good of it one has to keep the distinction between Magic and Religion clear. Dr. J. G. Frazer defines Religion as 'a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.' There is an earlier stage of belief than this—at least many call it earlier. It is the belief that men themselves can control the course of nature and of human life. When that belief is carried into practice it is called Magic. Thus when two men thrash one another in Java till the blood flows down their backs, in order to bring rain, they are practising Magic. They believe that the streaming blood will bring the rain pouring down also. But when the Hindu pours hot oil in the left ear of a dog for the same purpose, his act is called religious. For his hope is that Indra will hear the howling of the dog and send the rain in pity.

Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies.

The Hindus are religious. Yet even among the Hindus there are practices that scarce deserve that name. The step from the natives of Australia to the inhabitants of India is a distinct step, but it is quite a natural one.

In the year 1848 died the Abbé J. A. Dubois, who had laboured in India as a Christian missionary for thirty-one years. It seems that immediately upon his arrival in India he discovered that if he was to preach the gospel with power, he must understand the thoughts of the people to whom he was to preach it. 'Accordingly,' he says, 'I made it my constant rule to live as they did. I adopted their style of clothing, and I studied their customs and methods of life, in order to be exactly like them. I even went so far as to avoid any display of repugnance to the majority of their peculiar prejudices.'

Whether this manner of life is advantageous to the preaching of the gospel is a question that is at present under debate. The Abbé Dubois held that at any rate it was good for the purpose of understanding the people. 'By such circumspect conduct,' he says, 'I was able to ensure a free and hearty welcome from people of all castes and con-

ditions, and was often favoured of their own accord with the most curious and interesting particulars about themselves.'

The Abbé Dubois wrote down his observations in a book. The MS. was translated into English in the year 1816. But meantime the author had revised and enlarged it; and this revised edition was never translated into English until Mr. H. K. Beauchamp had it done, and got it published in a handsome volume at the Clarendon Press, with notes, corrections, and a biography. The second edition of Mr. Beauchamp's work was published in 1899. Its title is *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies* (15s. net). There is a greater general work on the religion of the Hindus than this, but this is probably the work to begin the study of Hindu religion with.

The Cosmology of the Rigveda.

After the Abbé Dubois, and before passing from India, one may do a little special study. For that purpose an excellent book is *The Cosmology of the Rigveda* by Mr. H. W. Wallis. It was published some years ago by the Hibbert Trustees (Williams & Norgate), but it is certainly not out of date or in any sense superseded. In spite of its special nature, and the extreme difficulty of Vedic study of all kinds, it is intelligible and manageable.

The Religions of India.

Perhaps we had better now undertake a general survey of the religions of India. For this purpose it would be hard to find a more satisfactory book than the volume on *The Religions of India* in Professor Jastrow's series, entitled 'Handbooks on the History of Religions.' Professor Jastrow's series is worthy of all commendation, and we have read the volume on India with very great pleasure. It is written by Dr. E. W. Hopkins of Bryn Mawr College.

So immense is the field that no one would dream of looking for elaborate treatment of the religions of India in a single volume; and perhaps the one fault to be found with the book is that it attempts more detail than was necessary. Still the main purpose of the book is never lost sight of; that is to say, it gives a survey of the whole field; and certainly the interest never flags. There may be less originality (by which we do not mean less personal observation, but less originality of suggestion and speculation) than in M. Barth's handbook; but undoubtedly Dr. Hopkins is in every way more suitable for the English reader. The section on the modern Hindu Sects gives some real comprehension of that subject; but that subject is complicated and comprehensive enough to demand a volume for itself as large as Dr. Hopkins' book.

The Lamaism of Tibet.

Dr. Hopkins gives fifty pages in his *Religions of India* to Buddhism. It does no more than whet the appetite. But, in any case, it is doubtful if the study of Buddhism should be begun in the land of its birth, where no pure Buddhist can now be found. Better turn to Tibet. The difficulties in Tibet are certainly great enough. One of the most formidable is the scantiness and uncertainty of the information regarding the Buddhism of Tibet as yet available. But, on the other hand, there is a great book on the subject, a book that can be mastered and can never be forgotten. It is Lt.-Col. Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism* (Luzac & Co.; 25s. net).

Col. Waddell's *Lamaism* is one of the greatest books ever written on religion. The difficulties that had to be overcome could have been overcome only by a great traveller; the investigation could have been made only by a man of a true scientific temper; and the book could have been written only by a man of real literary ability. To take the last point first, we do not mean that the style is polished, but that it is often forcible, and always natural and suited to the subject. As to the second point, Col. Waddell was scientific enough to be careful that he did not suggest to the natives the things which he wanted to know, and yet he knew what he wanted to know. But the greatest worth of the book is in its uniqueness. Col. Waddell gathered his information for himself, taking joyfully the spoiling of his goods and the suffering of his person in the pursuit of it. Magnanimously he gives an immense list of works on Lamaism as an appendix to his book, but his book supersedes them all.

The Cult of Othin.

Pass from the Far East to the Far North. Already some account has been given of a comprehensive work on the religion of the early Teutons—Professor de la Saussaye's volume in Jastrow's series of handbooks. We now mention a little book by a scholar

of whom great things are expected. Mr. H. M. Chadwick, Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, has taken the religion of the early Teutons for his special field of study, and as firstfruits of it has published an essay on *The Cult of Othin*. The work is original and thorough. Mr. Chadwick's special purpose is to attempt an answer to three questions: 1. What were the characteristics of the Othin or Woden Cult in the North? 2. Is the Cult identical with that of the ancient Germans? 3. When was it introduced into the North? The essay is published at the Cambridge University Press.

Bird Gods.

A curious and attractive book on *The Bird Gods in Ancient Europe*, written by Mr. Charles de Kay, is published in this country by Mr. Allenson. In a gossipy unscientific manner it offers the reader much attractive information on the place of birds in Religion and Folklore, which it must have cost the author considerable trouble to gather together. A feature of the book is its admirable index. But the most striking feature of it is a number of decorative designs by Mr. G. W. Edwards. If it is not severely scientific it is at anyrate quite artistic.

Studies in Eastern Religions.

After the study of separate religions comes the study of Comparative Religion. The great book is Dr. J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. But if Mr. A. S. Geden's *Studies in Eastern Religions* is taken by the way, the transition to the science of Comparative Religion will be easier. Mr. Geden's book was published in 1900 (Charles H. Kelly). It is occupied almost entirely with Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Of these religions it gives a surprisingly clear account within its space, an account moreover that is thoroughly up to date and accurate. But the book has an additional value for our present purpose. The consecutive study of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism is a valuable training in Comparative Religion, the more valuable from the way in which these religions are related to one another. The similarity of doctrine and practice compels the reader to ask why the similarity is not identity.

The Golden Bough.

The great book in Comparative Religion, we have said, is Dr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. The only other book that could be put in competition with it is Dr. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*. But the last edition of *Primitive Culture* was published in 1891, and in such a science as this twelve years is a lifetime. Moreover, we understand that Dr. Tylor is busy on a new edition. If we master *The Golden Bough*, we can afford to wait till the new edition of *Primitive Culture* is ready.

But who is able to master *The Golden Bough*? Its three immense volumes, published so handsomely by Macmillan (we speak of course of the latest edition, 1900), range over every department of the science of Comparative Religion, and in every department they enter into extraordinary detail. One's first thought, indeed, is that the book contains a mass of materials for the science of Comparative Religion, not an exposition of the science itself. But that is found to be a mistake. One thread runs through the whole—the golden thread of the Golden Bough—and even the parts are co-ordinated and proportionate; so that it may actually be said that he who masters this book masters the science of Comparative Religion as it now stands.

And into what a world of wonder is the reader introduced—into a world of wonder in every part of the world, in every hole and corner of it! And how deep and unanswerable are the questions that are raised as every new page is turned!

Recent Foreign Theology.

Archaeology.

To students of Biblical Archæology no symbols are more familiar than *K.A.T.*[2] (= 2nd ed. of Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*) or *C.O.T.* (= Whitehouse's translation, entitled *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*). In future we shall possibly (but see below) become equally familiar with *K.A.T.*[3], for what professes to be a third edition was published some little time ago.[1] Such a nomenclature, however, will be

[1] *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament.* Von E.

somewhat misleading, although it may accord with German methods. It was originally intended that a *bonâ fide* third edition of Schrader's great work, prepared by Schrader himself, should be issued, but the veteran author was compelled by the state of his health to abandon his purpose. The work was then assigned to Professors Winckler and Zimmern, who have entirely altered the method of the original work. Instead of taking up the relevant O.T. passages in order and illustrating them by the cuneiform texts, the authors (who divide the work between them, Winckler taking History and Geography, while Zimmern is responsible for Religion and Language) give a connected account of all the material derived from the Inscriptions, as far as this has any bearing on the O.T., and introduce the O.T. passages in their proper place in this exposition. An Index of Scripture texts is introduced in order to enable the reader to dicover all the light thrown by the Inscriptions on any passage. That the new method has advantages we do not deny, but, speaking for ourselves, we should have much preferred an up-to-date edition on the old lines, even if the present work had been required in addition. The latter does not render such an edition superfluous, and it might be well worthy of consideration on the part of the publishers whether even yet a third edition of *Schrader* should not be prepared. We cannot consent to regard the work of Winckler and Zimmern, however valuable and welcome in itself, as entitled to be called *K.A.T.*[3], and we would venture respectfully to appeal to scholars to refuse to give currency to that symbol. Perhaps it might be called '*K.A.T.* [ZW].'

Passing now to the work itself, it is needless to say that Professor Winckler's part of the book (extending to 342 pages) contains much that will prove of extreme value to the biblical student, especially as both he and Professor Zimmern extend their observation beyond the canonical O.T. to the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature and the N.T. Muṣri, it is true, is sometimes ridden to death, and mythology plays quite too large a part in the early history of Israel. But, although exception will be often taken to Winckler's conclusions, every careful student of the book will feel grateful to him for the clearness of his exposition. The principles upon which he conducts his historical investigations are, we are persuaded, to a large extent unsound, but somehow one instinctively declines his guidance when he would lead us into dubious paths.

The reputation of Professor Zimmern as an Assyriologist is of the very highest, and we welcome with all our heart the 310 pages in which he compares the Religion and Language of Babylonia with those of the Hebrews. What strikes us most in reading these pages is the sobriety and caution which this thoroughly informed Assyriologist displays as compared with the jaunty confidence of the author of *Babel und Bibel*. It is truly remarkable to note the resemblances between Jewish (and Christian) conceptions and dogmas, and those that are to be met with in ancient Babylonian texts. No wise apologist of the Christian faith will seek to minimize these evidences that God never left Himself without a witness on earth. On the contrary, he will rejoice to see here tokens of the Divine purpose that men should seek God if haply they might feel after Him and find Him. But this is very far from implying, and Professor Zimmern repeatedly emphasizes this, that either Judaism or Christianity simply borrowed its dogmas from Babylon.

We would specially recommend the study of Professor Zimmern's account of the Babylonian myths, their religious rites and ceremonies and their cosmogony. These subjects are interesting both on their own account and for the light which their study throws upon Scripture.

Professor Hilprecht, whose *Explorations in Bible Lands in the Nineteenth Century* we had the pleasure of noticing recently in these pages, has published a small work of great interest on the excavations in the Bel temple at Nippur (*Die Ausgrabungen im Bêl-Tempel zu Nippur*; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; price M.2). The book contains no fewer than fifty-six beautifully executed illustrations and plans, as well as a handy map. It is sure to be widely read.

Professor Jensen of Marburg has published the first instalment (see *Z.D.M.G.* lvii. p. 215 ff.) of an article entitled 'Die hittitisch-armenische Inschrift eines Syennesis aus Babylon.' He gives a trans-

Schrader, Dritte Auflage, mit Ausdehnung auf die Apocryphen, Pseudepigraphen und das Neue Testament; neu bearbeitet von H. Zimmern, Leipzig, und H. Winckler, Berlin. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; London: Williams & Norgate, 1903. Price £1, 1s. net.

literation of the inscription, accompanied by a German translation, and then proceeds to discuss and vindicate his interpretation, almost letter by letter. It will probably be felt by the great majority of unprejudiced parties that the interpretation contains within itself the strongest evidence of its correctness. By the way, Professor Jensen tells us in a postscript that he is waiting for an explanation from Professor Sayce of his erroneous statement (to which we ourselves called attention in the June number, p. 431) that he (Professor Jensen) was indebted to M. Six for his identification of the sign for 'Karkemîš.'

In Heft 2 of the current issue of *Der Alte Orient* Dr. Leopold Messerschmidt tells the story of the deciphering of the cuneiform Inscriptions. This will be found to be one of the most interesting of the booklets that make up this admirable series ('Die Entzifferung der Keilschrift,' von L. Messerschmidt; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903; price 60 pf.).

We are glad to note the issue of a second edition of Winckler's very useful *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903; price M.3). The contents and value of this work are too well known to require our insisting upon them. Whether it be the letters of Abd-ḫiba or the Babylonian story of the Deluge or the Creation in which we are interested, we have here before us a German translation by so competent an authority as Winckler himself; while a transliteration of the cuneiform text is given below.

Professor Winckler has published also a small work entitled *Abraham als Babylonier, Joseph als Aegypter* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; price 70 pf.). The title gives little of a clue to the character and purpose of the brochure, which exhibits powerfully and in detail the change that has passed upon the views entertained regarding the culture and conditions of life and the religions of the empires and countries that must have influenced Israel in the initial stages of its history. What we read about Abraham and Joseph means, as interpreted by Winckler, that the Israelitish religion took its rise in the Hammurabi period in opposition to the new Babylonian teaching; *i.e.* it was motived and conditioned by the latter, as is the case with every movement of the human spirit, which derives its stimulus from the prevailing world of ideas, and whose development is determined in the same way. He instances as a parallel the impulse that was given to the Reformation by the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church. In Egypt, again, an attempt, we are told, was once made in like manner to introduce monotheistic doctrine, but 'there arose another king that knew not Joseph,' and Egypt returned to its old gods. The argumentation in support of this interpretation of the biblical data is marked by Winckler's usual ability, but with all its ingenuity it is not convincing.

The Babel-Bibel Controversy.

Amongst the most notable of the recent contributions to this controversy is a pamphlet by Professor H. Gunkel of Berlin, entitled *Israel und Babylonien: Der Einfluss Babyloniens auf die Israelitische Religion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister; price 1s. 3d.). Nothing we have read sets the position of matters in a clearer light, or shows more conclusively that, whatever may be the claims of Delitzsch as an Assyriologist, as a biblical theologian he is the veriest blunderer. The errors that even he ought not to have committed, and from which a proper acquaintance with the Bible would have saved him, are neither few nor slight. A number of these errors are exposed in Professor Gunkel's pamphlet. But the latter is specially valuable on account of the firm grasp it retains of the uniqueness that belongs to Israel's religion in spite of all its points of contact with the Babylonian world of ideas. Professor Gunkel illustrates most convincingly the independence of Israel even in such cases of undoubted influence from Babylon as we find in the stories of the Deluge and of the Creation. 'The Israelitish tradition by no means simply adopted the Babylonian but—a real wonder in the world's history—transformed it in the most radical fashion, *changing dross into gold.* Shall not we then as Christians rejoice that in the Babylonian original version we have found a standard by which to measure how much nearer the God in whom we believe was to ancient Israel than to the Babylonians?' A special interest belongs to what Professor Gunkel says about the 'monotheism' of the ancient Babylonians. It has always been a

mystery to us how Delitzsch—and, we are sorry to add, even our own countryman, Johns—could discover monotheism in that vaunted tablet published by Mr. Pinches. This is only a fresh evidence that a man may be a giant in Assyriology but weak as a child in theology and, we fear we must add, logic. Jensen has dealt already with this point, Gunkel deals with it in his pamphlet, Jastrow will have something to say presently, and we feel it would be slaying the slain to enlarge further upon it. The same may be said of Delitzsch's notion of that we mean by 'revelation.' It is true that his argument would have been relevant some centuries ago, nay, it may be relevant even yet as far as some obscurantist circles of the Christian Church are concerned, but it is out of date, and he ought to have been aware of this, as far as scientific theology is concerned.—We trust that Professor Gunkel's pamphlet will find its way into the hands of all who are interested in the controversy which has raged so long and so fiercely in Germany.

A word of commendation is due also to the brochure of Lic. Justus Köberle of Erlangen, entitled *Babylonische Kultur und Biblische Religion* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; price M.1.20). The standpoint of the writer is practically that of Oettli and Kittel, and his work is specially noteworthy for its exhibition of the *real* monotheism and the lofty morality of Israel's religion as compared with that of Babylonia.

We are gratified to note that the oft cited brochure of Professor Ed. König (*Bibel und Babel*; Berlin: M. Warneck; price 80 pf.) has reached its *tenth* edition; and that a second edition has been issued of Professor Budde's admirable pamphlet, which we noticed some time ago, *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen* (Giessen: J. Ricker; price 90 pf.). Both these works have rendered excellent service to the cause of truth in this controversy.

Comparative Religion.

THE third *Lieferung* of Professor Jastrow's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Giessen: J. Ricker; price M.1.50) has been issued at a somewhat longer interval than is usual after its predecessor. In a prefatory note by the publishers, this delay is explained as due to the great labour expended by the author in bringing his work thoroughly up to date, in view of recent Assyriological discoveries, and of the *Babel-Bibel* controversy. It is the intention of Dr. Jastrow to introduce a wholly new chapter (not contained in the English edition) on the Babylono-Assyrian pantheon in its relations to the temples of Babylonia and Assyria. The Babylono-Assyrian system of ethics is to be treated in the concluding chapter in much more detail than in the English edition, and with special reference to such recent discoveries as the Code of Hammurabi. It is intended also to issue, if a sufficient number of subscribers come forward, a set of illustrations, which will materially increase the value and interest of the work.

The present *Lieferung* concludes the account of the Babylonian pantheon in the time of Hammurabi. Then comes a chapter on the gods mentioned in the temple lists, in legal and commercial documents, and in official letters. This is followed by an account of gods of the secondary rank in the Hammurabi period. The succeeding chapter treats of relics of Animism in the Babylonian religion. Finally comes a chapter (to be completed in next issue) on the Assyrian pantheon.

Professor Julius Grill, at present rector of Tübingen University, has published a 'Rede' composed in connexion with the celebration of the birthday of King Wilhelm II. of Würtemberg. His subject is *Die persische Mysterienreligion im römischen Reich und das Christentum.* It would be impossible within the space at our disposal, even were it fair, to summarize Professor Grill's address, but we have much pleasure in commending it to our readers as a most interesting historical account of Mithraicism, and of its relations to other religious Mysteries and to Christianity (Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate; price 1s. 6d.).

Dr. Preuschen of Darmstadt has written an important tractate on *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult* (Giessen: J. Ricker; price M.1.40). As is well known, a lively controversy has raged at intervals during the last twenty years regarding the origin of monasticism. Weingarten gave the impulse to this by his contention that the monastic system was of later date than is generally supposed, and by his making the monks to be the successors of

alleged 'recluses' and 'penitents' connected with the Serapis cult in Egypt. This whole question is re-examined with great thoroughness by Dr. Preuschen, who cites all the ancient testimonies from the papyri, which enable us to judge of the meaning of κατοχή and κάτοχος. He finds no reason to attribute to the latter term anything but its usual meaning of 'possessed' or inspired by the deity, and rejects *in toto* the view of Weingarten that the κάτοχοι were in their manner of life at all akin to the early Christian monks. The only sense in which these 'possessed' ones can be called the precursors of the latter, is common to them with the O.T. prophets, the Rechabites, Essenes, Therapeutæ, etc. The whole of Dr. Preuschen's book is eminently worthy of careful study.

All students of Folk-lore and of Christian mythology will be interested in Dr. Willy Staerk's tractate, *Ueber den Ursprung der Grallegende* (Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate; price 1s. 6d. net). The legends connecting the Holy Grail with Joseph of Arimathea are carefully traced; the different elements, Christian, Celtic, etc., distinguished; and the view of Nutt emphatically rejected that 'the history of the Legend of the Holy Grail is that of the gradual transformation of old Celtic folk-tales into a poem charged with Christian symbolism and mysticism.' Dr. Staerk looks rather for the origin of the Grail conception to the influence exercised (in the manner with which Gunkel has made us familiar) on early Christian as on Jewish conceptions by ancient Babylonian mythology—in this instance by the notions of Paradise and the nourishment dispensed there. The reader who turns to Dr. Staerk's work for details will be amply rewarded.

A New Hebrew Grammar.

The well-known series, *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, has been enriched by the addition of a Hebrew grammar by Dr. C. Steuernagel (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard; price M.3.50). There is, indeed, no lack of Hebrew grammars either in Germany or amongst ourselves. In fact, it is not very long since the same publishers issued a grammar of the same language by Professor Strack. All the same, there appears to be a sufficient demand to justify the large supply offered to the public, and each publication of the kind has something distinctive that gives it a value of its own. If the publishers wished to have a new Hebrew grammar produced, their choice could not have fallen upon a more competent man for the task than Dr. Steuernagel. To the laurels he already wears as a distinguished commentator, he has now added those of a clear exponent of the laws of a language which must always possess a special interest to the student of the Old Testament. Dr. Steuernagel speaks very modestly of the elementary character of his work, which is intended not to compete with, but to be introductory to, such grammars as Gesenius-Kautzsch. It will be found, however, that it carries the student a long way, and is especially successful in expounding the laws of vowel-change, the knowledge of which is so essential. In addition to the Grammar proper, we have useful Exercises, Paradigms, Vocabulary, and a copious Bibliography. We wish Dr. Steuernagel's work all success.

O.T. Introduction and Theology.

The structure of the Book of Amos has been a favourite subject of inquiry within recent years. Löhr and W. R. Harper in particular have laboured in this field, and the metrical investigations of Sievers have led him also to examine it closely. And now comes Lic. Eberhard Baumann with what, in ordinary circumstances, would have been an article in the *Z.A.T.W.*, but which, on account of its length, has been admitted to the honourable company of 'Beihefte' to that periodical (*Der Aufbau der Amosreden*, von Lic. Theol. Eberhard Baumann, Pastor in Ploen; Giessen: J. Ricker; price M.2.40). It would be out of the question to unfold, and still more to criticise, the views of Pastor Baumann on the present occasion. It may, however, be safely said that he has made a distinct contribution to the literature dealing with the metrical criticism of the O.T., and his brochure will receive careful attention from the many to whom this is a fascinating subject.

The recently published work of W. Erbt on *Jeremia und seine Zeit* has now been followed up by the same author's *Die Sicherstellung des Monotheismus durch die Gesetzsgebung im vorexilischen*

Juda (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Glasgow: F. Bauermeister; price M.3.60). The standpoint of the author is now pretty well known. He sets the Deuteronomic question in a somewhat different light from that in which it is usually viewed, and brings out (possibly in a somewhat exaggerated form) the religious and moral differences between the Northern and Southern kingdoms. His account of the Jahwistic and the Elohistic legislation, and of the reforms undertaken by Hezekiah and Josiah, is the work of one who is at once an acute analyst of motives, and is possessed of historical imagination. His arguments will be read with interest even by those who are not always convinced by them. Appended to the work is a transcription, based upon Sievers' metrical system, of the various codes of law dealt with, accompanied by a German translation.

Historical and Doctrinal.

To Père Bonaccorsi of Rome we are indebted for a very interesting work on Christmas (*Nöel: notes d'exégèse et d'histoire*; Paris: Librairie Vic et Amat; price 1 fr. 75). The opening chapter deals with the story of the Nativity of our Lord, including such difficult questions as the Census of Quirinius, where our author appears disposed to adopt the solution offered by Professor Ramsay. Then come in succession discussions on the year and the day of the Saviour's birth. Père Bonaccorsi admits the absence of any authoritative early testimony to the 25th December as the date of the latter, and would apparently accept without much difficulty the interpretation of Christmas day as the survival of the *Natalis Invicti*, the 'better Sun' taking the place of the old solar deity. The cult of the *crèche* at Bethlehem, and the genuineness of the relics of the *crèche* shown at the present day, are next examined, and the weakness of the claims of the latter is clearly shown. Then comes a final chapter on *Nöel* in art, literature, and popular customs. The book of Père Bonaccorsi is that of one who is at once a devout Catholic, a scientific theologian, and an ecclesiastical antiquarian.

Dr. G. Diettrich, formerly of London, now of Berlin, to whom we owe so much of our acquaintance with literature emanating from the early Syrian Church, has rendered a fresh service by the publication of *Die nestorianische Taufliturgie* (Giessen: J. Ricker; price M.4). This baptismal liturgy, the work of the patriarch Išô'yâhb III., Ḥedhayâbhâyâ (652–661), is the oldest Christian ritual-form of the kind, being nearly 1000 years older than the earliest of similar forms in the West. Dr. Diettrich tells us in his Introduction all that is necessary as to the sources and as to former investigations of the liturgy, and then passes on to give in German a translation covering, with notes, no fewer than 50 pages. This is followed by other 50 pages of 'Textkritische Untersuchung.' The whole work will prove of much value to the student of early Church history, illustrating as it does the development both of dogma and of ritual.

The copious literature on the Lord's Prayer has been enriched by Dr. Otto Dibellius' valuable work, *Das Vaterunser: Umrisse zu einer Geschichte des Gebets in der alten und mittleren Kirche* (Giessen: J. Ricker; price M.4.80). The book consists of three main studies: (1) the conceptions of the Lord's Prayer that prevailed in the early Greek Church; (2) the view of the Prayer represented by Greek writers; (3) the relation of Luther's exposition of the Lord's Prayer in his small Catechism to the Old High German expositions from the ninth to the eleventh century. An Appendix contains a number of hitherto unpublished expositions of the Lord's Prayer, chiefly from MSS in the Königliche Bibliothek at Berlin. The studies of Dr. Dibellius will materially help to lay the basis for that history of the Lord's Prayer which he desiderates.

The first volume of a new and most important work on the Parables of our Lord has just been published. The author is Dr. Chr. A. Bugge, who, since the lamented death of Professor Petersen, is generally recognized as the ablest of Norwegian theologians. Dr. Bugge's name is not unknown in our own country. A work of his on *The Claim of the Bible on our Age* was reviewed by Mr. Beveridge in the *Critical Review* (October 1899, p. 414 ff.). He has also written on the Ethics of the Evolution Theory and on Herbert Spencer's Educational Theory, not to speak of contributions he has made to the literature on the Parables. The present work, however (*Die Haupt-Parabeln Jesu*; Giessen: J. Ricker; price M.5.40), will once for all establish his reputation, and will have to be taken account of by all subsequent workers in this department.

In his Preface Dr. Bugge easily disposes of the objection that we have already a superfluity of books on the Parables, and in particular that the great work of Jülicher leaves no room and no need for further labours of the kind. We are sure that many of our readers will feel, with Dr. Bugge, that, greatly as they admire Jülicher, there are very serious objections to be taken to his essentially one-sided conception of the Parable, as well as to the grounds on which he accepts or rejects the genuineness of whole sections of the Gospels. In fact, the great value of Bugge's Introduction consists in the way in which he rescues its real meaning for the term 'Parable.' Jülicher has built up his conception of the Parable under the influence of Greek rather than Jewish rhetoricians, whereas it is becoming increasingly clear that it is only an intimate acquaintance with contemporary Jewish currents of ideas and methods of teaching that will enable us to understand Jesus as a teacher. We commend to the careful attention of our readers all that Dr. Bugge has to say on Metaphor, Allegory, Paradox, etc., for we are persuaded that he is entirely on the right lines. When he comes to the treatment of the individual Parables, he wastes no words and does not load his pages with quotations and refutations of other commentators. At the same time, nothing of importance from this point of view is left out, and at the close of each Parable some typical illustrations are given of its treatment by the great exegetes of the Church in days gone by.

It may suffice if we now indicate the contents of the book subsequent to the introductory matter. These are as follows:—

I. The Parables of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God. Introduction.

§ 1.

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§ 2.

The mystery Parables and the idea of the Kingdom of God.

The second volume, which is expected shortly, will deal with the rest of the leading Parables. Dr. Bugge's work, when complete, will be one of those most prized by the student of the New Testament.

An important announcement is made by Messrs. C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn of Berlin, the well-known publishers of the works of Calvin, Luther, Zwingli, etc., as well as of the invaluable *Theologischer Jahresbericht*. With the countenance and support of the *Verein für Reformationsgeschichte*, they have projected a new historical series to be entitled *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. It will contain critical texts of hitherto unpublished material bearing upon the history of the Reformation, as well as texts that have been printed but are difficult of access. A place will be given also to critical inquiries, especially such as serve to throw light upon the sources; new discoveries in this field of research will be chronicled; and account will be taken of important articles in the periodicals, etc. The *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* will be published at no fixed intervals, but in such a number of *Hefte* as will amount to from 320 to 400 pages in a year; the average cost being about 10s. a year. We trust that the new series will meet with the support it so well deserves.

J. A. Selbie.

Maryculter, Aberdeen.

Krumbacher's 'Problem of the Modern Greek Literary Dialect.'[1]

It is only a part of this 200 page volume that will concern the readers of The Expository Times. They will be interested in it, first, because no student of New Testament Greek can afford to ignore Modern Greek—a fact which, adumbrated thirty years ago in the English *Winer*, has become exceedingly clear since the papyri solved the long-standing enigma as to the true nature of the N.T. dialect. But the book also deals with a problem which is of first importance to all who would see the Scriptures circulating in Greece in a tongue understanded of the people. And finally it suggests sundry analogous questions as to the kind

[1] *Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache.* Festrede gehalten in der öffentlichen Sitzung der K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München am 15 November 1902. Von K. Krumbacher. München, 1902. [June 1903 was the real date of publication, unless many of the notes were prophetic.]

of English in which the N.T. would be most likely to reach our own populace, the old-fashioned literary English of A.V. and R.V., or the modern familiar dialect of Dr. Weymouth and the *Twentieth Century* translators.

Dr. Krumbacher needs no introduction to the (in England) sadly limited circle of those who study post-classical Greek. His monumental *History of Byzantine Literature*, and the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, which he edits, are sufficient credentials for the foremost scholar of his time in a field which, largely owing to him, is now beginning to be thought worthy of study. The lecture before us has been perhaps too freely expanded from its original form: it could hardly take less than seven hours to deliver as printed here, and for all its cogency and effectiveness strikes one as too diffuse. It is a προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας, a plea for the literary use of the genuine modern Greek in the place of the 'mummy-speech,' the καθαρεύουσα, in the unnatural bands of which the Greek child is tied up as soon as he goes to school. The Greeks of to-day (led, strange to say, by the great Hatzidakis, who has done more for the scientific investigation of Modern Greek than any other scholar) are desperately eager to restrict literature and even journalism to the 'pure' dialect. A rough recipe for its concoction may be ventured: Take a piece of Attic Greek, cut out the optatives, replace the infinitives by νὰ and subjunctive, use the modern ἂς and θὰ and δὲν and a few other conventionally chosen modern idioms, and pretend that the result is the 'pure' language of Plato brought up to date. If you have to talk of things which Plato did not know of, devise sesquipedalian titles like 'Waggon-series' (ἁμαξοστοιχία), where the people condescend to say τὸ τρένο. The child of six learns at school to say ὁ μῦς ἔχει πόδας, and comes home to say (if occasion demands), τὸ ποντίκι ἔχει ποδάρια. Correct speech demands μία βαθμὶς τῆς κλίμακος ἐθραύσθη, where in ordinary life one would say ἕνα σκαλοπάτι ἔσπασε. Join this to the toil of learning when historical orthography demands ει, η, ι, οι, or υ to be written for the single sound *ee*,—for Greek spelling is now almost as desperately antiphonetic as our own,—and it will be clear that the child has little time to spare for a real education.[1] The masses of the people cannot understand the Government proclamations. In a sea-fight, the captain gave an order which only the prompt translation of a marine saved from being ignored with disastrous results. Queen Olga, in the course of her humane efforts to care for the inmates of prisons and hospitals, found that the New Testament was unintelligible. She caused a new translation to be made, which, however was still too much hampered by the conventional to serve its purpose completely—Krumbacher describes it as more conventional than the Bible Society version of 1829. Then an Athenian newspaper published a part of the Gospels in the vernacular, by Alex. Palles. This is pronounced somewhat too vernacular, and it seems there are vulgar expressions in it which might well offend reverence.[2] How far this was the *vera causa* of what followed, we cannot say; but the students and the Church were immediately up in arms, and the riots of last year set back for a long time to come any real prospect of bringing the Bible to the common people. In a document quoted here, the Church declares in sonorous pseudo-Attic that it is undesirable that the people should read the Scriptures for themselves.

How greatly the vernacular differs from that of the first century A.D., may best be seen by one of Krumbacher's comparison verses, which runs thus in the Bible Society version[3], in that of Queen Olga's translators, and in Palles: I need not copy the original (Mt 3^{10}).

1. καὶ ἰδοὺ, καὶ τὸ πελέκι εἰς τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ δένδρου κεῖται· κάθε δένδρον λοιπὸν, ὁποῦ δὲν κάμνει καλὸν καρπὸν, κόπτεται καὶ βάλλεται εἰς τὸ πῦρ.

2. τώρα δὲ πλέον καὶ ἡ ἀξίνα πλησίον εἰς τὴν ῥίζαν

words, with the old declension and conjugation forms preserved. The Marseillaise thus opens: *Ambulemus infantes de illa patria, Illud diurnum de gloria est adripatum!* Imagine ourselves forced to find or invent an Anglo-Saxon term for everything, and to replace all the Anglo-Saxon inflexions, while pronouncing as if the words were Modern English! Practically that would be a fair analogue, except that the Greeks go back a thousand years farther for their model.

[1] Krumbacher parallels the character of the modern literary dialect by supposing French turned back etymologically into its parent Latin, so as to be a jumble of early and late

[2] Thus in Mt 4^{5} τότε τὸν ἐπῆρεν ὁ διάβολος suggests the vulgar phrase, 'devil take him!' The Bible Society translation, however, had the same. In his revision ('Η Νέα Διαθήκη κατὰ τὸ Βατικανὸ χερόγραφο, μεταφρασμένη ἀπὸ τὸν 'Αλεξ. Πάλλη· μέρος πρῶτο, Λίβερπουλ, 1902), he has altered the verb to πηγαίνει.

[3] I quote from Krumbacher, who cites the original edition. My own copy, dated 1872, shows many alterations for the worse, *e.g.* πᾶν for κάθε, and μὴ κάμνον (!) for the relative clause.

τῶν δένδρων εὑρίσκεται· κάθε λοιπὸν δένδρον, ποῦ δὲν κάμνει καλὸν καρπὸν, κόπτεται σύῤῥιζα καὶ ῥίπτεται εἰς τὴν φωτιάν.

3. καὶ πιὰ τὸ ξινάρι τώρα στέκει κοντὰ στὴ ῥίζα τῶν δέντρων· κάθε λοιπὸν δέντρο, ποῦ δὲν κάνει καρπὸ καλὸ, κόβεται καὶ ῥήχνεται στὴ φωτιά.

And the pity of this revolt against natural speech is that the fanatical conservers of Plato's speech use a dialect which Plato would not have known as Greek till he saw it written down,—so complete a change of pronunciation was accomplished very early in the history of Hellenistic,—and which when read would have struck him like 'Baboo' English strikes us. And in the interest of this dialect it is officially forbidden to translate into the popular tongue a Book which recent discoveries have shown to be the only book of its time written absolutely in the language of the common people! As Krumbacher shows, the iron hand of the Atticist was heavy on every writer of literature nineteen centuries ago, as in Greece to-day. Only the New Testament writers, who knew not and cared not that they were writing literature, dared to set forth their message in the very style, plain yet not vulgar, of daily life.

The final question suggested at the beginning of this article is too large to discuss here. I am far from denying the extent to which Palles and Weymouth start from the same principle. But I do not think the cases are sufficiently parallel. The old-fashioned dialect of the R.V. cannot, like the καθαρεύουσα, be described as really dead. Men fall into it naturally in prayer, for instance, even though their ordinary speech be very different; nor can it be fairly said that it is too difficult for the common people. Moreover, the *Twentieth Century* translators and Dr. Weymouth alike write in cultivated modern English of the standard dialect. To find a real parallel for the work of Palles, we should have to set a committee of 'kailyard' writers to translate into the musical Scotch of the peasantry, or my friend 'John Ackworth' to make a Lancashire Testament for the mill-hands, or 'Robert' (so Krumbacher) Kipling to follow the soldier with a Cockney version. In Greece, till the educated classes have consented to adopt for writing purposes the vernacular which has proved good enough for not a few poets, there seems no choice between a somewhat vulgarized New Testament and none at all; and if (which I doubt) there are classes in England which cannot understand Bible English, it would seem that we have the same dilemma, however useful the modernized versions may be as paraphrase and commentary.

There are many other morals one would like to draw from this informing book, a summary of which I have no room to sketch. One for the grammarian may be added to those already indicated. We are settling down to the principle that if Modern Greek shows developed a phenomenon which begins to appear in the N.T., we must be careful to treat it as in the line of development, and not insist on forcing it on the Procrustean bed of classical rule. In applying the principle, Krumbacher's facts make it extremely important that we should test the sources of the Modern Greek we use: it will be futile to argue from the artificial Greek of the schools. A careful study of Palles will indeed be found most instructive for the student of Hellenistic. And the Protestant Christian as he reads it will long for the day when such a book may bring the Bible near to those who live now in the cities where Paul preached to the scholars and the common people of the olden time.

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Point and Illustration.

'Things as They Are.'

This is the title which Miss Amy Wilson-Carmichael has given to her book on Mission Work in Southern India (Morgan & Scott; 6s.). The book is a revelation. Its plainness of speech, its realism of illustration, its insight and sympathy lift it out of the common. The best review of it is to let it speak.

Faith and Practice.—There she sat, queen of her home. The sons were expected, and she had been making preparations for their coming.

Her little grandchildren played about her, each one of them dear as the jewel of her eye. How could she leave it all, how could she leave them all—home, all that it stands for; children, all that they mean?

Then she looked at me again, and I shall never forget the look. It seemed as if she were looking me through and through, and forcing the answer to come. She spoke in little short sentences, instinct with intensity. 'I *cannot* live here and break my caste. If I break it I must go. I *cannot* live here without keeping my customs. If I break them I must go. You know all this. I ask you, then, tell me yes or no. Can I live here and keep my caste, and, at the same time, follow your God? Tell me yes or no!'

I did not tell her—how could I? But she read the answer in my eyes, and she said, as she had said before, 'I cannot follow so far—so far, *I cannot follow so far*!'

A Crushed Rosebud.—There are worse things far than seeing a little child die! It is worse to see it change. To see the innocence pass from the eyes, and the childishness grow into wickedness, and to know, without being able to stop it, just what is going on.

I am thinking of one such now. She was four years old when I first began to visit in her grandmother's house. She is six now—only six—but her demoralization is almost complete. It is as if you saw a hand pull a rosebud off its stem, crumple and crush it, rub the pink loveliness into pulp, drop it then—and you pick it up. But it is not a rosebud now. These things, the knowledge of them, is as a fire shut up in one's bones! shut up, for one cannot let it all out—it must stay in and burn.

The Earthward Hold.—In India we have a tree with a double system of roots. The banyan tree drops roots from its boughs. These bough roots in time run as deep underground as the original root. And the tap root and its runners, and the branch roots and theirs, get knotted and knit into each other till the whole forms one solid mass of roots, sinuous and strong. Conceive the uprooting of such a tree, like the famous one of North India, for instance, which sheltered an army of seven thousand men. You cannot conceive it; it could not be done, the earthward hold is so strong.

The old in India are like these trees; they are doubly, inextricably rooted. There is the usual great tap root common to all human trees in all lands—faith in the creed of the race; there are the usual running roots too—devotion to family and home. All these hold the soul down.

But in India we have more—we have the branch-rooted system of caste; caste so intricate, so precise, that no Western lives who has traced it through its ramifications back to the bough from which it dropped in the olden days.

Ruth and Orpah.—These three Tamil children have many an argument (for Indian children delight in discussion), and sometimes the things that are brought to me would shock the orthodox. This is the last, brought yesterday—

'Obedience is not so important as love. Orpah was very obedient. Her mother-in-law said, "Go, return," and she did as she was told. But Ruth was not obedient at all. Four times her mother-in-law said, "Go," and yet she would not go. But God blessed Ruth much more than Orpah, because she loved her mother-in-law. So obedience is not so important as love.' Only the day before I had been labouring to explain the absolute necessity for the cultivation of the grace of obedience; but now it was proved a secondary matter, for Ruth was certainly disobedient, but good and greatly blessed.

The Verdigris of Sin.—They were all thoroughly friendly now, and we got into conversation. One of the group held that there are three co-eternal substances—God, the soul, and sin. Sin is eternally bound up in the soul, as verdigris is inherent in copper. It can be removed eventually by intense meditation upon God, and by the performance of arduous works of merit. But these exercises, they all admitted, were incompatible with the ordinary life of most people, and generally impracticable. And so the fact is, the verdigris of sin remains.

I remember the delight with which I discovered that Is 1^{25} uses this very illustration; for the word translated 'dross' in English is the colloquial word for verdigris in Tamil; so the verse reads, 'I will turn my hand to thee, and thoroughly purify thee, *so as to remove thy verdigris*.'

The Reverses and the Call.—More has been written about the successes than about the failures, and it seems to us that it is more important that you should know about the reverses than about the successes of the war. We shall have all eternity to celebrate the victories, but we

have only the few hours before sunset in which to win them. We are not winning them as we should, because the fact of the reverses is so little realized, and the needed reinforcements are not forthcoming, as they would be if the position were thoroughly understood. Reinforcements of men and women are needed, but, far above all, reinforcements of prayer. And so we have tried to tell you the truth—the uninteresting, unromantic truth—about the heathen as we find them, the work as it is. More workers are needed. But we will never try to allure anyone to think of coming by painting coloured pictures, when the facts are in black and white. What if black and white will never attract like colours? We care not for it; our business is to tell the truth. The work is not a pretty thing, to be looked at and admired. It is a fight. And battlefields are not beautiful.

But if one is truly called of God, all the difficulties and discouragements only intensify the Call. If things were easier there would be less need. The greater the need, the clearer the Call rings through one, the deeper the conviction grows; *it was God's Call.* And as one obeys it, there is the joy of obedience, quite apart from the joy of success. There is joy in being with Jesus in a place where His friends are few; and sometimes, when one would least expect it, coming home tired out and disheartened after a day in an opposing or indifferent town, suddenly—how, you can hardly tell—such a wave of the joy of Jesus flows over you and through you, that you are stilled with the sense of utter joy. Then, when you see Him winning souls, or hear of your comrades' victories, oh! all that is within you sings, 'I have more than an overweight of joy!'

The Descent into Hell.

By the Rev. A. E. Burn, B.D., Kynnersley Rectory, Wellington.

In the July number of The Expository Times the Rev. De Lacy O'Leary suggested that the clause 'descended into Hell' of our Apostles' Creed was dependent on the legend of 'the harrowing of Hell' as described in the Gospel of Nicodemus. He denied that such teaching had any true foundation in Holy Scripture, and traced back its origin to the legends about the descent of Orpheus into Hades which were prevalent in Italy in pre-Christian times.

Unfortunately Mr. O'Leary does not seem to have read the very careful studies of the whole subject of the history of the clause and its interpretation which have recently been published by Professor Kattenbusch[1] and Dr. Clemen.[2] He has failed to take account of much evidence of early Christian thought which renders such a conclusion impossible.

Every survey of the history of the clause must begin with the witness of Rufinus, who, *c.* 400 A.D., noted in his commentary that it was found in the Creed of Aquileia. Mr. O'Leary gives to this Creed the arbitrary date 341 A.D. It is necessary for his argument that it should be later than the supposed date of the Gospel of Nicodemus. But it is impossible to prove that the clause had not stood in the Aquileian Creed for more than a century before the time when Rufinus wrote of it. Critics generally agree that Rufinus had lost the clue to its history.[3] He did not attach any special importance to it, regarding it (as Mr. O'Leary says) as an explanation of the word *buried.*[4] Rufinus would not wish to admit that the Aquileian Creed had anything peculiar about it. Anything peculiar in a Creed was suspected. The word *buried* had implied the teaching that Christ after death shared the condition of departed souls in the unseen world, which was commonly described as the under-world in antithesis to the upper-world of Heaven. When the question was raised, What did Christ do in the under-world? Rufinus fell back on the common tradition that He announced His redemption to the patriarchs, and preached to the spirits in prison (1 P 3^{18}).

It is quite a mistake, however, to say (as Mr.

[1] *Das apostolische Symbol*, ii. pp. 895–915. Leipzig, 1900.
[2] *Niedergefahren zu den Toten.* Giessen, 1900.
[3] See Dr. Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 61.
[4] Kattenbusch (ii. p. 900) pertinently asks why then was it added to, not substituted for, *buried.*

O'Leary does) that the clause had not found an entrance into any Eastern formulary. The famous Dated Creed of Sirmium, of 359 A.D., contained it, and, with slight variations, the words were taken into two revisions of that Creed, which were accepted by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople in 360 A.D.

At a conference of Arian and semi-Arian bishops, which was held on Pentecost Eve, in the presence of the Emperor, Mark of Arethusa, a Syrian bishop, was commissioned to draw up the Dated Creed, which contained the following:—

'We know that He, the only-begotten Son of God . . . was crucified, and died, and descended into the parts beneath the earth, and regulated the things there, whom the gatekeepers of hell saw (Job 38^{17} LXX), and shuddered; and He rose. . . .'

The Dated Creed is said to have been drawn up in Latin, but no vestige of a Latin text has come down to us. Germinius, who was bishop of Sirmium at the time, wrote about it in Latin to other bishops when he came over to the cause of the orthodox bishops in 366 A.D. Probably it would be drawn up both in Latin and Greek.

Now a good deal turns upon the question whether it was a Latin Creed in the first instance or not. Professor Gwatkin has suggested that 'Western influence may have contributed to the insertion of "descended into Hell," a clause on which stress was laid in the West, in order clearly to state the truth of our Lord's death.'[1] Professor Zahn goes further and suggests that the formula was drawn up with reference to the Church use of the place where the synod was held. 'We may perhaps look upon Sirmium, on the Sau, in the south-eastern corner of Pannonia, as well as Aquileia, as one of the native places of this article of the Creed.'[2] Professor Kattenbusch[3] thinks that Aquileia was a kind of ecclesiastical centre for Pannonia. It has also been remarked that St. Jerome, who was born on the border of Pannonia, in his translation of Origen's Tenth Sermon paraphrases *died* by *descended into Hell*; and that Martin of Bracara, who came from Pannonia into Spain one hundred and fifty years later, had the clause in his Creed. But no less than three out of four MSS omit the words from Martin's Creed, and they were not found in the Creed of Niceta of Remesiana in Dacia, near Sirmium, at the end of the fourth century; so the explanation that they were found in the Pannonian Creed lacks support, and we must look elsewhere for the influence under which they came into the Dated Creed.

Dr. Gwatkin points out that many important phrases in the Dated Creed have close parallels in the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem. Its author, Mark, as a Syrian bishop, if not dependent on Cyril, had come under the same influences. And it is important to note that Cyril included the descent into Hell in his list of foundation truths. Cyril's explanation of the Descent in his Fourteenth Lecture reminds us strongly of the Dated Creed:—

'Death was struck with dismay on beholding a new visitant descend into Hades, not bound by the chains of that place. Wherefore, O porters of Hades, were ye scared at the sight of Him. What was the unwonted fear that possessed you? Death fled, and his flight betrayed his cowardice. The holy prophets ran unto Him. . . .'[4]

Further, we may compare the doxology at the end of the Syrian *Didascalia*, in which we read that our Lord entered into rest to announce to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all His saints the perfecting of the world and the resurrection of the dead.[5]

It seems to me, therefore, easier to account for the teaching of the Dated Creed by tracing its connexion through Mark with Palestinian tradition than by any theory of a lost Creed of Sirmium. As Dr. Sanday has forcibly pointed out, the current of influence then flowed from Syria — the Balkan peninsula—to Aquileia.[6] But it is not likely that Sirmium would have given the clause to Aquileia. So the Aquileian Creed remains an isolated instance of such addition to a Baptismal Creed, under the influence of the same general causes which brought it into prominence in Cyril's Lectures. Dr. Swete[7] suggests that it had been introduced as far back as the latter part of the second century to meet the Docetic heresy, or at least to emphasize the truth, which they denied, that the Lord really died as He really suffered. This is precisely the point which Cyril emphasized—

'He was truly laid as Man in a tomb of rock; but the rocks were rent asunder by terror because of Him. He went down into the regions beneath the earth, that thence also He might redeem the righteous.'[8]

[1] *Studies of Arianism* (ed. 2), p. 171.
[2] *The Apostles' Creed* (trans.), p. 155.
[3] *Op. cit.* i. p. 398, n. 2.
[4] *Cat.* iv. 19.
[5] Clemen, *op. cit.*
[6] *J. Theol. Studies*, iii. 17.
[7] *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 61.
[8] *Cat.* iv. 11.

In such teaching Cyril echoed the ideas of many earlier teachers, and there is not the least shadow of proof that he had learnt it from the Gospel of Nicodemus. It is possible to distinguish two strains of thought, both of which may be traced back to New Testament times.

The first is the tradition that Christ descended to set free the patriarchs, prophets, and all saints of the Old Testament from literal detention. Professor Loofs[1] regards Mt $27^{52f.}$ as a fragment of this tradition. We may explain by the light of it Eph 4^{8}: 'He also descended into the lower parts of the earth,' taken with the context about leading captivity captive. The second is the thought that Christ descended to preach and deliver souls from spiritual detention in a state of sinfulness, and the scriptural source is 1 P $3^{18f.}$ about preaching to the spirits in prison, taken with 4^{6} about the preaching of the gospel to the dead.

Our first witness, Ignatius, writes both to the Magnesians (c. 9) and Philadelphians (c. 5) about the prophets awaiting Christ, who, when He came, raised them from the dead. It is clear that he believed that the souls were raised to Paradise or Heaven. On the other hand, the emphasis which he laid on Christ's office as teacher in the unseen world, is an important point of contact with the passages quoted from S. Peter.[2]

It is instructive to learn from Irenæus how a gnostic writer such as Marcion perverted the common teaching of the Church. Marcion taught that Christ descended to free not the patriarchs, but those who had set themselves in opposition to the Revelation of the God of the Old Testament, Marcion's Demiurge, *i.e.* Cain, the Sodomites, the Egyptians, raising them to His kingdom. Irenæus combats such a theory vigorously, using the *apocryphon* which had found a place in some Christian copies of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah: 'The Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, remembered His dead which slept in the dust of the earth, and descended to them to preach unto them His salvation.' It is 'possibly a fragment of a primitive homily.'[3] Irenæus applied it to all saints of the Old Dispensation, but refused to base on it the argument which was used by some in his day, that Christians were therefore freed from the doom of descent into Hades. On the contrary, he says that the disciple is not above his Master, and therefore the souls of Christ's disciples 'go into the invisible place prepared for them, and there remain awaiting the Resurrection.'[4]

Tertullian argued in the same strain. His teaching has been well summarized by Kattenbusch:—

> 'Tertullian in an important chapter of his treatise *On the Soul* (c. 55), teaches that it was common Christian belief that Christ descended into hell, that this means that Christ fulfilled the law for men, dying and being buried according to the Scriptures. He speaks of some who considered that they did not need to believe in lower regions with the idea that the faithful must go thither; that Christ went to make patriarchs and prophets, but in the first place them only, partakers with Himself.'

As a Montanist, however, Tertullian taught that the souls of martyrs went direct to Heaven.

With the rise of the Alexandrian school of theology more stress was laid on the tradition that Christ preached, which was hinted at by Ignatius. Clement of Alexandria taught that the purpose of the Descent was that Christ should preach to all the dead, Jews and heathen: 'For no other reason did He descend into Hades than to preach the gospel.'[5] He borrowed from Hermas[6] the idea that the apostles also preached in Hades.

Origen had to meet the scornful suggestion of Celsus,[7] which yet bore witness to the current Christian belief, that Christ went to persuade the dead there because He had failed here. Origen denied this. 'In the body He persuaded a multitude, and then, in His soul stripped of the body, preached to souls stripped of bodies, and saved as many as would turn to Him.'

Thus we are led back by the Alexandrian teachers to concentrate our attention upon 1 P $3^{18f.}$ Are we to take the words literally or metaphorically? The metaphorical view was suggested by Calvin: 'I do not doubt that Peter is speaking generally of the manifestation of the grace of Christ which came to pious spirits, and thus they were imbued with the vital virtue of the spirit.'[8]

I agree with Dr. Clemen that this view is shattered on the word πορευθείς, *went*. What meaning then are we to give to ἐκήρυξεν? In the sixteenth century it was generally interpreted to mean preaching of damnation, but this does not seem to be its New Testament meaning. In

[1] *Symbolik*, i. p. 42. He compares also St. John 8^{56}, Apoc 1^{18}, He 11^{39}.

[2] Cf. Lightfoot's notes *ad loc.*, and on *Philad.* 9.

[3] Swete, *op. cit.* p. 58.

[4] *Hær.* v. 31.

[5] *Strom.* vi. 6.

[6] *Sim.* ix. 16. 5.

[7] *C. Celsum* ii. 43.

[8] *In novum test. comm.* ed. Tholuck, vii. 219.

Mk 7^{36} it is used of the crowd who published the good news of the healing of the deaf and dumb man. In Mt 12^{41}, Lk 11^{32}, *κήρυγμα* is used of the preaching of Jonah, which was certainly preaching of salvation since Nineveh repented. These and other references support the interpretation that the preaching was gospel preaching.

Who then are the spirits in prison? Augustine, Bede, Luther explained that they were the souls of living men imprisoned in the flesh to whom the message of Christ came by the lips of Noah. As Dr. Alford has well put it: 'If the words mean that the gospel was preached to some during their lifetime who are now dead, exegesis has no longer any fixed rule, and Scripture may be made to prove anything.' Another interpretation has been suggested, and held by Baur and Ewald, that they were imprisoned angels. But the word *πνεύματα*, though used for angels, is also used for the spirits of the dead (Ac 23^{8}). Dr. Clemen suggests that St. Peter wishes to keep back *ψυχαί* to use of the eight souls saved in the ark, so that there is distinctly a reason for his use of *πνεύματα* above. Nor can we consider 1 P 3^{19} apart from 4^{6}, which speaks of the gospel being preached to the dead, that they might 'live according to God in the spirit.' The most satisfactory interpretation here appears to be, that which was given unhesitatingly by early Christian writers, that Christ preached to the spirits of the men drowned in the Flood, and that His preaching was in some way instrumental in changing their condition for the better.

If we are learning more and more clearly to believe, in the spirit of Butler's *Analogy*, that our destiny is to be determined by character rather than by the accidental circumstances of death, our confidence in the justice of future judgment will be confirmed, not lessened, by such meditation on the revealed truth of Christ's passing into the realm of the dead. The fine phrase of Ignatius, 'the gospel of our common hope,' has been illustrated for us in the teaching of Alexandrine theologians. We have traced the first appearance of such teaching in the Creed of Sirmium under Palestinian influence, then in the Creed of Aquileia, from which it spread into other Creeds. The Aquileian addition, of which Rufinus was half ashamed, has justified itself to the conscience of all Western Christendom.

I have only attempted to quote a few of the passages in early Christian literature in which the descent into Hell is mentioned. I hope that I have quoted enough to prove that the clause did not come into the Creed of Aquileia from the Gospel of Nicodemus. At a much later period we find the Gospel of Nicodemus influencing the popular imagination of our forefathers through a famous old English poem of the school of Cynewulf.[1] But that is no gain to Mr. O'Leary's theory. It is indeed probable that the legend of Orpheus coloured popular superstition in Italy in the fourth century. An ignorant peasant seeing a picture of Christ represented as Orpheus in the catacomb of St. Calixtus, might well be excused if he confused the legend told him in his heathen infancy with the beliefs of his Christian manhood. Mr. O'Leary does well to call our attention to the possibility of such confusion. But we are concerned with the main stream of Christian thought, not with its backwaters.

Nor have I attempted to answer all the statements in Mr. O'Leary's article which appear to me dubious. To quote one example of general interest. I cannot believe that the only logical meaning of the words in the *Te Deum*: 'Tu, devicto mortis aculeo, aperuisti credentibus regna[2] cœlorum,' is that Christ led out the souls of the righteous from the *Limbus Patrum*, and took them to Paradise or Heaven. The author represents the Church of Christ as echoing the Creed, and these words describe the Passion and Triumph of the King of Glory, who now sitteth at the right hand of the Father. The words which follow imply that there is an intermediate state, in which all souls must await the Judgment before they can be rewarded with the saints in eternal glory. If the theory that Niceta of Remesiana wrote the *Te Deum* be accepted, a further argument may be based on his references to the intermediate state in his sermon on the Creed.[3]

Our thoughts about life after death are dim, but it is enough for us to hold to the main thought which the clause 'descended into Hell' teaches, that Christ stood once 'in the midst of the shadow of death,'[4] and bids us in death as in life abide in Him. In the words of the *Te Deum*—

Te ergo quæsumus itus famulis subueni.

[1] Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek*, iii. 1. 175.

[2] This, not *regnum*, is the true reading.

[3] Cum homo ex hac uita deficit . . . putrescente in terra corpore, anima pro suo merito aut in loco lucis, aut in loco caliginis reseruatur.

[4] Irenæus, *Hær.* v. 31.

Literature.

THE PREPARATION FOR THE GOSPEL.

Oxford: *At the University Press*, 4 vols., £5, 5s. net.

Eusebius of Cæsarea was the author of two great apologetic works. The title of the one (turned into Latin) is *Praeparatio Evangelica*; the title of the other *Demonstratio Evangelica*. Eusebius no doubt intended these to be parts of one work, to which he gave the title of 'The Demonstration of the Gospel,' and of which the part to be entitled 'The Preparation of the Gospel' was to deal especially with the objections which were urged by both Greeks and Jews against the Christian Religion. The two works, however, exist separately, and one of them has appropriated the general title. It is with 'The Preparation of the Gospel' that we have at present to do.

The *Preparation* was written in fifteen books, and they have all been preserved. This is Lightfoot's summary of their contents: In the first three books Eusebius attacks the mythology of the heathen; in the next three he discusses the oracles, the sacrifices offered to demons, and the doctrine of fate; in the three following he turns to 'The Hebrew Oracles,' explains their meaning, and quotes heathen writers on their behalf; in the tenth to the thirteenth books he argues for the priority of the Hebrew Scriptures, charges the Greek philosophers with plagiarism, and shows that all that is best in Greek speculation agrees with the Hebrew writings; the fourteenth book is occupied with the contradictions of the Greek philosophy, and the fifteenth with its errors.

The value of Eusebius' work—its value to us—does not lie in its apology for Christianity. It lies in the circumstance, little thought of by Eusebius himself, that in it he has preserved quotations from works that otherwise would have been completely lost. Bishop Cotton says: 'The book is almost as important to us in the study of ancient philosophy as the "Chronicon" is with reference to history, since in it are preserved specimens from the writings of almost every philosopher of any note whose works are not now extant.' But there is more than that, there are most interesting fragments of poetry; and there are also long extracts from once eminent historians, whose histories have otherwise perished. To take but one example of the latter: how valuable are the extracts preserved by Eusebius of the work of Alexander Polyhistor 'Concerning the Jews.'

Now this great work of Eusebius of Cæsarea has at last found a competent editor. In four handsome volumes, or rather in five, for the third volume is divided into two parts, an edition has just been issued from the Oxford Press. The editor is Dr. E. H. Gifford. The first two volumes are occupied with the text, the third with the translation, the fourth with notes. Dr. Gifford's original intention was to produce a translation only. But Professor Sanday, recognizing that in Dr. Gifford Eusebius had found an ideal editor, encouraged him to revise and edit the text also. The notes are mainly the outcome of the revision of the text. Not that they deal mainly with textual matters; they do not; they deal with matters which, in Dr. Gifford's own words belong to theology, history, poetry, philosophy, archæology, astronomy, and ethnology. But they are built upon the edition of the text, not upon the English translation. And we suppose that but for Dr. Sanday's timely encouragement, we might not have had the exceedingly valuable fourth volume any more than the text itself.

Dr. Gifford says modestly that to edit Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel*, the editor should be not only a student of ecclesiastical Greek and a theologian, but also historian, poet, philosopher, archæologist, astronomer, and ethnologist. The reviewer of Dr. Gifford's work has also to be all these things, with the little more that is needed for reviewing. We shall not make the claim. But we think we are able to see that this work has been done in such a way that it will not require to be done again in our time at least. We are able also to recognize the immense boon that this edition will be to workers in many different fields of study. We have even gone through the book for errors, and have been rewarded with a misspelling (Ermann) on the last page of the last volume. To Dr. Gifford himself it must be a matter of extreme satisfaction to see this great work accomplished before he dies. In the name of the great band of fellow-workers, whose work it will lighten and gladden, we offer him our hearty congratulation.

One interesting point may be noticed in conclusion. In the introduction to the translation, Dr. Gifford discusses the meaning of the name which Eusebius gives himself—Eusebius Pamphili (Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου). We think he has proved for the first time conclusively that the name is a testimony of filial reverence, that it means Eusebius the son of Pamphilus, and that it signifies that henceforth he would call no man 'father' save this best and dearest friend of his early manhood. He has also gone a good way to prove that Pamphilus had adopted Eusebius. For Pamphilus had a library which seems to have been unrivalled amongst Christians, and we know that Eusebius became the possessor of that library. It is probable, therefore, that Pamphilus had made Eusebius his heir, and the only way in which a childless individual could acquire an heir was by adopting him.

Among the Books of the Month.

Three little books have appeared at intervals recently, all meant to help the preacher to make his sermons light, if he cannot make them short. These three little books are now gathered into one book. Its title is *The Preacher's and Teacher's Vade-Mecum* (Allenson; 2s. 6d.). It is right honest and good work, to be despised by nobody. The author is Mr. J. Ellis.

FROM LETTER TO SPIRIT. By Edwin A. Abbott (*A. & C. Black.* 20s. net).—What a gift of writing Dr. Abbott has! It must take longer to write a book than to read it, yet we have scarcely finished the reading of one of his volumes, when another is put into our hands. What a gift of scholarship, he has too—patient, minute, exacting scholarship! What a combination of gifts it is — thorough scholarship and prolific writing in one! Nor is this all. Dr. Abbott has the far rarer gift of indifference to public applause. His work has not been recognized. Scholars have not taken to it; the public has not heard of it. Men have been shy to recognize even the central claim upon which the work is all fashioned. It is the claim that the variations in the Gospels are due to translation. There were Hebrew or Aramaic original Gospels, and every evangelist translated them as best he could, making innumerable mistakes in the process, and adding or omitting as it seemed good to him for the uses of edification.

The great subject investigated in this volume is the *Bath Kôl* or supernatural word at the baptism of Jesus. We have often had volumes exclusively written upon the Temptation of Christ. We cannot recall a volume occupied exclusively with the Baptism. But here is a volume, and a very large one given to a single sentence in the story of the Baptism, and yet it is all of the strictest and severest learning, no exhortation, no homiletics, no padding of any kind.

Is it a literary curiosity? But what if it is scientifically right? We wish our New Testament scholars who are also scholars of Hebrew, and who have leisure, would lay aside their inconvenient modesty and deal with this book thoroughly on its merits. Dr. Abbott is not a man to be ignored. Moreover, the strength of his position lies in the accumulation of particulars. He must be examined page by page and point by point. We wish they would tell us, for example, whether or not the very existence of the 'dove' at the Baptism is due to a confusion with the name 'John.' John may be Jonah, and Jonah means 'dove.' Did the original Gospel say no more than that 'the Spirit in the eyes of John (the Baptist) rested on Jesus'?

The most wonderful of all city missions is the Jerry M'Auley Mission of New York. Its story is told in a book issued from the 'Bright Words' Office in Rothesay. The title is *Jerry and his Mission.*

THE CARDINAL VIRTUES. By the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt (*S. C. Brown.* 3s. 6d.).—Having to select nine sermons for publication, Canon Newbolt did wisely when he selected those that were distinctively ethical. It is true there is in all Canon Newbolt's ethical preaching some flavour of the Middle Ages. But it is only a flavour; they are the ethical sermons of a preacher who lives in the heart of London to-day. 'My brethren,' he says, 'in view of the great virtue of Justice, have you considered the great question of running into debt? You are afraid to steal, and therefore you run into debt to satiate your craving to possess. And people who can ill afford it are deprived of their means of livelihood while you hold what is really their property. They wait for your convenience, still they wait, and at last perhaps they see him who holds their property sail off a dishonest

bankrupt, who pays the miserable pittance which is extracted from him, having thieved the rest.'

The Congregational Historical Society (The Memorial Hall, London, E.C.) has published an edition of Robert Browne's *Treatise of Reformation without tarying for Anie*. The editing is done by Mr. T. G. Crippen (6d. net). It is not without consideration for these our present troubles that Robert Browne is revived to-day, as Mr. Crippen very plainly makes known to us. The question of questions in religion is just the question whether we must 'tarie for our Magistrates' or not.

Let us take this opportunity of calling attention to the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society. Four parts are now issued. The first part came out in April 1901, the fourth in March 1903. Students of ecclesiastical history will find the papers they contain full of interest, and some of them offer information regarding the religious history of England which is not to be found elsewhere. Mr. Crippen's series of papers on Early Nonconformist bibliography is invaluable.

The fourth volume of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* is coming out in parts. The fourth part, which we think must be the last, has just been published. It is a study of baptism in Christian archæology, the author being Mr. Clement F. Rogers, M.A. The book is occupied solely with the question of the mode of baptism. Mr. Rogers tells us that he began his study in the belief that submersion was the usual form in the early Church, affusion being only allowed at intervals; he ended it with the conviction that affusion was the only method employed until the general introduction of infant baptism in the early Middle Ages made submersion possible. The volume is written with a purely scientific interest, and is illustrated throughout. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 4s. 6d.)

It is not every American book that can be published in this country. The publishers, indeed, have to be somewhat careful nowadays. Not infrequently a book that has been highly successful in America has utterly failed to appeal to the book-buying Englishman. But this is owing to some peculiarity of manner, or to that difference in literary 'atmosphere' which undoubtedly exists in the two countries. When the strength of the book lies in its scholarship, and that means, if it is a theological book, when it lies in its closeness to the mind of Christ, neither climate nor country stands in its way.

There is no book of recent issue in America that is more likely to appeal to the English student than Professor Adams Brown's *The Essence of Christianity*. It owes nothing to locality. It owes everything to its author's loyalty to Christ and to truth. The title may not be attractive there or here. It is not intended to attract the superficial reader. But surely it is a matter of interest even to the most superficial reader to know what Christ stands for, what is that power of God unto salvation which we name by the single word 'Christianity.' In these days, when Comparative Religion is upon us, it will be found that there are few matters of keener interest or more urgent necessity. Dr. Adams Brown's method is historical. After stating the problem, after stating what is involved in a scientific definition of Christianity, he proceeds to show how it was understood (1) by the Ancient Church, (2) by the Reformation, (3) at the beginning of modern theology, (4) by Schleiermacher, (5) by the Hegelians, (6) by the Ritschlians; and then in a masterly concluding chapter he gathers together the purpose and point of the whole. Dr. Adams Brown is one of the youngest men in the strong band of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. He is Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology there.

MIRACLES AND SUPERNATURAL RELIGION. By J. M. Whiton, Ph.D. (*Macmillan*. 3s. net).—This is a popular, an extremely popular, account of what the modern mind does with the miracles of the Bible. The tendency of present-day scholarship is to get rid of the miracles by criticising the text. The miraculous portions are found to be later accretions. Dr. Whiton goes back to the old theory of trance, and the like. And he is actually so lacking in exegetical instinct as to think that Christ's words, 'The maid is not dead but sleepeth,' mean that Jairus' daughter was in a trance.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTTISH THEOLOGY. By the late John Macpherson, M.A. (*Macniven & Wallace*).—This is the sixth series of the Chalmers Lectures. The Chalmers Lectures have sometimes been dry and a little out of date. Yet if ever a lectureship was

founded to be up to date and practical it was this. And Mr. Macpherson was right in choosing so urgent a subject as the Doctrine of the Church. He knew the subject, and he handles it masterfully. He knew its history, its history in Scotland at least, and he treats it historically. Perhaps it is a little more than a history. Perhaps it is a vindication. For Mr. Macpherson was a son of the Covenant, and he believed in it with all his heart and conscience.

Messrs. Marshall Brothers have published an appeal for extempore preaching and congregational singing, under the title of *How to Fill the Churches*. The author is Mr. W. Nicholson.

DAWN IN THE DARK CONTINENT. By James Stewart, D.D., M.D. (*Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier*. 6s. net).—Dr. Stewart (of Lovedale) is the 'Grand Old Man' of missionary enterprise to-day. In this volume he gives an account of what has been done by the gospel in Africa. Of this he might have said *magna pars fui*. But his modesty is part of his greatness. It is the gospel, not himself. It is the gospel in every part of the continent, and by all agents whatsoever.

It is a history of Christianity in Africa. And although the greatness of the messengers of the gospel cannot be hid, there is no posturing or picturing of greatness; all that is of man's doing appears incidentally, the work is ever of God. What does it matter, then, whether it is a Moravian or a Presbyterian, an Englishman or a Norwegian? It is the hand of God, using the hand of man, and making it great by that use, but never making it prominent to the hiding of the power that is unseen and eternal.

What an apology for Christianity the book is! It is filled with maps to draw the eye of the mere geographer. But what does the geographer find? Maps painted half of heaven and half of earth. There are great rivers and there are great deserts, but the rivers are made highways for the Prince of Peace, the deserts are made to blossom as the rose. It is the irresistible apologetic of scientific fact; fact stamped upon the surface of the earth, not dependent upon argument or the turn of logical formulæ. It is the modern form of the old and always irresistible argument for Christ, Come and see.

Dr. Stewart writes well. We might almost say he writes as a man of science rather than as a missionary. Other writers would have had more unction. But this tells better. In the present attitude of men's minds to missionary enterprise, this will do more good.

A SHETLAND MINISTER OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (*Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier*).—Book collectors should keep their eye on the catalogues for this book. The author is the Rev. John Willcock, B.D., of Lerwick. Mr. Willcock has made a name for himself as a historian, and his name will be better known yet. This is his first book, and it was printed and published in Kirkwall. It is the kind of book that stamps the man of literary taste. Its hero, the Rev. John Mill of Dunrossness, was a certain figure in his day, but all that remains of him is of no great account for modern science. The only relic of any scientific consequence has to do with Mr. Mill's powers as an exorcist. Some of the examples of his power in casting out devils are flagrantly true. Take this one: 'One night, as Mr. Mill was taking a walk in the neighbourhood of Lerwick, he saw a woman among the rocks at the seashore holding a lighted candle in her hand. At once suspecting that Satan was at work, he clambered down, and found a young woman, who was evidently in great distress of mind. When he inquired what she was doing there at that time of night, she told him that she was going to "cast hersel' away upo' da sea," for she had sold herself to the Devil, and that when the candle she held was burned out, the Devil would come to claim her. Quickly blowing out the flame, Mr. Mill seized the remaining stump of the candle, and, putting it into his pocket, he told her that he would dispose of it in such a manner that it would never be burned out. The young woman, being satisfied by the assurance of the minister that she was thus delivered from the power of the fiend, willingly returned with him to the town.'

ARE THE CRITICS RIGHT? By Wilhelm Möller. Translated by C. H. Irwin, M.A. (*Religious Tract Society*. 2s. 6d.).—Is it not time to recognize that wholesale denunciation of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament is not a proper subject for Christian Apologetics? Is it not time to make some discrimination? For if there is 'wild-cat' criticism there is also 'wild-cat' de-

nunciation of criticism, and the one is as hurtful to Christ as the other. The Religious Tract Society recognizes that the time to discriminate has come. This book is temperate. It is also a scholar's book. There is no pretence that 'common sense' will do instead of learning. There is no pretence that anything else will do, except an intelligent appreciation of what criticism means and a patient effort to show that the truth is not all with it.

The Rev. James Neil, M.A., has published a strong protest against Musical Services, involving a milder protest against instrumental music in divine worship. The title is *Musical Service: Is it Right?* (Simpkin).

Two volumes of sermons of quite exceptional merit have been published by Mr. Stockwell. The one is entitled *Concerning the King*. Its author is the Rev. John Thomas, M.A. The other is called *The Eternal Son of God and the Human Sonship*. It is written by Dr. Alexander Mackennal. Without attempting to prove our case, by quotation or otherwise, we wish the more to emphasize the statement that the sermons in these two volumes are exceptionally thoughtful, because the outward appearance of both is so unattractive. No one's eye will be caught by them, therefore let the eye of the preacher seek them out. To read them will be to add freshness and vitality to his own preaching.

Mr. Stockwell has published other two volumes of sermons—*On Service with the King*, by G. T. Candlin, and *God's Hardest Task*, by C. E. Stone —good sermons also; but without the distinction of those two volumes.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY. By Paul Wernle. Translated by the Rev. G. A. Bienemann, M.A. (*Williams & Norgate.* 10s. 6d.). —The new volume of the 'Theological Translation Library' contains the first part of Professor Wernle's lectures on New Testament theology, to which, when he turned them into a book, he gave the title of *The Beginnings of Christianity*. This first volume contains the Presuppositions and the Rise of the Religion. This book has done more than even his Handbook to New Testament Theology to make Professor Wernle's name known, for it is more popular in style, and its points of originality are more easily seized. It has made him known as a very great theologian, one of the greatest of our time. One sees in his work as clearly as anywhere else how different is the task which the systematic theologian sets before himself in our day, from that of a former time. The older theologian, like the Jewish Rabbi, systematized the thoughts of his predecessors. His work was properly called a *System* of theology. The modern theologian is an original thinker. Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed—he is careless how he is classed. He is anxious to exhibit for himself what he himself has learned of the mind of Christ and the apostles. Professor Wernle is an excellent example. He is not out of touch with historical theology. But it is more to him to show that he has the mind of Christ.

The Two Paracletes and the Under-Paracletes.

AN EXEGETICAL STUDY.

By the Rev. James Wells, D.D., Glasgow.

A great painter was once asked how he had put so much devout feeling into one of his sacred masterpieces. 'Ah,' said he, 'I painted the whole of it on my knees.' On the knees of the heart one should study this divine theme.

A Paraclete is literally one called to aid another: from κλητὸς, 'called,' and παρὰ, 'along with' or 'alongside of.' A recent writer suggests that its exact meaning is one who aids the κλητοὶ, or 'the called'; that Christians are 'the called,' and the Holy Ghost is their helper. But this is far too ingenious: great popular words are not formed in that subtle way; and the secular cannot be so far removed from the sacred meaning. The κλητὸς refers directly, not to the Christian, but to his divine Helper, who is good at need, almighty in extremity. This is made plain by the Latin equivalent *Advocatus*. The *Vocatus* there must

be, not the one aided, but the one aiding. Luther translates Paraclete by *Fursprecher*, that is, 'spokesman' or 'intercessor.'

Roman society in the days of Christ supplies reliable illustrations of the office of the Advocatus. He was also called Patronus, from *pater*, 'a father': hence our word 'patron.' He was the mighty protector and champion, the earthly providence, and, indeed, the god of his clients. We must rise far above all our modern meagre ideas of a fee'd advocate, who is merely a representative at law. The Roman clients attached themselves to their advocate, and did their utmost to further his interests. The advocate in return had to feed, champion, and amuse his clients. When they were brought before the judge, he had to undertake for them. Only this part of the patron's office still lingers in our word 'advocate.' The word 'Paraclete' is thus richly freighted with spiritual suggestions. He is our Defender as the adversary is our accuser. He does everything that the rich can do for the poor, the strong for the weak, the merciful for the miserable. In the margin of the R.V. 'Comforter' is translated Advocate, or Helper, or Paraclete.

The title Παράκλητος is found in five passages: John's Gospel $14^{16.26}$ 15^{26} 16^{7}, and 1 Jn 2^{1}. It is applied by our Lord to the Holy Spirit, 'I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter.' Christ thus claims for Himself the title of Paraclete. John gives this title to Christ (1 Jn 2^{1}): 'We have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ, the righteous.' As our poor mother-tongue has no one word so rich in meaning, Paraclete has been naturalized in our language, and it is now finding its way into our hymns and common speech. One cannot fail to be touched by the richness, beauty, and tenderness of the appeals to the Paraclete in some of our best hymns.

We have thus two Paracletes. But the title is is now given almost exclusively to the Holy Spirit, as we have many names for Christ and very few for the Spirit.

This word makes a notable contribution to the doctrine of the Spirit. As Christ and the Spirit wear the same title, to deny the personality of the Spirit is, by implication, to deny the personality and Deity of Christ. 'Back to Christ' should always mean 'Back to the Holy Spirit.' For Christ's own testimony to the Spirit is very full, varied, and emphatic. Yet some of those who are often urging their favourite motto, 'Back to Christ,' have very little to say about the Holy Spirit.

Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, 'When He (masculine) comes, the Spirit (neuter) of truth,' Christ says. While the noun is neuter, the masculine pronouns are always used. If the Spirit were only, as Sabellius taught, a virtue or attribute, an energy of God distinguishable from Him, as light and heat from the sun; if that were all, why this careful and invariable phrasing? If the Holy Ghost is not God, then it seems to follow that Christ is not God; for He was 'conceived of the Holy Ghost.' Meyer in his commentaries often tells us that when the general word Πνεῦμα is used, it means, not the spirit of man, but the Holy Spirit, except where the context plainly forbids. Christ attributes many personal offices to the Holy Spirit. He is a Master (He shall teach you); He is a Leader (He shall lead you into all truth); He is a Monitor, Prompter, or Remembrancer (He shall bring all things to your remembrance); He is a Witness-Bearer (He shall testify of Me). And Christ glorifies the Spirit as well as the Father. His references to the mission of the Spirit are very striking. His disciples were not to be left comfortless (literally 'orphans'), because the other Comforter would be with them and abide with them for ever (Jn $14^{16.18}$). So far from being losers, they were to be gainers by Christ's leaving them. Keble thus puts it—

> But in ecstatic awe they muse
> What course the genial stream may choose,
> And far and wide their fancies rove,
> And to their height of wonder strain,
> What secret miracle of love
> Should make their Saviour's going gain.

'It is expedient (συμφέρει, for your advantage) that I go away.' The wonderful difference between the Peter of the Gospels and the Peter of Pentecost explains this startling intimation.

Only in a general way can we distinguish the work of Christ from the work of the Holy Spirit; for the two interpenetrate and interlace in every part of the Christian faith and life. Expiation is Christ's work, and the application of it is the Spirit's; the Spirit's work is in us, Christ's is for and in us; Christ represents God to man and man to God, the Paraclete only represents God to man. The Scriptures often emphasize the work of the Spirit in Christ from the cradle to the Cross. All Christ did was 'through the Eternal

Spirit.' This fact enhances the need of the work of the Spirit in the Christian. As the disciple is to imitate his Master, his life must be spent under the guidance of the Spirit. He always needs ἐπιχορηγία τοῦ Πνεύματος, 'a large supply of the Spirit' (Ph 1[19]).

The classical student might have a very interesting by-study of the faint foregleams and wavering suggestions of kindred or parallel truths among the spiritual leaders of heathendom. The result would probably be a great surprise to him. Few people have any idea of the frequency and earnestness with which man's need of the divine aid is insisted on in the writings of Homer, the great Greek dramatists, Socrates, Plato, Epictetus, and Plutarch. The good genius or dæmon of Socrates had in his life almost such a place as the Christian saint assigns to the Holy Spirit. Nearly all the great classical writers teach that 'unto the Deity belongs the business of persuading men.' This is their idea of the *Numen*. 'Nemo vir bonus sine Deo,' writes Seneca. In numberless passages Homer traces every noble and heroic deed up to the inspiration of the friendly gods.

We need not therefore be greatly moved by the speeches of those who tell us that the influence of the Holy Spirit is 'a mystic and occult quality,' which they cannot understand. Is the power of the Spirit in the hearts of men one whit more mysterious than the power of gravitation, of ozone, of electricity, of magnetism, of contagion and infection, of spring, of sunshine? If I cannot explain any of these mighty and admitted forces, why should I be discouraged if I cannot explain the workings of the Paraclete? May experience not equally certify the divine power and these natural powers?

Exegesis fully justifies the use of such a title as Under-paracletes. The spiritual teacher, according to his ideal, is a Barnabas, a son of paracletism (Ac 4[36]), and the early Christians walked in the *paracletism* of the Holy Ghost (Ac 9[31]). Παρακάλειν is the most common word in the New Testament for exhorting. It means both to call to one's side, and also to call upon, to exhort, comfort, or encourage. It thus means literally to *be or play the paraclete*, to share, in some limited degree, the very work of the Supreme Paraclete. Usually the work of the Holy Spirit is done through the agency of men. No other conception of the office of a spiritual teacher is so affecting as this. It specializes the great truth that he is a fellow-worker with God, and a chosen agent of the two eternal Paracletes. Here is a dignity higher than apostolic succession: it is the succession of the Holy Ghost. Tertullian calls the Spirit 'the Vicar of Christ'; the true teacher may be, in some sense, the Vicar of the Spirit.

This defines the teacher's weapon and mood. The Paraclete is the Spirit of all truth, and He is to guide men into the truth. His chief weapon is the truth; not rites and ceremonies; not dreams and private visions; not 'the inner light' as something beyond or above the truth. To turn light into force is the great problem of modern science, and it is the Church's problem too. When Professor Blackie was dying, some one quoted to him his favourite lifelong motto, Ἀληθεύων ἐν ἀγάπῃ, 'Truthing it in love.' 'But mind,' he said, 'it means action too.' 'The inner light' has sometimes become an anti-Spirit and an anti-Christ among fanatics and roving visionaries. The unction from the Holy One has had many strange claimants. The truth the Spirit uses is summed up in Christ. He takes of the things of Christ and shows them unto men. 'Christ's reticence about Himself is remarkable,' says Herrmann, 'yet he knows no more sacred task than to point men to His own person.' And this is the task of the other Paraclete and the Under-Paracletes. God has been revealed in Christ, and the Holy Ghost shows the full meaning of, and vitalizes, that revelation. He does not speak of Himself. He conveys, but does not create, the truth.

The qualifications for the sacred work of the Under-Paraclete are also suggested by his name. He must cultivate ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, so that he may be the supple, sympathetic, ever-ready instrument of the Spirit. Deep reverence is essential to the spiritual worker. 'The only doomed man is the cynic,' a great teacher has said. The emblem of the Holy Spirit is the dove, the most easily scared of birds. Let us walk in the Spirit: στοιχῶμεν, that is, take step by step with the Spirit. The prayer Jude commends is 'praying in the Holy Ghost,' in this heavenly atmosphere and creative climate. Παράκλητος is one called in in time of need, one who responds to the appeal of the needy. We are to come boldly to the throne of grace, εἰς ἔνκαιρον βοήθειαν —for seasonable and implored help. Ἀγαθὸς

βοὴν was a title of Homer's heroes (good at the cry of despair, and the cry for help); and it is also a title of those who are apt for the highest spiritual warfare.

Unction is the highest gift of the Christian worker. But it eludes our poor analysis. It is not the same as vivacity. If half-memories do not deceive me, it is Vinet, that great thinker, who emphasizes the distinction between him who is spirited (spirituel) and him who is spiritual. The former quality, he says, may easily be mistaken for, but is often opposed to, the latter. Unction is a happy name for supreme spiritual power; for, as sacred anointing was by richly perfumed oils, it suggests a copious effusion and a generous diffusion of holy influences. And it has to do with the tone as much as with the truth taught; it is like the *timbre* in the soul's music; it enables the messenger to tell forth the glad tidings with kindred and contagious gladness; and it gives him the divine art of invitation, persuasion, and soul-winning. Mysterious as spiritual power of the highest kind is, it has its revealed laws. These are made intelligible to us by studying the men of Pentecost. They were completely surrendered to Christ; they were prayerful; they were united in Christian affection; and they had a radiantly clear message.

Luther speaks of some who always cried, 'Spirit, Spirit,' but broke down every bridge by which He could enter. The preacher, above all other men, needs to keep these bridges in good repair and fit for the divine traffic.

Our aim is so to tell the truth as to make the truth tell. Often the preacher feels like the street-artist, whose carefully drawn pictures are scarcely noticed by the passers-by, and if they win a brief attention, they are soon blurred by the dust and blotted out by the rain. The preacher's great difficulty is like Daguerre's. The light imprinted the image, but it soon vanished when the tablet was withdrawn from the camera. Casting about for some method of fixing his sun-picture, he discovered the chemical power which turned the evanescent into the durable. That article in the Creed, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost,' should rescue the preacher from utter despair. It should cherish the hope that the gospel he preaches may prove, through God's great mercy, the power of God unto the salvation of men.

'The Varieties of Religious Experience,' by Professor William James.

SOME CRITICAL NOTES FROM THE CHRISTIAN STANDPOINT.

By the Rev. Robert Forgan, B.D., Aberdeen.

The popularity of this fascinating but perplexing book justifies the attempt to help the ordinary reader to discern its defects from the Christian point of view. The book has a certain apologetic value in so far as it vindicates the right of Religion to be recognized as an ineradicable constituent element in human nature. And this value is all the greater that Professor James does not restrict himself, like too many philosophers, to the phenomena of Natural Religion, but frankly includes the phenomena of Conversion, the Second Birth, and the resulting new spiritual power, as facts deserving to be seriously examined. When, however, Professor James has completed his examination, his conclusions must be pronounced disappointingly meagre.

1. Old Rabbi Duncan used to say of himself, that he was a sceptic in philosophy who had found refuge in theology. Professor James openly discards that refuge, and as yet he has found no other. As Gifford lecturer he was precluded from discussing Christianity as a supernatural Revelation, and he has religiously adhered to the terms of the bequest. All the same, he is open to the criticism that he has not done justice to the Christian Religion, even as a historical phenomenon. It is strange that, in a book professing to deal with the varieties of religious experience,

the biggest religious fact in the whole experience of the world is ignored. The religious consciousness of many persons, including some Christians, is analysed, but that of Jesus Christ is steadily passed by. The claim of Christianity to have *historical contents* is never once looked at. Of the Incarnation as an *historical* revelation of God, so far as these lectures show, Professor James has never heard. In his analysis of religious experience, he is led by his psychological method to attach far too much importance to what he calls the 'faith-state' as a mere condition of the mind. It matters little to him apparently who or what the Object of faith may be, or the intellectual or historical contents of the faith—whether fact or fiction, reality or hallucination. Christ, Buddha, or Mohammed, any of them will do, provided the faith-state is produced with sufficient intensity.

2. Professor James contemptuously discards theology. His treatment of that science is an amazing performance. He imagines he has disposed of it when he has merely run a tilt at the antiquated windmill of mediæval scholasticism. The one variety of religious experience unknown to Professor James is the experience which starts with the historical Person of Christ, and develops its theology not out of the vacuum of abstract reason upon which Professor James wastes his scorn, but out of the historically verified facts recorded concerning Christ and His apostles. The professor has the courage to confess that he has grave difficulties about believing either in the Unity or the Personality of 'the Divine.' Has the religious consciousness of Jesus, viewed even as simply a 'human document,' no light to shed on these topics? And if it has, why is it ignored?

3. A further extension of this criticism would convict Professor James of failing, in his psychological analysis, to do justice to *Christian* as distinguished from other varieties of religious experience. Many of the phenomena with which he deals are not properly religious at all. He has no standard, no norm, by which to discriminate. He sees no essential difference between what is spiritual and what is spiritualistic. He dwells far too exclusively upon the emotional elements in religion, ignoring the intellectual and still more the ethical. To speak of a sinner as merely 'a sick soul' (though the expression is scriptural) is to give a very inadequate place to the sense of *guilt* and demerit. Few people feel *responsible* for a sickness. On the other hand, to be without any sense of sin is wrongly described as a 'healthy-minded' condition. Professor James nowhere faces the reality of moral evil as guilt. It is the misery and the melancholy of sin, not its guilt, he treats of.

4. As regards the 'sub-conscious self,' much of what Professor James has to say is extremely interesting and even valuable. There are passages in the New Testament which seem to recognize the existence of this sub-liminal region of the mind as affording a sphere for the operations of the Spirit of God, as, *e.g.*, Rom 8^{26}, where it is said that 'the Spirit maketh intercession for us *with groanings which cannot be uttered*.' Nevertheless, one may question whether Professor James does not greatly exaggerate the religious significance of the discovery he attributes to Mr. Myers in 1886. The Christian's sense of 'a Presence' is not the vague thing Professor James describes. It is not the mysterious elongation of the higher self. It is not subjective, but has a definitely known objective ground in the historic Christ—God manifest in the flesh. This finding of God in the man Christ Jesus is that which differentiates Christian from all other religious experience. The Person of Christ provides a far better link with reality (such as science is said to require) than this alleged sub-liminal region of the mind. Why should God, in communicating with men, be restricted to the use of this hidden door? What hinders His approaching us directly and openly through the intellect and the verified facts of history? Professor James claims that the sub-liminal region belongs specially to the higher self in man—has an affinity for the Divine. But is that so? The 'automatisms,' of which so much is made, are by no means exclusively religious; they are often found in the region of political and other intellectual beliefs. And is it not the fact that it is quite as easy to drift away from God sub-consciously as to grow towards Him? There are automatisms which issue in backsliding and unbelief as well as in faith and devotion. These automatisms, moreover, are in their nature only the unfolding of germs previously implanted in the ordinary consciousness. We have no evidence of fresh truth *originating* in the sub-conscious region. And Professor James nowhere undertakes to tell us when or how the seed-germs of truth were first lodged in their forcing-bed.

5. Finally, it has to be said that the psychopathic treatment of religion, of which this book is a specimen, leaves one haunted by the uneasy feeling that anything like intellectual certainty is unattainable. Notwithstanding frequent protestations to the contrary, religious phenomena are treated as largely explicable by temperament after the fashion set long ago in certain chapters of Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In the analytic process, the religious validity of the experience seems to evaporate, and in the end you hardly know where you are. Religious psychology, therefore, is a science from which but little that is of religious value can be looked for. If, as Dr. A. B. Davidson used to say, the Divine *coalesces* with the human so that the two cannot be examined separately, and the Divine thus 'eludes definition,' then even the psychologist will not catch it for analysis any more than the physiologist can lay bare a thought on the dissecting-table. The most accurate analysis of the laws of vision can throw no light on the way in which Christ opened the eyes of the blind. Christ's act was an immediate effort of will. There was in it nothing, save the creative volition. It had no relation to the laws of vision either in the way of using them or violating them. So the keenest psychological analysis of the phases or phenomena of religious experience can throw no light on the way in which the Holy Spirit regenerates a human soul. The new life is produced by the immediate creative activity of the Divine will. Professor James' psychopathic method thus turns out to be largely a false scent. The sub-conscious, transmarginal self, even if it be a genuine mental phenomenon, is no very sure way to the Divine. There is a surer way: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by Me.'

Contributions and Comments.

The Genealogy of Luke iii. as Genealogy of Mary.

B. W. Bacon says in his instructive article, 'Genealogy of Jesus Christ' (*D.B.* ii. 137–141), that the theory which sees in the genealogy of Lk 3 that not of Joseph but of Mary owes its currency to Annias of Viterbo, c. 1490 A.D., and that in ancient times, *with two exceptions*, no attempt is made to claim for Mary either of the pedigrees, though she was, for obvious reasons, as early as Justin Martyr, represented as also descended from David. The two exceptions mentioned are Irenæus and Victorinus. But here two very interesting authorities are overlooked.

In the second part of his *Septuaginta Studien*, Paul de Lagarde in 1892 republished two genealogical works, which had been published as early as 1712 and 1761 by Chr. Matthew Pfaff and J. D. Mansi, the tracts called *Origo generis humani* and *Genealogiæ totius Bibliothecæ*. The former may now be read also in Frick's *Chronica minora* (Teubner, 1898, 133 ff.). Quite at the end of the *Genealogiæ* it is said: '*Redeamus ad Nathan fratrem Salomonis* UNDE MARIA ORIGINEM TRAHIT, hic *Nathan genuit Mattham*,' etc. Here now follows the whole genealogy of Lk 3 up to the close, where we read *Eli gen. Josef. Josef gen. Joachim. Joachim gen. Mariam, hec est Maria.* Anno quadragesimo primo imp. Augusti imperatoris.[1]

In the *Origo* at the end the genealogy of Matthew is given; then it is continued with that of Luke: *Item David genuit Nathan. Nathan genuit Emam. Emam genuit Eliacim*, etc., up to *Heli genuit Joseph. Joseph genuit Joachim. Joachim genuit Mariam matrem domini Jesu Christi. Hanc progeniem secundum Nathan introducit Lucas, et secundum Salamonem Matteus, ut cognocscatur ex una radice Iesse id est David, venire Joseph sive Maria mater.*

Whether Joseph of Lk 3^{23} has been considered as father of Joachim by other authorities, is unknown to me; but as the most explicit statements of ancient times on the genealogy of Luke as that of Mary, they deserve to be better known than they seem to be.

Eb. Nestle.

Maulbronn.

[1] The A of *anno* is written with a capital letter at the beginning of the line, and is therefore not necessarily to be connected with the preceding genuit.

Ethnic Parallels to 1 Thessalonians, etc.

(*a*) With 1 Th 5^{6-9} compare Plutarch: *de Iside* 6: οἶνον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει θεραπεύοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐκ εἰσφέρουσιν τοπαράπαν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ὡς οὐ προσῆκον ἡμέρας πίνειν, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως ἐφορῶντος.

(*b*) With 1 Th 5^{4-11} (and parallel N.T. passages) also compare the Zoroastrian scripture (Vendidad 18^{23-25}), where in the third part of the night the cock, as the bird of the dawn, is inspired to cry, 'Arise, O men! . . . Lo here is Bushyasta coming down upon you, who lulls to sleep again the whole living world as soon as it has awoke, saying, "Sleep, sleep on, O man [and live in sin (Yasht 22^{42})]! The time is not yet come." For the three excellent things be never slack, namely, good thoughts, good words, and good deeds' (cf. Ps 17^{3-4}). This recalls the practice of certain mediæval saints who actually carried cocks about with them, in order to waken them in the morning for devotions.

(*c*) From the same essay of Plutarch (75) one might cull a contemporary parallel to the sound advice of Tit 2^{5} (younger women are to be οἰκουργούς, domestic): τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς [ἀγάλματι] τὸν δράκοντα Φειδίας παρέθηκε, τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἥλιδι τὴν χελώνην, ὡς τὰς μὲν παρθένους φυλακῆς δεομένας, ταῖς δὲ γαμεταῖς οἰκουρίαν καὶ σιωπὴν πρέπουσαν. So *Conjugalia Præcepta* 32.

(*d*) Finally, with Jas 3^{4-6}, where the tongue is compared, first of all, to the rudder of a ship, and secondly, to a fire in a forest, one may collate the union of similar nautical and igneous metaphors in Plutarch's essay *de Garrulitate* 10. The moralist speaks first of speech as beyond control once it is uttered, like a ship which has broken loose from its anchorage. But, in the following sentence, he comes nearer to the idea of James by quoting from a fragment of Euripides these lines—

> Μικροῦ γὰρ ἐκ λαμπάδος Ἰδαῖον λέπας
> Πρήσειεν ἄν τις· καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρ' εἰπὼν ἕνα,
> Πύθοιντ' ἄν ἀστοὶ πάντες.

JAMES MOFFATT.

Dundonald.

The Question of Sychar.

THE fourth volume of the invaluable *Dictionary of the Bible* has just come to hand, and I find a strong case has been made out for the identification of Sychar with el-'Askar, the village on the slope of Mount Ebal, situated about three-quarters of a mile to the north-east of Jacob's Well, and about a mile and a half almost due east (as Eusebius says) from Nablous.

The difficulty has been to explain why a woman of el-'Askar should go to Jacob's Well to draw water when there was a fine spring in her village. It has been advanced that she was actuated by religious sentiment; but one cannot imagine a woman of her type being so influenced as to walk three-quarters of a mile and return the same distance on a broiling day with her pitcher full. The well, which has been cleared out and covered in, has not a great supply of water, nor is its water remarkable for drinking qualities. Explanations hitherto have failed to solve the problem, because they assume the woman came from the village with her water-pot.

The plain of el-Mukhna, which lies to the east of Jacob's Well and runs to the slope of Mount Ebal and to el-'Askar, is cultivated to-day as it was in the time of our Saviour. In fact, when He sat wearied on the parapet of the well, this plain was a sea of yellowish-white ripe corn (Jn 4^{35}), and the reapers were at work (v.^{36}).

With other women from Sychar, the woman was a reaper. The heat of the day was great, for in the long close valley the summer sun strikes fiercely, and the hills shut off any cool breath which may be coming up from the distant sea. Jesus was wearied and thirsty with His journey; how much more thirsty the reapers! As their pitchers became exhausted, one of their number went to the nearest supply—Jacob's Well. Moreover, luncheon time ('for it was about the sixth hour') gave occasion and opportunity for so doing. I was told, when on the spot in 1900, that the women-reapers from el-'Askar still use the water of the well for drinking when at work in the valley below.

Hence the woman left her water-pot while she went to the village to tell about the wonderful prophet who had come to their neighbourhood. Having brought the men (who still lounge at home while the women reap), she intended to go back to her harvesting with the supply of water. In all probability the water-pots were left in the field all night as long as the harvest lasted.

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